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The Victoria History of the Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF SUFFOLK

VOLUME II

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

SUFFOLK

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY

The Banks of the Waveney

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK

EDITED BY

WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME TWO

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED
1907

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Editor wishes to express his thanks to all those who have assisted in the compilation of this volume, but particularly to Mr. W. T. Bensly, LL.D., F.S.A., for kindly affording access to the episcopal registers under his charge at Norwich, and to Mr. Vincent B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S., for much information and assistance for the article on the Suffolk Schools.

A HISTORY OF SUFFOLK

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN this sketch of the ecclesiastical history of the county of Suffolk, it must be remembered that the general story of the successive bishops of East Anglia, from the time when, under the Normans, the see was transferred to Norwich, belongs far more to the 'Northfolk' than the 'Southfolk,' and will therefore be more properly considered in the volumes that deal with Norfolk.[1]

The kingdom of East Anglia corresponded in its origin to the Norfolk and Suffolk of later days, together with that part of Cambridgeshire which lies to the east of the great Devil's Dyke at Newmarket, as well as parts of the fen country up to Peterborough.

Bede tells us that Ælla, king of the South Saxons, about 490, was the first overlord of the East Angles, and that their next ruler was Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, about 500. To Ceawlin succeeded Ethelbert of Kent, the first Christian overlord of East Anglia. When Ethelbert died, 'twenty-one years after he had received the Faith,' the overlordship passed into the hands of Redwald, who played such an important part in the history of Northumbria, and who had ruled in East Anglia, subservient to Ethelbert, during the latter's lifetime. Edwin of Northumbria took refuge at the court of Redwald, which was probably then stationed at Rendlesham in Suffolk, and it was when he was in exile in this county that Edwin, according to Bede's interesting and detailed narrative, experienced a singular vision which was the eventual means of bringing him to the Christian faith. Through Redwald's assistance, Edwin, in 617, recovered his Northumbrian throne. When Edwin became a Christian, at a later date, Redwald was dead, and had been succeeded by his son Eorpwald, who had had in his youth a curious experience of semi-Christianity. His father, during one of his visits to Kent, had been baptized; but on his return his wife raised strong objections to his change of belief, with the result that, at the East Anglian court in Suffolk, Redwald had, from that time till the day of his death, 'in one and the same temple an altar for Christian sacrifice, and a little altar for the victims offered to demons.' Aldwulf, who became king of the East Angles in 663, personally assured Bede that this temple of his great-uncle, with its Christian and Pagan altars side by side, was standing in his days, and that he had seen it when a boy. Through Edwin's influence, Eorpwald was led to abandon all share in idolatrous superstitions, and his whole province is said to have embraced, at

[1] Many incidents of ecclesiastical history will also be found in the subsequent accounts of the religious houses, particularly of St. Edmunds, and are not here repeated.

least nominally, Christian tenets. Eorpwald's baptism, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, took place in 632, which was Edwin's last year.[1]

Soon after Eorpwald's conversion, he was slain by a pagan, Richbert, and for three years the hastily renounced idolatry was resumed. But after this brief interval there came a happy change, a genuine Christianity dawned over the land of the East Angles. Eorpwald's brother Sigebert, who had been in exile in Gaul, had become a Christian during his banishment, and he determined, on succeeding to the kingdom, that the true faith should be proclaimed to his people. Bede pronounces a brief but high eulogium on the new ruler, styling Sigebert 'a most Christian and most learned man.'[2] Just about the time of Sigebert's accession to the East Anglian throne, either in 630 or 631,[3] there landed in England a Burgundian missionary bishop, Felix by name, eager to take part in the evangelization of the dark places of Britain. He made his way to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and showed him his desire, whereupon, in Bede's words, 'Honorius sent him to deliver the Word of Life to the nations of the Angles.'[4]

Sigebert gave a warm welcome to the Burgundian bishop, and placed the episcopal see at the city of 'Domnoc,' later known as Dunwich. It would seem that at that time the Southfolk of the East Anglian kingdom were more important than the Northfolk, and Dunwich—the old Roman town of Sitomagus—was an important seaport, and the centre of some small trade and commerce. At Dunwich Sigebert proceeded to erect a cathedral church for his bishop, as well as a palace for himself. Here it may be well to remark very briefly that Dunwich flourished as a city for several centuries; churches, religious houses, and important buildings multiplied, though by no means to the extent indicated in romantic and fabulous tradition. But by degrees the steady roll of the northern sea on England's shore gained the mastery over the great protecting headland that jutted out just north of Southwold, and Dunwich began to crumble before the advancing waves. The old harbour and 400 houses were swept away in the days of Edward III, and church after church disappeared, the sites of four being covered by the water between 1535 and 1600. At the present time the last of the ancient parish churches is crumbling on the edge of the cliff, each successive storm flinging more of the old fabric down upon the beach.

Bishop Felix met with wonderful success in spreading the knowledge of the faith throughout Sigebert's kingdom; pagan unhappiness and wickedness giving place, as Bede asserts in two glowing passages, to Christian happiness and virtue, as though by the very sacrament of his name. Nor was he content with merely preaching the Word through his own lips and those of his clergy. Himself a learned man, he desired to establish true learning, and

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* bk. ii, ch. 5–14; Bp. Browne, *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 68–73.

[2] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* bk. ii, ch. 15.

[3] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that it was in 636 that 'Bishop Felix preached the faith of Christ to the East Angles.'

[4] It is asserted in Hook's *Archbishops* and in various other church histories that Honorius consecrated Felix bishop of Dunwich in 630. Even Bishop Stubbs, in both editions of his *Registrum Sacr. Angl.* p. 4, briefly states this as a fact, giving Bede, ii, 15, as his reference. But Bede, as the bishop of Bristol points out (*Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 74–76), states that Bishop Felix had been born and 'ordained' in Burgundy, and 'ordained' is the word generally used by Bede as indicating the consecration of a bishop. Thus on the death of Felix, Honorius 'ordained' Thomas his deacon in his place (iii, 20), and Augustine 'ordained' Laurentius to the episcopate (ii, 4).

gave cordial support in this respect to his sovereign. Bede states that Sigebert, desiring to imitate the good institutions he had seen in France, set up a school for youth to be instructed in literature, and was 'assisted therein by Bishop Felix, who furnished him with masters and teachers after the manner of that country.'[1] Bishop Felix ruled as bishop of Dunwich with unvaried success, during much civil disorder, for seventeen years, during which period Suffolk was of far more importance in the establishment of Christianity than the Norfolk division of the kingdom.

After a few years, Sigebert, tired of the turmoil of kingly rule, put off his crown, committed the kingdom to his kinsman Ecgric, and 'went himself into a monastery which he had built, and having received the tonsure, applied himself rather to gain a heavenly throne.'[2] This place of retreat was called 'Bedericsworth,' which afterwards became so celebrated under its changed name of St. Edmundbury.

The fame of the good and learned bishop of East Anglia spread far and wide, and, whilst Sigebert was still on the throne, a holy man of Ireland called Fursey was attracted to this diocese, bringing with him a little company consisting of his two brothers, Fullan and Ultan, and two priests named Gobban and Dicul. This small community resolved to assist in the evangelizing of East Anglia, and ere long established themselves at a wild and desolate spot called 'Cnobbesburgh,' now known as Burgh Castle, a little to the south of Yarmouth and some twenty-five miles north of Dunwich.[3] Here, as at Dunwich, was the site of an important Roman station, and doubtless in both cases the material of the extensive fortifications and the massive walls would be used in the erection of a Christian settlement. Thus Suffolk, within a few years after the arrival of Felix at Dunwich, possessed two other Christian settlements, namely at Burgh Castle and Bury St. Edmunds; for it must be remembered that a monastery of those days meant an establishment of vowed missionaries, who did their best to christianize the district around them.

On the death of Bishop Felix, Archbishop Honorius consecrated his deacon Thomas as the second bishop of Dunwich. He held the see but five years, and on his death in 652, Bertgils, surnamed Boniface, of the province of Kent, was appointed in his stead.[4]

In the year 655 Penda, the headstrong pagan king of Mercia, made an inroad on the Anglian kingdom, then under the rule of King Anna. There was a great battle at Bulcamp near Blythburgh, where Anna and his son Firmin fell by the sword, together with the greater part of his forces, and heathendom again raised its head in the land.[5]

But though Anna left no son to succeed him, he was, according to Bede, 'the parent of good children and was happy in a good and holy progeny.'

[1] Bede, bk. iii, ch. 18. Later writers have differed as to whether this great school, employing many masters and teachers, was established at Dunwich or at Saham Tony in Norfolk. William of Malmesbury was probably right in saying that Sigebert and Felix 'instituted schools of learning in different places.' *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 97.

[2] Bede, bk. iii, ch. 18.

[3] Ibid. ch. 19. There is much in this long chapter about the visions and sanctity of St. Fursey. 'An ancient brother of our monastery,' says Bede, 'is still living, who is wont to declare that a very sincere and religious man told him that he had seen Fursey himself in the province of the East Angles, and heard these visions from his mouth.'

[4] Ibid. ch. 20.

[5] There is much divergence in the account of the strife between Penda and Anna given by Bede, William of Malmesbury, and others; but the statement in the text seems the most probable. See paper by Dr. Jessopp on Blythburgh, *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* iv, 225–43.

Four daughters survived him, each of them renowned for devout Christian lives. Sexburga, the eldest, married Erconbert, king of Kent. On the death of her husband of the plague in 664 she became for a time regent of the kingdom, but resigning these duties she eventually joined her more celebrated sister Etheldreda, who had founded the renowned monastery of Ely among the swamps of the Anglian borderland. A third daughter, Ethelburga, left England for a conventual life on the Continent, and died abbess of Brie; whilst the fourth daughter, Witberga, passed her days in retirement at East Dereham.

A connexion of Anna's was a yet more celebrated Christian lady, and perhaps the most distinguished of all those holy women of Suffolk who did so much for the civilizing of England in the seventh century. After the battle of Bulcamp, Anna's brother Ethelhere became king of the East Angles. His wife Hereswith was a Christian princess of no small repute, but her sister Hilda won yet higher religious renown outside Anglia as the great founder of Whitby Abbey in Northumbria.

Nor is this the full tale of the saintly women of the highest birth who went forth from Dunwich as a purifying salt in an age of much corruption and lingering paganism. Aldwulf, the son of Ethelhere and Hereswith, reigned long and prosperously as the Christian king of the East Angles.[1] On his death in 713 he left but three surviving daughters. Each of these in their devotion to religion adopted the cloistered life. Eadburgh became abbess of the important Mercian monastery of Repton, whilst Ethelburga and Hwætburga, the other daughters, were successive abbesses of Hackness, a religious house which was second only in repute to Whitby in the land of Northumbria.[2]

In the midst of the long reign of Aldwulf, when Bisi, the fourth bishop of Dunwich, was growing too old and infirm to undertake long journeys over his extensive diocese, there was a division of the see. In 673 Archbishop Theodore's principle of multiplying bishoprics came into operation in East Anglia. Aldwulf gave his consent to the retirement of the aged Bisi, and Theodore in his room consecrated two bishops, the one to rule as formerly from Dunwich, but only over Suffolk, and the other apparently intended to preside over Norfolk from the new centre of Elmham. Baduvine became bishop of Elmham, and Æcci of Dunwich.[3]

[1] His name appears among the signatories to the Council of Hatfield in 688. Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 141.

[2] See the long chapter, of singular beauty, in Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, entitled 'The Anglo-Saxon Nuns' (Auth. Trans.), v, 215–361.

[3] There are in East Anglia two Elmhams, North Elmham and South Elmham. The former of these is near the centre of Norfolk, whilst the latter is the name for a group of seven Suffolk villages, distinguished by the saints' names of their respective churches, which lie some fifteen miles to the north-west of Dunwich. Bede when he mentions that see does not distinguish it by either 'North' or 'South'; but it was long tacitly assumed that North Elmham was the centre of the new see. That Archbishop Theodore and King Aldwulf when subdividing the kingdom into two dioceses should fix the seat of the new see within a few miles of the old one at Dunwich seems almost incredible. The chief reason why a few able men have been led of late years to argue in favour of South Elmham is because of the presence at South Elmham St. George of certain remarkable remains long known as the Old Minster. These will be subsequently described in detail; suffice it here to state that a space of 3½ acres called the minster yard is enclosed within a bank and moat, and contains considerable ruins. The bishops of Norwich also retained an episcopal residence at South Elmham down to the days of Henry VIII. It is quite clear that there was an important Christian settlement at South Elmham in early days, which was the mother church or minster of the immediate district; but archaeology also shows that North Elmham was of much former importance, for there too is a mound and fosse and remains of ancient

Of the future history of the see of Dunwich but little is known. It came to an end with the incursion of the Danes. There were eleven bishops of Dunwich after Æcci, whose names were Æscwulf, Eadulf (signature 747), Cuthwine, Aldberht, Ecglaf, Heardred (signatures 781-89), Aelhun (790-3), Tidferth (798-816), Waeremund (signature 824), Wilred (signatures 825-45), and Æthelwulf.[1]

For about a hundred and fifty years after Archbishop Theodore, the signatures of the bishops of the two East Anglian sees are appended to the various acts of the national synods; but after the death of Humbert of Elmham (870) and Æthelwulf of Dunwich, in the ninth century, the name of no East Anglian bishop occurs for about a hundred years. The reason is not far to seek; the province was overrun with the hordes of heathen Northmen or Danes who landed in constantly increasing numbers on the long line of seaboard, finding their chief spoils in Christian churches and monasteries. At last, in 861, 'a great heathen army came to the land of the English nation, and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and there they were housed; and the East Angles made peace with them.'[2] This was the date of their first definite settlement. When the winter of 866-7 had passed away, the Danes in great multitudes left their quarters in Suffolk and Norfolk, and for three years cruelly ravaged Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Nottinghamshire. In 870 they returned to East Anglia, making Thetford their head quarters for the winter.[3] During the absence of their army for those three years, the courage of the men of East Anglia had revived. Edmund, their king, full of Christian ardour, rallied them to resist the heathen marauders and strike a blow for freedom. A great battle was fought near the town that afterwards bore the martyr's name; but the English were defeated and their king taken prisoner. Hingwar and the other Danish chieftains would have spared Edmund's life had he but consented to be their tributary prince and abjured his baptism. The king, on the contrary, refused to reign under Hingwar unless the latter first embraced Christianity. A cruel scourging followed this refusal; he was bound to a tree and met with a lingering death as a target for Danish arrows, according to the well-known and oft-illustrated story of his martyrdom.[4]

After they had slain St. Edmund, the chroniclers all agree that the Danes, recognizing the religious nature of the uprising against their cruel rule, fell with renewed force on the remaining churches and monasteries or

walls. As supporters of the North Elmham site it will suffice to mention Camden and Spelman of earlier writers and Dr. Jessopp and the Bishop of Bristol among modern ecclesiologists. See also Bright, *Early Engl. Ch.* 250. The arguments in favour of South Elmham being the seat of the bishopric were set forth in a paper by the late Mr. Harrod in 1874, *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* iv, 7–13; a previous paper in the same volume gives a plan and description of the moated site by Mr. Woodward.

[1] The spelling adopted by Dr. Stubbs in his *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* (230–1) is the one used in the text. For the attendance at synods and for the signatures of these early bishops of Dunwich and Elmham see Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Doc.* vol. ii, *passim*.

[2] *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 137.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The legendary lives of St. Edmund and the contradictions of annalists make the truth connected with Edmund's actions and death difficult to elucidate. But the bare facts cited above seem undoubtedly true. As to his martyrdom there were two different early versions, which have been termed the clerical and the secular. According to the first of these, as described by Abbo, Florence, and Malmesbury, Edmund when attacked by the Danes made no resistance, and was led as a lamb to the slaughter. According to the other and better established version, supported by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser, and Ethelward, Edmund and his men fought stoutly against the Danes. As to the various lives of St. Edmund, see Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), 3 vols. (1890–6), particularly the introduction to vol. i.

residences of the clergy, determined if possible to stamp out the faith throughout the whole of that region. Then arose Alfred, and when at last peace was signed between the English monarch and Guthrum the Dane, it was arranged that the latter should leave Wessex, but should be permitted to retain East Anglia and other northern territory. It was also stipulated that Guthrum should accept Christianity as the religion of his people. Guthrum was accordingly baptized, Alfred standing as his godfather, and took the new name of Athelstan. For ten years he ruled in East Anglia, abiding there, and died in 890. For at least thirty years after his death the province was entirely under Danish rule; but the chroniclers are almost silent as to its internal condition, and the extent to which Christianity was maintained is a matter of conjecture.

Dunwich is not heard of again as the seat of a bishopric; probably the incursions of the sea had already begun to deprive it of some of its importance. Elmham, on the contrary, in the centre of Norfolk, seems to have been recognized as a more suitable station for a bishop than any place on the coast line, and when bishops of East Anglia begin again to be named they are invariably, for more than a century, bishops of Elmham.[1]

The Danes had been brought into subjection by Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, in 921, and East Anglia again came under English rule.[2] After the Danish suppression a strong revival of monastic life under the Benedictine rule passed over England.[3] But monastic fervour was suffered to receive another severe check from Danish incursions. In 991 and again in 993 Ipswich was ravaged, and a tribute exacted on account of the great terror of the wild Northmen which existed on the coast line. In 1004 King Sweyn sailed up the Yare, burned Norwich and Thetford, and made much desolation with fire and sword throughout many parts of Suffolk and Norfolk. The churches and monasteries were spoiled, and many monks carried off into captivity. In 1010 the Northmen came in yet larger numbers, landing this time at Ipswich, and harrying a still wider extent of East Anglia.[4]

On Sweyn's death in 1014 his son Canute succeeded, and within three years found himself master of England. Canute in his turn became a patron of the Benedictine order, and in the year that he became overlord of East Anglia and the rest of the kingdom founded in the midst of the Norfolk Broads the abbey of St. Benet of Holme. It was from Holme a few years later that a colony of monks proceeded to found the ever-famous Suffolk abbey of St. Edmunds.

With regard to the action and influence and lives of the later bishops of Elmham, such as Stigand and his brother Æthelmaer, any discussion of their lives comes more appropriately under the story of the church in the county

[1] There is record of twelve bishops of Elmham, after the break from the Danish invasion up to the transference of the see to Thetford:—Eadulf (signatures 956–64), Ælfric, Theodred (signature 975), Theodred (signature 995), Ælfstan (995–1001), Ælfgar (1001–1021), Ælfwine (1016, last signature 1022), Ælfric (died 1038), Ælfric (consecrated 1038), Stigand (1043–6), Æthelmaer (1047, last signature 1055), and Herfast (consecrated 1070).

[2] *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 195.

[3] One of its chief supporters in this district, during the tenth century, was Æthelwine, to whom from his devoutness the patriarchal title of the 'Friend of God' was applied. He was alderman of East Anglia, and founder of the abbey of Ramsey in the Huntingdon swamps, where he was buried in 992. *Hist. Rames.* (Chron. and Mem. Ser.), pp. 12, 31, 100, 103, &c.; *Vita Oswaldi* (Chron. and Mem. Ser.), i, *passim*.

[4] Hen. Hunt. *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 175–8; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), i, 481–2; *Ang. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 264.

of Norfolk. Suffice it here to say that the Conqueror imposed his own chaplain, Herfast, an Italian, on the see of East Anglia in the year 1070.

Before proceeding with the religious history of Suffolk in post-Conquest days, it may be well to offer a short digression as to the church dedications of the county that bear on local Christianity ere the days of the Norman settlement.

Upwards of fifty ancient churches in England are dedicated to the well-loved king of East Anglia, whose memory is so imperishably associated with the second town of Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds. The little chapel at Hoxne that sprang up over the spot in the woods where the Danes had flung aside the mutilated body, and where it was first buried, was naturally placed under the invocation of St. Edmund, King and Martyr ; but it has long since disappeared. Five Suffolk churches retain the dedication in his honour, namely Assington, Bromeswell, Fritton, Kessingland, and Southwold ; whilst old inventories and wills show that side altars and images in honour of this royal saint were of frequent occurrence in numerous other churches.[1]

The purely Saxon name of Botolph[2] is commemorated in the invocations of a variety of early churches in East Anglia. The true story of this seventh-century saint, a hermit, abbot, and bishop according to somewhat conflicting statements, is difficult to elucidate ; but the tradition that identifies Ikanho—the dismal spot surrounded by swamps where St. Botolph first built a monastery—with the village of Iken, on the south side of the estuary of the Alde, seems almost certainly correct, for it coincides, with much nicety, with the details given of his first settlement.[3] The church of Iken still bears the name of St. Botolph. The Bury St. Edmunds tradition of him, current as early as the eleventh century, termed St. Botolph a bishop, and stated that he was first buried at Grundisburgh, a few miles north of Ipswich, ere his remains were conveyed to St. Edmunds.[4] Immediately north of Grundisburgh is the village of Burgh, whilst Culpho is the adjoining parish on the south ; both these churches are still dedicated in honour of St. Botolph. The name of the saint is also apparently embedded in the place-name Botesdale, on the northern confines of the county, where St. Botolph at one time probably tarried ; the dedication of the ancient chapel of Botesdale, as well as of the mother church of Redgrave, are also to the honour of this saint. North Cove, near Beccles, is another Suffolk parish church of the like dedication, and the Domesday Survey gives a church of St. Botolph at Ipswich.

St. Ethelbert (known also as Albert or Albright) was a murdered East Anglian king, who must not be confused with his more celebrated but uncanonized royal namesake Ethelbert of Kent. Ethelbert left Suffolk for Herefordshire in May, 794, on a visit to the court of King Offa, where he was treacherously done to death on 20 May, 794. The cathedral church of Hereford, where he was buried, is still dedicated to his memory. Fourteen other churches are dedicated to this East Anglian king, seven of which are in Norfolk and four in Suffolk ; the latter are in the parishes of Fakenham,[5]

[1] Norfolk retains fifteen parish church dedications to St. Edmund.

[2] Though St. Botolph finds no place in the Sarum calendar, the York calendar held him in honour on 17 June.

[3] Foster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 54.

[4] Arnold, *Mem. of St. Edmunds Bury* I, lxii, 361.

[5] Erroneously described, of late years, as dedicated to St. Etheldreda.

Herringswell, Hessett, and Tannington. There was also an important gild of St. Ethelbert in connexion with the abbey church of St. Edmunds.

St. Olave or St. Olaf, an eleventh-century martyred king of Norway, who used to be commemorated in the now destroyed church of one of the Creetings, which is still known as Creeting St. Olave, is one of the two Scandinavian saint names (the other being St. Magnus) brought into these islands by the Danes, while French influence is shown at Euston and Fornham by the invocation of St. Geneviève, who built the famous church of St. Denis at Paris, and at Stonham Aspall by the commemoration of St. Lambert, who is thus honoured at only one other place in England, so far as is known, namely at Burneston in Yorkshire.

Herfast was the last bishop of Elmham and 'the first foreigner who had ever presided over an East Anglian see.'[1] In 1078 Herfast transferred the seat of his bishopric from Elmham to Thetford, as a convenient borderland town between Norfolk and Suffolk.[2]

To Herfast, as a stranger to East Anglia, the claim of chartered exemption from diocesan jurisdiction made by the abbey of St. Edmunds over their liberty, which included a third of Suffolk, was amazing and evil. He at once set himself to defeat, if possible, this opposition to his authority, and insisted on visiting the abbey. But Baldwin, the abbot of St. Edmunds, was a man of blameless life and high repute. His fame as a physician was so great that he had been sent by Edward the Confessor to cure Abbot Lefstan, his predecessor, of his sickness. Moreover Baldwin was well known on the Continent, and had been ordained priest by that remarkable man Pope Alexander II. Both parties appealed to the king, but William was at that moment (1073) crossing the seas in connexion with the revolt of Maine, and commissioned Archbishop Lanfranc to arbitrate. Meanwhile Herfast, in his impatience, excommunicated certain of the abbot's contumacious priests, whilst Lanfranc was on his journey to East Anglia. The archbishop had got as far as Freckenham in Suffolk, where Siward bishop of Rochester had a manor-house, when he was attacked with sickness, and Abbot Baldwin was summoned to his bedside in the capacity of a physician. On his recovery, Lanfranc proceeded to Bury, and gave a decision which was pleasing to neither side, though apparently more favourable to the abbot than to the bishop. Thereupon the case was transferred to Rome, and in November, 1074, Gregory VII, who had just succeeded to the papacy, wrote strongly to Lanfranc in favour of the abbot, stating that if Herfast was still dissatisfied both parties must appear personally at Rome. Upon receipt of this letter Lanfranc gave his final award entirely in favour of the abbot, a decision which Herfast resisted with much wrath, using personal violence to the messenger who brought him the archbishop's letter.[3]

William de Beaufeu, the successor to Herfast, was consecrated by Lanfranc at Canterbury in 1086. It was in the first year of his episcopacy that the Domesday Survey of East Anglia was compiled. This survey is fully discussed elsewhere, but brief reference must also be made to it in this place, as the information contained in it with reference to the church is exceptionally full. The church entries extend from No. xiii to xxiv inclusive.

[1] *Dioc. Hist. Norwich*, 36. [2] Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontif. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 150.
[3] Ibid. 156; Lanfranc, *Epistolae*, Nos. xxii–v.

It is not a little significant, in the light of the contemporary controversy between abbot and bishop, to find that the abbot of St. Edmunds comes first. The next three are Lanfranc the archbishop, the bishop of Bayeux, and the abbot of Ramsey. The lands of William bishop of Thetford come fifth in the ecclesiastical list. These are followed by the bishop of Rochester, with the manor of Freckenham, and the abbot of Ely, with his great possessions, whilst two alien proprietors, Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, with two manors, and the single manor of the abbot of Bernay, together with the small holding of the Cambridgeshire abbey of Chatteris, complete the list.

The abbey of St. Edmunds, who also held largely in Norfolk and Essex, and to a smaller extent in Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire, is the only one recorded in the whole of Domesday as possessing about three hundred manors; even the abbot of Ely, including possessions outside the liberty of St. Etheldreda in Suffolk, in the counties of Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Hertford, and Huntingdon, held only just one hundred.

That the survey nowhere professes to include all or indeed any churches is now so well known that it scarcely needs even the briefest reassertion. Even in the case of Suffolk, notwithstanding the extraordinary number of churches that the East Anglian commissioners saw fit to include, the list is not complete. One instance will suffice to establish this. There was a church at Harpole, a hamlet of Wickham Market, which had twenty acres of land;[1] but there is no mention of it in Domesday. The actual number of Suffolk churches entered in the survey is constantly stated to be 364, as most writers are generally content to quote from Sir Henry Ellis, without testing his figures.[2] The fact is that, large as is this amount, the figures require to be considerably increased. It is difficult to give the exact numbers, for parts or fractions of a church are entered from time to time, implying that a manor or hamlet shared with one or more of its neighbours in the possession of a church, or that different tenants held shares of the same church. Thus Offton, Undley, and Wantisden are entered as having half a church; Parham a fourth part; Westley a third part; Sapiston and Saxham two parts; and Wantisden two parts in one place, and a fourth in two other places. The returns are by no means always so perfect as to enable us to add up the fractions to complete the church, as in the case of Wantisden. In some cases the entry is simply *pars ecclesie*. But if all the churches are added up, and the fractional parts estimated to make whole churches so far as is possible, the total reaches 398.

Two chapels also receive special mention, so that the number of places of Christian worship recorded reaches the round number of 400. Moreover the two cases of chapels that obtained entry were placed on the record for special financial reasons. It is therefore fair to assume that there were various other chapels then extant which were non-parochial and escaped mention. In one case we know that a chapel then standing escaped entry; for there is no record of the chapel of St. Botolph at Burgh near Woodbridge,

[1] *Inq. Eliensis*, fol. 21*b*.

[2] Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday*, i, 287; this statement originally appeared in the introduction to the large folio edition of the Survey issued in 1813, but is repeated in the two vol. 8vo. revised edition issued in 1833.

where the relics of St. Edmund rested until their translation in 1095 to the great abbey.

The entry on the survey relative to one of these two chapels, that of Thorney, occurs on the first folio of the king's lands, and is sufficiently remarkable to be here translated :—

> Hugh de Montford has twenty-three acres of this carucate, and claims it as pertaining to a certain chapel, which four brothers, Hugh's freemen, erected on their own land near the cemetery of the mother church. And they were inhabitants (*manentes*) of the parish of the mother church (and built it), because it could not include the whole parish. The mother church always had the moiety of the burial fees, and had by purchase the fourth part of other alms which might be offered. And whether or not this chapel has been dedicated the Hundred doth not know.[1]

The other chapel was at Wisset ; it was in connexion with the church and served for twelve monks.[2]

The glebes which attached to almost the whole of these numerous Suffolk churches differed very widely in extent. In one or two cases, as at Dunwich, the church is recorded without any mention of land pertaining to it. But such cases were clearly rare, for now and again the scribe entered as something noteworthy, as in the instances of Cornard and Dagworth, that the church was landless (*sine terra*). The amount varied from half an acre at Keworth, and one acre at Hinderclay, to fifty acres at Thorpe Morieux, sixty at Framlingham, and eighty-four at Barking. The average amount of glebe attached to the numerous churches of the Liberty of St. Edmund works out at about sixteen acres each, and this seems to have been nearly the average throughout the county.

The astonishingly large number of churches that Suffolk possessed at the beginning of the Norman occupation—they were fully a hundred in excess of those recorded in Norfolk, notwithstanding that county's greater area and larger population—bears striking witness to the reality and extent of the Christian faith of the times in this much ravaged district. It is not a little remarkable that there should be this vast number of places of worship when they had been so frequently destroyed and sacked by the piratical Danes within the memory of not a few. Doubtless the churches were almost entirely of wood, and timber was abundant ; but their erection and furnishing, apart from the sustenance of the priests, meant in every instance no small outlay of time and means. Their number is the more astonishing, when thought is taken as to the population of the period.

The detailed estimate made by Sir Henry Ellis of the population of Suffolk as recorded in the Domesday Survey reaches the total of 20,491.[3] Taking this total and the number of the churches in round figures, the result is reached that Suffolk possessed a church for every fifty inhabitants before the close of the Conqueror's reign. There can be little doubt that Suffolk was then ahead of all other parts of England—possibly even of Christendom itself—and it is equally certain that the result was in no small measure due to the earnest labours of the monks of St. Edmund and St. Etheldreda, who in their respective liberties and outlying manors had immediate influence over more than two-thirds of the county's area.

[1] Dom. Bk. fol. 281*b*.
[2] Ibid. 292*b*.
[3] Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday*, ii, 488–93.

Before the consideration of the ecclesiastical side of Suffolk Domesday is left, a few words must be said with regard to the special entries relative to the two towns of Bury and Ipswich.

The great importance of St. Edmund's Abbey is shown by the details given of the household. It is the only case in the whole survey where the number of retainers and servants of a monastery is recorded. There is unfortunately no enumeration of the actual monks. The priests, deacons, and clerks attached to the abbey numbered thirty, and the servants seventy-five. The *nonne et pauperes*[1] who received regular rations from the abbey numbered thirty-eight. There were also thirteen indwellers, who seem to have been engaged in trades for those in the house, twenty-seven *bordarii* and thirty-four *milites*, yielding a total of 207. The survey also supplies details with regard to the retainers and servants in the time of the Confessor, but entered in such a way that any exact comparison between the two periods is not possible. At the earlier date there were 108 homagers living *ad victum monachorum;* the total entered under the monastery was then 310. The houses on the abbey property amounted to 342.[2]

The ecclesiastical entries with regard to the ancient borough of Ipswich are also exceptionally full and interesting. The town had 538 burgesses in the Confessor's days. It was singularly well supplied with churches. Eight are mentioned in Domesday—namely, two dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, the church of the Holy Trinity, and the churches of St. Michael, St. Botolph, St. Lawrence, St. Peter, and St. Stephen. Three of these churches belonged to priests, but the others were in lay patronage. Culling, a burgess, held one of the St. Mary's; Lefflet, a freewoman, had St. Lawrence; Roger de Ramis held the church of St. George, with four burgesses and six wasted houses; Alwin the son of Rolf, a burgess, held the church of St. Julian; and five burgesses belonged to the church of St. Peter. So abundant was the church accommodation of Ipswich that only one new parish church, that of St. Matthew, sprang up between the Conquest and the Reformation.[3]

The chief religious event in the diocese during the five years of the episcopate of William de Beaufeu was the founding of the great Cluniac priory of Castle Acre, and there is little to record concerning Suffolk. On William's death in 1091, the ambitious Herbert de Losinga, abbot of Ramsey, became bishop. Bishop Herbert is generally spoken of as rising to this position through unblushing simony; but after all there is something to be said for the gentle way in which the fact of purchase is set forth by Dr. Stubbs. That great historian represents the abbot as coming forward as a candidate for the vacant office who was willing and able to pay such fees for entering upon the ecclesiastical fief as the king thought proper to demand.[4] William Rufus was so absolutely unscrupulous in his dealings with the highest church preferments that it was possibly better for East Anglia that

[1] These nuns may have been those of Lyng (Norf.) who were transferred to Thetford in 1160. The Thetford nuns, as is afterwards stated in detail, received their weekly supply of food and drink from the monks of St. Edmunds.

[2] Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday* (1833), ii, 488; De Grey Birch, *Domesday Book*, 211.

[3] Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People*, 506–7. All the parish churches of Ipswich became eventually appropriated to one or other of the two Austin priories founded here at the end of the twelfth century.

[4] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i, 299.

the abbot should purchase the episcopate, rather than that it should be kept vacant by the crown for the appropriation of the income, as was the case at this period with the archbishopric of Canterbury for four years and the bishopric of Chichester for three years.

Bishop Herbert brought about the transference of the East Anglian see from Thetford to Norwich, which was rapidly becoming an important commercial centre, in 1094, and became the munificent founder of the cathedral church and Benedictine priory of that city. His life and times were in many ways eventful, but their story far more concerns the county of Norfolk than that of Suffolk. His attempts to destroy the exempt jurisdiction of the abbey of St. Edmunds were as futile as those of Bishop Herfast.[1] During this episcopate, which ended by the death of the bishop in 1119, Suffolk saw the rise of various small religious houses, the priories of Hoxne (a cell of Norwich), Blythburgh, Eye, Herringfleet, and Ixworth.

The particular incident that affected Suffolk during the episcopate of Bishop Everard (1121–48) was the dividing of the archdeaconry of Suffolk, which had hitherto been conterminous with the county, into two parts. Richard was the last archdeacon of the whole county. Upon his being appointed to a French bishopric, Bishop Everard took the opportunity of apportioning the county between two archdeacons, the one retaining the title of Suffolk, and the other receiving his name from Sudbury in the south of the county. Walkelin, a nephew of Bishop Everard, was appointed archdeacon of Suffolk in 1127, and William Fitz-Humphrey archdeacon of Sudbury about the same time.[2]

During the next episcopate, that of William Turbe (1146–74), the staunch supporter of Thomas of Canterbury, the nunnery of Bungay was founded; whilst Bishop John of Oxford (1175–1200) distinguished himself in Suffolk by rebuilding the Austin priory and church of the Holy Trinity, Ipswich. Bishop John de Grey was the diocesan (1200–1214) during all but the final stage of the disastrous rule of King John; but throughout this period it was Abbot Sampson of St. Edmunds and not the bishop of Norwich who was the great champion of the Church in East Anglia.

The diocese might almost as well have been without bishops during the rule of Pandulf Masca the papal legate and the non-resident Thomas de Blunville, whilst William de Raleigh (1239–44) was speedily translated to Winchester. Episcopal functions must have been almost entirely discharged by suffragans during the first half of the thirteenth century. It was, however, during this period that the mendicant friars reached England, and brought about a marked revival in religion. Both Dominicans and Franciscans were strongly established at Norwich during the episcopate of Thomas de Blunville (1223–36) and they doubtless crossed the county frontier into Suffolk. None, however, of the friars took up their residence in Suffolk until somewhat later in the century and chiefly in the reign of Edward I. Their first establishment was the important house of Austin friars at Clare, founded in 1248. The respective dates of their introduction elsewhere in the county are subsequently discussed, suffice it here to say that eventually the Dominicans had

[1] See Goulbourn and Symonds, *Life, Letters, and Sermons of Herbert de Losinga* (1878), 2 vols.
[2] Le Neve, *Fasti* ii, 486–90.

houses at Dunwich, Ipswich, and Sudbury; the Franciscans at Bury (removed to Babwell), Dunwich, and Ipswich; the Austins at Orford and Little Yarmouth; and the Carmelites at Ipswich.

After a long period of gloom, the diocese at last obtained, through the free election of the monks of Norwich, in Walter Calthorpe (1245–57) a bishop of a very different type. 'A man of unblemished character, a graduate of the University of Paris, a scion of an old Norfolk house whose ancestors had enjoyed large possessions in East Anglia, and a friend of Bishop Grosseteste and of the Franciscans.'[1] His episcopate is memorable for the valuation of all the benefices of the diocese, which was drawn up for the assessment of the tenths due from the clergy. It was compiled in 1256, and is known as the Norwich Taxation. At the beginning of the *Liber Albus* of the monks of St. Edmund is a tabulated copy of Bishop Calthorpe's taxation of his whole diocese, beautifully written and rubricated on thirty-four folios.[2] The distinguishing feature between the portions relative to Norfolk and Suffolk is that the latter has an extra column on the left hand of the page, wherein another valuation headed 'Snaylwell' is also set forth in a later hand.

The archdeaconry of Sudbury with its eight deaneries is the first to be entered. In the deanery of Stow were thirteen parishes; four of these had duly endowed vicarages, Stow St. Peter, Stow St. Mary, Haughley with the chapel of Shelland, and Newton. In the deanery of Thedwastre were twenty-five parishes; only one vicarage, that of Woolpit, is named. The deanery of Blackburne contained thirty-five parishes, without any mention of a vicarage. The deanery of Hartismere had thirty-two parishes, and again, though there are many 'portions' assigned to religious houses, there is no vicarage. In Fordham deanery (a portion of which was in Cambridgeshire) there were twenty-eight parishes; seven of these had vicars, namely, Ditton, Ixning, Mildenhall, Soham, Fordham, Chippenham, and Kirtling, but only the first three are in Suffolk. In Thingoe deanery were nineteen parishes and no vicarage. Sudbury deanery included forty-nine parishes; out of this large number there were nine vicarages, namely, Preston, Stoke, Wissington, Cornard Magna, Edwardstone, Waldingfield Parva, Glemsford, Eleigh Combusta, and Bures. Clare deanery contained twenty-nine parishes, four of which, Gazely, Clare, Redington, and Poslingford, had vicarages.

The archdeaconry of Suffolk was divided into thirteen deaneries. The deanery of Bosmere had twenty-five parishes, the deanery of Claydon fourteen, Hoxne twenty-four, Lothingland twenty-five, Wilford seventeen, Orford twenty-one, Loes seventeen, Samford twenty-seven, Ipswich twelve, Wangford twenty-two, Dunwich forty-eight, Carlford eighteen, and Colneys thirteen. There is not a single case of a vicarage mentioned in the Suffolk archdeaconry; but as there is only one instance of a 'portion' entered, when it is well known that there were many portions or pensions to religious houses, it is clear that this record (or copy of a record), compiled on less definite principles than that of Sudbury, cannot be relied upon to prove the absence of any vicarages in these thirteen deaneries.

The total number of parishes in the two archdeaconries in the 1256 taxation roll is 488; but from these thirteen have to be deducted, which

[1] *Norwich Dioc. Hist.* 90.

[2] Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 1–34.

were in the Cambridgeshire half of Fordham deanery. Against these we have to reckon the nine churches of the South Elmham peculiar, which are not given in the Norwich Taxation, though they appear separately at the end of the Snaylwell list,[1] and were entered as a deanery in 1291. It therefore follows that the full number of Suffolk parishes given in 1256 was 484.[2]

This Valor shows that the portions or pensions taken out of many of the churches exceeded that which was retained by the rector. Thus in Stow deanery, the rector of Wetherden had nine marks, but the portion assigned to the priory of Blackborough was ten marks, and the schoolmaster of St. Edmunds also drew 40*s.*; the rector of Harleston in the same deanery drew ten marks, but the monks of Stoke had thirty marks from that church.

The parallel 'Snaylwell'[3] valuation is clearly of a later date, and of the next century; it corresponds fairly closely in the value assigned to the general benefices with the 1256 Valor. But there is a considerable rise in the worth of the vicarages. Taking as an example the value of the four vicarages of the first recorded deanery, that of Stow, the following is the result :—

Vicarages, Stow Deanery	1256	'Snaylwell'
Stow St. Peter . .	2 marks	7 marks
Stow St. Mary . .	30*s.* 6*d.*	5 „
Haughley . . .	30*s.* 0*d.*	6½ „
Newton . . .	40*s.* 0*d.*	5 „

In 1291 came the general valuation of the church property of England, usually known as that of Pope Nicholas.[4] It is of some interest to compare the entries for this diocese with those of Bishop Calthorpe.

In the course of the fifty odd years that had elapsed since the taking of the Norwich Taxation, there had been a distinct increase in the definitely ordained vicarages. The additional vicarages of Sudbury archdeaconry were : In Thedwastre deanery, Barton and Pakenham ; in Fordham deanery (Suffolk portion), Mowton ; in Sudbury deanery, Assington, Lawshall, and Acton ; in Hartismere deanery, Eye, Mendlesham, and Wytham ; or nine in all. The vicarages of Suffolk archdeaconry were not named in 1256. They numbered twenty-two in 1291, and were as follows: In Bosmere deanery, Coddenham and Battisford; in Claydon deanery, Debenham; in Hoxne deanery, Fressingfield and Hoxne ; in Lothingland deanery, Lowestoft and Gorleston ; in Carlford deanery, Rushmere; in Wangford deanery, Ilketshall St. Margaret, Bungay, and Mettingham ; in Dunwich deanery, Cratfield, Chediston, Darsham, Bramfield, Yoxford, Benacre, Reydon, and North Hales; in Orford deanery, Bruisyard and Aldeburgh ; in Colneys deanery, Walton ; and none in the deaneries of Loes, Samford, Wilford, and Ipswich. The majority of these twenty-two vicarages were founded before 1256 ; but in various instances they were ordained in the second half of the thirteenth century.

[1] South Elmham, *ab antiquo*, was not a deanery. The six South Elmham churches, with Sancroft, Homersfield, and Flixton, were exempted from both synodals and procurations.

[2] In all printed references to the Norwich Taxation that we have seen the number has been given as over 500.

[3] Snailwell is the name of a small parish in the Cambridgeshire portion of the deanery of Fordham. Probably the commissioner or official who drew up this Valor used this place-name as a surname. John de Snaylwell was sacrist of St. Edmunds in the middle of the fourteenth century.

[4] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 115–23.

Fifteen chapelries obtain distinct mention in the Pope Nicholas Taxation.

The number of portions or pensions paid from the rectories to religious houses materially increased between 1256 and 1291. In some parishes these pensions were exceptionally numerous. Thus the church of Sibton, whose advowson was in the hands of the abbot of Sibton, found pensions for the three priories of St. Faith's, Romburgh, and Eye ; whilst the church of Poslingworth, in the gift of the prior of Dunmow, contributed to the priories of Chipley, Stoke, and Tunbridge.

The spiritualities of the two archdeaconries were at this time worth £6,825 9*s.* 10*d.* a year ; whilst the temporalities pertaining to various religious houses attained to the annual value of £3,487 8*s.* 3½*d.*[1]

It may be well here to follow up the question of the appropriation of so many rectories to the religious houses. A small proportion of the churches of England were in the hands of the monasteries as early as the twelfth century. As a rule such churches adjoined the religious house, or were within a reasonable walking distance. Monks were strictly prohibited from serving a parochial cure, save under a rarely-granted dispensation. There was a little more laxity with regard to Austin canons, but they could only officiate as vicars by the distinct permission of the bishop. The Premonstratensian canons were the only religious order who possessed the privilege of serving their own churches, and then only as duly instituted vicars, and under special responsibilities to their own chapter. Occasionally the previously existing parish church became, so far as the quire was concerned, the conventual church of a religious foundation, the nave being reserved for parochial purposes. This was the case with the small Austin priory of Bricett, founded in 1110, when the church of Great Bricett became absorbed in the foundation and continued in that position, being served by the canons. In other cases where the parish church was within reasonable distance of the monastery to which it had been appropriated, part of the arrangement for a vicar was that he should have a corrody in the house, sometimes of board only, and at other times of both board and lodging, although the vicar was not himself under vows. Thus at Sibton, in this county, the custom prevailed down to the Dissolution, of both the vicar and the parochial chaplain being provided with food and lodging at the Cistercian abbey, which was but a few hundred yards distant from the parish church.

The evil habit, however, began to prevail during the twelfth century of monasteries providing poorly paid chaplains, removable at will, to serve the

[1] The remarkable way in which so large a part of Suffolk was distributed among religious foundations comes out very clearly in this taxation. An exceptionally large number of monasteries whose head quarters were outside the county drew a more or less considerable part of their annual revenues from Suffolk. Of these the following is a list, the figures in brackets giving the number of the different parishes wherein they held property :—St. Albans abbey (1), Amberge abbey, Normandy (2), Anglesey priory (1), Aumerle abbey, Normandy (3), Barnwell priory (2), Beeston priory (3), Beaulieu abbey (1), Boxley abbey (1), Broomhill priory (2), Bromholm priory (16), Buckenham priory (1), Burton Lazars hospital (1), Canterbury priory (6), Carrow priory (2), Castleacre priory (2), Chatteris abbey (1), Coggeshall abbey (1), Colchester abbey (10), Colchester priory (2), Colne priory (3), Dereham abbey (3), Dunmow priory (3), Ely priory (27), Fordham priory (3), Hatfield priory (2), Hockesley priory (1), Horsham priory (3), Holme abbey (1), Ickling priory (5), Langley abbey (13), Leighs priory (14), Lesnes priory (2), Malling abbey (1), Mencheneleye (2), Missenden abbey (1), St. Neots priory (1), Norwich priory (13), St. Osyth abbey (14), Pentney priory (1), Prittlewell priory (1), Ramsey abbey (2), Rochester priory (1), Royston priory (3), Spinney priory (1), Thetford Cluniac priory (14), Thetford Austin priory (5), Titley abbey (6), Tunbridge priory (1), Walsingham priory (1), Wardon abbey (4), Wickes priory (6), Woburn abbey (1), Wormegay priory (2), Wymondham priory (1).

cure of those churches whose tithes had been assigned to them. Against this abuse the bishops strongly protested, as it resulted in the withdrawal of such parishes from episcopal control. To guard against this, the custom of ordaining vicarages was established—that is, making the appointment of such chaplains permanent and subject to episcopal institution, together with the assigning to them of a definite income, drawn mainly, as a rule, from the smaller tithes, such as hay and wool, as distinct from those of grain. The formal ordering of vicarages began to come into force in the second half of the twelfth century, and was enjoined by the third Lateran Council of 1179. Many of the monasteries resisted these attempts to control their actions, with the result that the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 insisted on vicarages in cases of appropriation in more stringent terms. A few of the more powerful monasteries still held out, but Bishop Hugh of Lincoln brought a test case against the powerful priory of Dunstable and won, in the papal court in 1219. Four years later the Council of Oxford gave further strength to this decision, and from that date there were but a few isolated attempts to avoid the provision of permanent endowed vicarages in all appropriated parishes.

A return was made for the diocese of Norwich in 4 Henry V of churches appropriated to the nunneries, and to some of the other minor houses, with the date of the appropriation.[1] In this return, so far as Suffolk is concerned, two appropriations, namely, those of the churches of Wattisham and Finborough Parva to Bricett Priory, are entered as having ordained vicarages 'before the Lateran Council,' meaning by that apparently the fourth Lateran of 1215. Another group are entered as having their vicarages formally arranged 'at the time of the Lateran Council,' or in the years 1215–16. In this group are the Suffolk churches of Holton to Rumburgh Priory, and Ilketshall St. Andrew, Ilketshall St. Mary, Ilketshall St. Lawrence, Nettingham, and Bungay St. Thomas, all pertaining to the nunnery of Bungay. Amongst other appropriations with vicarages assigned, during the thirteenth century, of which we are able to give the exact date, those of South Elmham St. Michael, in 1241, Alnesbourne in 1246, Flitcham in 1251, and Bredfield in 1259 may be mentioned.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, appropriations and the ordination of vicarages steadily increased. Where the episcopal or papal documents permitting the appropriations are preserved, it is almost if not quite invariably stated that permission was granted owing to the stress of circumstances that had impoverished the religious house. This was particularly the case at the time of the Black Death (1349), when the depreciation in the value of monastic and other lands was specially grievous. Among the Suffolk appropriations sanctioned at that date were the churches of Levington to Redlingfield Priory, of Flixton to the priory of that name, and of Great Redisham to the priory of Bungay.

This appropriation of benefices to the religious houses is sometimes spoken of as an act of 'shameful spoliation'[2] of the country clergy; but it is at least doubtful whether the condition of those parishes that had resident

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 125–9. The return was probably intended to be complete, and was either never finished or never entered in the register. The abbey of St. Edmunds would almost certainly decline to make any such return through the diocesan.

[2] *Dioc. Hist. of Norwich*, 144–5, &c.

vicars was not generally superior to those that had rectors, for the two centuries preceding the dissolution of the monasteries. In every set of diocesan institution books of this period, where it has been tested—and it is certainly the case with those of Norwich diocese—the scandal of admitting to benefices men who were not qualified to fulfil the duties of the sacred office, occurred in the cases of rectories and only in the very rarest instances with vicarages.[1] It was the rule rather than the exception with many, if not most, of the wealthier rectories of mediaeval Suffolk, to find rectors who were mere boys or continuing in minor orders, and frequently absent altogether from their supposed cures. It is safe to say that for one absentee or pluralist vicar, there would be several rectors. The monasteries, at all events, often made some effort to supply the parishes, whose great tithes they absorbed, with men of earnest lives; and the bishops had advantages over such appointments in various ways that they could not put into operation against powerful lay patrons. Moreover the assignment of some portion of the church's income to the poor of the parish, as enjoined both by canon and statute laws, was insisted on by the bishops in the formal ordination of vicarages.

It should also be borne in mind, in order to get a true grasp of the rectory and vicarage problem, that the appropriation of the great tithes only occurred where the income of the church was fairly large, and that the amount allotted to the vicar in such a parish was often more than that held by the rectors of small parishes or those with much fen land and but little corn. This was specially the case in Suffolk. It scarcely matters into which deanery we look, instances at once occur. Take the example of but two deaneries chosen absolutely at hazard. In Sudbury archdeaconry, in the deanery of Sudbury, Acton vicarage was worth £9 6*s.* 8*d.* a year; but in the same deanery were the following rectories, Cornard Parva £8 2*s.* 8½*d.*, Groton, £8 1*s.* 8*d.*, Somerton £6 16*s.* 8*d.*, and Preston £5 6*s.* 0½*d.* In Suffolk archdeaconry, in the deanery of Bosmere, Bramford vicarage was worth £13 3*s.* 9*d.* whilst in the same deanery there were seven rectories of less value.[2]

There are two of those exceptional cases in Suffolk wherein duly ordained vicarages reverted to the position of rectories. The church of Burgh was appropriated to the small priory of Herringfleet in 1390. But the prior and convent only retained the rectory for a few years; in 1403 they resigned it to the bishop of Norwich, reserving to themselves a small pension.[3] The church of Redenhall, which had been formally appropriated by Bungay nunnery in 1346 and a vicarage endowed, was disappropriated in 1441, and a pension of 40*s.* assigned to the priory.[4]

This question of the vicarages is essentially one of East Anglia, for the proportion of benefices in that district that became appropriated to the monasteries was much larger than in many other parts of England, particularly in the south and west of the kingdom.

In round numbers, half of the Suffolk benefices had become vicarages by the time the new Valor was taken in the reign of Henry VIII.[5] It is

[1] Dr. Cutts, in *Parish Priests and their People* (1890), pp. 324–9, says this evil 'was specially the case with the rectories' . . . and 'a large proportion of the rectories were served by such men,' i.e. in minor orders.

[2] Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 723–5, 767–73. [3] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 340. [4] Ibid. x, 48.

[5] This was also the case in Sussex, but in Winchester diocese the rectories were 289 to 95 vicarages, in London 731 to 201, and in Exeter 524 to 185.

interesting to note that at that time the total of the benefices, 485, almost exactly corresponded with the number in the Norwich Taxation of 1256. Some chapelries of the earlier date had meanwhile attained to the honour of being separate parishes ; but this slight increase was counterbalanced by the amalgamation of others.

Reverting to the general ecclesiastical history of the county, it is to be noted that Suffolk shared to the full in the troubles and tumults of the reign of Henry III, when under the episcopal rule of Simon de Wauton (1258–66). Bishop Simon, in 1261, took the side of the king against the barons and was bold enough to publish the papal absolution of Henry III from keeping the oath he had sworn in 1258 as to carrying out certain reforms. This action of the bishop excited great indignation in East Anglia. Civil war broke out, and the irony of events caused Bishop Simon to seek safety for a time in the abbey of St. Edmunds, as the only place in his diocese where he felt he could be secure from popular fury.[1] On the death of Simon in January, 1266–7, the monks of Norwich obtained a free election, and in the same month chose their prior, Roger de Skerning. There was grievous civil strife at the beginning of Bishop Roger's episcopate. Many of the local followers of Simon de Montfort, who had been dispossessed of their property after the battle of Evesham, took refuge within the precincts of the abbey of St. Edmunds, from whence they were driven out by the royalists, and both abbey and town fined for their support of the insurgents. But these disturbances, which were not quelled until July, 1267, pertain more to political than ecclesiastical history.

It was during the episcopate of William de Middleton (1278–80) that Friar John Peckham, the energetic archbishop of Canterbury, came into East Anglia during the visitation tour of his province. He began to visit the religious houses of Norfolk towards the end of November, 1280, and was in that county throughout December and the greater part of January. In February and March, 1280–1, the archbishop was in Suffolk, and we know from the dating of his letters that he was at the priory of Blythburgh, and also tarried at Framlingham and Freckenham.[2] In the first week of Lent, Peckham held an ordination for candidates from his own diocese at Sudbury.[3] The archbishop, in his strenuous life, kept a general control over the Southern Province, outside the lines of metropolitical visitation. In January, 1282, he issued his mandate to the official of the archdeacon of Sudbury, directing him to cite the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds, concerning their tenure of the appropriated churches of Mildenhall, Barton, Pakenham, and Brettenham, to appear before him on the first Monday in Lent wherever he might happen to be in his own diocese. The mandate states that his previous summons for an earlier date had been contumaciously neglected. We find from a later letter of Peckham, written to his proctors at Rome, that the abbot and convent again failed to appear and refused to allow any inspection of their documents, and that they had appealed to the pope in justification of their refusal.[4]

In July of the same year Peckham wrote to the Bishop of Norwich with reference to a dispute about the Suffolk rectories of Risby and Redgrave, to

[1] Bart. de Cotton, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 139.
[2] *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 178–90. [3] Ibid. i, 173. [4] Ibid. i, 267–8, 307.

the effect that their sequestration must be committed to the Archdeacon of Sudbury.[1] Ralph de Fernham, at that time holding this archdeaconry, was a friend of Peckham's, and acted on several occasions on the archbishop's behalf.[2]

In addition to the extraordinary ecclesiastical rule over the greater part of the hundreds of Suffolk, eight and a half of which were in the liberty of St. Edmund, and five and a half in the liberty of St. Etheldreda or Ely Priory, the number of manors or townships held by the church throughout the county was remarkably large. In 1316 a return was made by order of the Parliament at Lincoln, in connexion with the raising of military levies, of all the rural townships throughout the kingdom, giving in each case the name of the lord. The return for Suffolk shows that upwards of a hundred of these townships, out of a total of 453, or about a fourth of the whole, were in the hands of the church.[3]

The Black Death of 1349 laid grievous hold on Suffolk. The diocesan institution book of this period tells the story of this awful visitation with grim brevity. During the five years previous to the outbreak, the annual average of the institutions to all kinds of benefices throughout the diocese was eighty-one. In a single year these institutions increased by more than tenfold. From 25 March, 1349, to the same date, 1350, the recorded institutions amounted to 831. The terrible death-rate among the clergy, both religious and secular, goes far to prove that the accounts of the devastation as given by the old chroniclers are not one whit exaggerated.

No notice is of course taken of the general deaths in monasteries in the institution books, but the vacancies among the superiors of these houses under diocesan visitation are recorded. Those religious houses of Suffolk whose superiors required episcopal institution numbered fifteen, and of these eight died in the fateful year, namely the heads of the priories of Alnesbourne, Bungay, Chipley, Flitcham, Redlingfield, Snape, Thetford (St. Sepulchre's), and Woodbridge. In one instance, that of Snape, the office of prior was twice vacant during the twelvemonth.[4]

The action of William Bateman, bishop of Norwich (1344–58), during this grievous strain, is in every way to his credit; he proved himself to be a true shepherd of his flock. When the outbreak began in the spring of 1349 the bishop was beyond the seas, conducting negotiations for the conclusion of peace between France and England. He returned early in June to find his brother, Sir Bartholomew Bateman of Gillingham, dead of the plague, and

[1] *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 381. [2] Ibid. 8, 63, 186.

[3] The following were the proportions of the Suffolk townships held by religious and secular ecclesiastics:—Abbot of St. Edmunds, fifty-two; prior of Ely, ten; bishop of Ely, six; bishop of Norwich, prior of Thetford, and prior of Butley, three each; prior of Norwich, prior of Canterbury, prior of Leigh, abbot of Colchester, prior of Snapes, and abbot of St. Osyth, two each; abbot of Ramsey, prior of Royston, bishop of Chester, bishop of Rochester, prioress of Redlingfield, prior of St. Peter's, Ipswich, prior of Creeting, prior of Wilmington, abbess of Mallings, abbot of Leiston, prior of Eye, prior of Bromholme, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, prior of Stokes, abbot of 'Becherlewyne' and abbot of 'Abemarsia' one each. There are various copies of this return, which was so important for the calling out of a military array. It has been twice printed, namely in *Parliamentary Writs*, ii, 34, 301, and in *Feudal Aids*, i, No. 241. But these are defective in places, and so far as Suffolk is concerned omit the liberty of St. Etheldreda, that is the hundreds of Carlseford, Colneis, Loes, Plomesgate, Thredling, and Wilford. These hundreds, however, fortunately appear in an old copy of the return in possession of Sir W. R. Gowers, F.R.S., which has been recently printed by the *Suff. Arch. Inst.* xi, 173–99.

[4] *Norw. Epis. Reg.* iv, 91–123.

the whole diocese in its grasp. During the rest of the time of the visitation Bishop Bateman never left his diocese for a day. In the single month of July he personally instituted 207 persons. Till the 9th of the month he was at Norwich, the plague making awful havoc all around him. On the 10th he moved to Hoxne, and there in a single day instituted twenty persons; from this time till the pestilence abated he moved about from place to place, rarely staying more than a fortnight in any one house, and followed everywhere by troops of clergy, who came to be admitted to the livings of such as had died.[1]

The bishop, in the midst of this fateful year, sought the guidance of the pope as to the supply of clergy. By bull of 13 October, Clement VI, seeing that so many parishes were bereft of ministers, authorized the bishop to ordain sixty young men who might be two years under the canonical age for the priesthood; provided always that they were proved fit after due examination, and that they had in all cases completed their twenty-first year.[2]

Bishop Bateman's register for this period has far fewer instances of the institution of clergy to benefices in minor orders than was the case in the great neighbouring diocese of Lincoln. Such instances as do occur are almost entirely confined to those livings that were in the gift of the crown, of the nobility, or of the great landed proprietors. Dr. Jessopp is also undoubtedly right in stating that this register makes it quite plain that 'the laity of East Anglia were not ashamed to make merchandise of their patronage.'

It was during the episcopate of Henry Spenser (1370–1406), known as 'the soldier-bishop,' that the agrarian rebellion of 1381 broke out, in which that great Suffolk ecclesiastic, Archbishop Simon of Sudbury, suffered at the hands of the mob. Spenser, in person, fell upon the Suffolk insurgents with prompt fierceness near Newmarket; but the story of this formidable uprising in East Anglia belongs to another part of this history.

It was in the days, too, of Bishop Spenser that this diocese gained the unenviable notoriety of being the first to bring about the death of an Englishman for preaching heresy. But the tale of William Sawtre, a chaplain of St. Margaret's, Lynn, who solemnly abjured his errors before the bishop at Elmham in 1399, and on repeating them in London diocese two years later was burnt to death, pertains to Norfolk rather than to Suffolk.[3]

Lollardism, which was a strange combination of extreme socialistic views with opposition to most of the received religious tenets of Christendom, increased much during the reign of Henry IV. It is to the credit of the bishops that they generally hesitated to take action against heretics, knowing that death by the flames would be the eventual penalty of obstinacy. Whilst

[1] *Dioc. Hist. of Norw.* 120–1.

[2] Dr. Jessopp remarks that it is much to the credit of Bishop Bateman that, so far from availing himself to the utmost of the papal dispensation, he exercised this exceptional privilege with scrupulous reserve, for only five instances occur in his register of candidates under the usual canonical age of twenty-three being admitted to a cure of souls. This evidence is, however, decidedly doubtful, for it is quite possible that such exceptions were not always recorded when both the bishop and his scribe, in those times of stress, were continually moving from place to place.

[3] The Act *De heretico comburendo* was passed by all estates of the realm in 1401; it provided that the bishop was to arrest, imprison, and bring heretics to trial at his courts. Should they refuse to recant, or relapse after recantation, they were to be handed over to the sheriff or mayor to be burnt alive. Sawtre was its first victim. It has been well remarked that in no country save Great Britain was a special law necessary for the execution of heretics; the mere will of the government was elsewhere sufficient.

Henry IV was on the throne, there was only one other victim in addition to Sawtre, namely Bradby, a tailor of Worcester diocese. During the successive episcopates of Tottington and Courtenay (1407–16) there seems to have been no Lollard persecution in the diocese of Norwich. On the accession of Henry V, Lollardism, under Sir John Oldcastle, assumed a more distinctly political character, and a still more severe Act to check its progress was passed by the laity in Parliament in 1414.[1] Under this law the king's justices were empowered to search out offenders, 'to arrest and deliver them to the ordinary for trial,' who on conviction handed them back to the secular power for execution. It was under this Act, passed in defence of the government and providing for the execution of heretics, as 'traitors to the king,' that all the burnings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took place.

It is, however, only fair to remember that in 1416 Convocation, under Archbishop Chicheley, provided that heretics were to be inquired after by the bishops or their officials in each rural deanery twice a year. But there is no available evidence of any serious prosecution of heretics having been initiated by the ecclesiastical authorities under these ordinances of Convocation.[2]

Under the episcopate of John Wakering (1416–25) some severity seems to have been shown towards the Lollards of Suffolk and Norfolk, but none were put to death.[3] Of the persecution in the days of his successor, Bishop Alnwick (1426–36), Foxe gives more particular accounts. On 6 July, 1428, a special commission was issued for apprehending Lollards in the eastern counties to John Exeter and to Jacolit Germain, the keeper of Colchester Castle. The valley of the Waveney, at the junction of the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, had become a hotbed of Lollardism, of which Loddon and Gillingham in the former county, and Beccles and Bungay in the latter, were the chief centres. Their ringleader was one William White, an ex-priest, who had been censured before the Convocation at St. Paul's in 1422 for preaching at Tenterden, Kent, without sufficient licence and for teaching heretical doctrine. Two years later he had made a solemn abjuration of his heresies before Archbishop Chicheley at Canterbury, and had sworn on the Gospels never to teach or preach any more. But ere long he was busily at work in Suffolk and Norfolk, making Bergholt in the former county his chief residence. He ceased to wear the priestly habit, suffered his tonsure to grow, and married one Joan, who shared his views. White was summoned to appear before a council in London in July to answer for his relapse, but refused to obey; he was then arrested and taken before Bishop Alnwick and William Bernham his chancellor, John Exeter acting as registrar of the court. The bishop summoned a diocesan synod on 13 September, 1428, in the chapel of his palace at Norwich. William Worsted, prior of Norwich, Thomas Walden and John Lowe, the respective provincials of the Carmelite and Austin Friars, several other friars of the four great mendicant orders, and various secular clergy were present, and before them White was brought in chains. He was examined under a variety of heads as to his teaching and preaching on the eucharist, baptism, confession, the unlawfulness of church property, and the mendicant orders, as well as to his former abjuration, his

[1] 2 Hen. V, cap. 7.

[2] Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, v, 56–7.

[3] 'The documents' of Wakering's time 'which Foxe refers to and dresses up in his usual extravagant manner have perished' (*Norw. Dioc. Hist.* 144).

subsequent preaching in Norwich diocese, and his alleged marriage. To most of these articles he confessed. The twelfth article, which he denied, asserted that on the last Easter Day he had, within his house at Bergholt, inducted a lay disciple named John Scutte to discharge the office of a priest; and that Scutte broke bread, gave thanks and distributed to White and his concubine and to three others, directing them to receive and partake of it in memory of Christ's Passion. It was testified *inter alia* that White had said 'that such as wear cords or be anointed or shorn are the lance knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out when the Lord Christ shall come.'

White was convicted on thirty articles, and sentenced to be burned as a lapsed heretic who had preached in Norwich diocese the doctrines which he had on oath renounced. Between 1428 and 1431 Foxe, who seems to have had access to Exeter's register of the heresy courts, mentions that 120 were brought before the bishop or his chancellor on charges of Lollardy or heresy. Among those whose residence is given, six were from Beccles, two from Aldeburgh, one from Bungay, one from Eye, and one from Shipmeadow. The offenders were mostly of the working classes, but one was a beneficed clerk, John Cappes, vicar of Tunstead. They were charged with such offences as holding heretical views as to the mass, baptism, marriage, and the payment of tithes, and with saying that the pope was anti-Christ, and that every true man was a priest. In the great majority of cases these poor people not unnaturally shrank from the terrible consequences of contumacy, and made submission, formally abjuring their views after a most solemn fashion. They all seem to have suffered a certain period of imprisonment, for on arrest they were committed to prison, usually at either the castle of Framlingham or the castle of Norwich, until the ecclesiastical court was held. In what were considered bad cases a period of imprisonment was ordered after confession and abjuration. The one severe case cited by Foxe is that of John Skilley, miller of Flixton, who was brought before the bishop on 14 March, 1428–9. He was condemned to seven years' imprisonment in the Premonstratensian abbey of Langley, fasting on bread and water on the Fridays, and at the end of that time he was to put in four appearances at the cathedral church with the other penitentiaries, namely on the two ensuing Ash Wednesdays and the two Maundy Thursdays. But no one save that lapsed heretic, the ex-priest White, was condemned to the stake.[1]

Public declaration of their recanting, accompanied by whippings in the church and market-place, were the usual fate of the penitents. Thus Norman Pie and John Mendham of Aldburgh were condemned to make their abjuration openly and to do penance in their own parish church on six several Sundays, being whipped on each occasion before the solemn procession; they were also to have three whippings on three several market-days in the market-place of Harleston. The penitents on these occasions were to have bare necks, heads, legs, and feet, and to be clad only in shirts and breeches; they were also to carry a half-pound wax taper in their hands, and to present the tapers on the last Sunday at high mass unto the high altar.

The provocative and grossly irreverent action of some of the Lollards, in going out of their way to insult the religion of others, naturally provoked

[1] Foxe interprets some sentences of branding as being 'put to death and burned.'

severity. Thus Nicholas Conon, of Eye, was charged, in 1431, with having on Easter Day, when all the parishioners were in procession, mocked and derided the congregation, going about the church the other way. Nicholas not only acknowledged that the charge was true, but affirmed that in so doing he did well. He was also charged with having, on Corpus Christi Day, at the elevation of the host, when all were devoutly kneeling, gone behind a pillar with his face from the altar and mocked. A third accusation was to the effect that on All Hallows Day, when many parishioners carrying lighted torches proceeded to the high altar and knelt there in devotion, Nicholas Conon, carrying a torch, went up to the high altar, but stood there with his back to the altar whilst the priest was celebrating mass. To these two other charges he not only pleaded guilty, but again told the court that he had done well.[1]

A return was ordered to be made, by a parliament of Richard II which sat at Cambridge in the autumn of 1388, of all the gilds and brotherhoods of the kingdom, with details as to their foundation, statutes, and properties. The gild certificates pertaining to Suffolk which are now extant are thirty-nine in number and are comparatively brief, save that in three cases, all of Bury St. Edmunds, the statutes and ordinances are set forth in full.[2] Almost all these gilds, besides providing lights before particular images or the rood, were also expected, according to their rules, to contribute towards the general repairs of the church, as is usually expressly stated. Thus the gild of St. Andrew, Cavenham, is entered as having at the last Eastertide contributed ten shillings *pro securam trabis in eadem ecclesia*. The members for the most part attended mass and feasted together at certain festivals, and attended the funerals of the brethren or sisters, usually contributing to the expenses.

There is an interesting entry in the register of Bishop Alnwick relative to the admission of a hermit at the old Suffolk borough of Sudbury. The entry is in English, and records a petition from John Hurt the mayor and ten other parishioners of St. Gregory's, dated 28 January, 1433–4. A previous application for the admission of one Richard Appleby of Sudbury to a hermit's position had failed, but the mayor and leading parishioners begged the bishop to reconsider the case. They stated that Richard was 'a man as to owre conscience knowne a true member of holy cherche and a gode hostly levere' (honest liver); that it was better to live in a solitary place, where virtues might increase, and vices be exiled; that they had examined him, with the aid of the church-reeves and others; that Richard was desirous of living with John Levyington in his hermitage, made at the cost

[1] Shirley, *Fasculi Zizaniorum*, lxx, 417, 432; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. Townsend), iii, 587–99.

[2] These three are the Gild of St. Botolph in St. James's church, founded time without memory; the Gild of St. Nicholas in the church of St. Mary, founded in 1282 (the ordinances of the Gild of St. Nicholas have been printed in full, with a translation, by Mr. V. B. Redstone, *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* xii, 14–22); and the Fraternity of Corpus Christi of St. Mary's church, founded in 1317. Short particulars are given of fifteen other gilds, all of the abbey town, which will be found in the topographical section of this history. The others whose certificates *temp.* Richard II remain, were: Barton, Gilds of the Assumption and of St. John Baptist; Beccles, Fraternity of Corpus Christi and Gild of Holy Trinity; Cavenham, Gilds of St. Andrew, St. Mary, and of the Holy Trinity; Gazeley, Gilds of All Saints, St. James, and St. Margaret; Herringwell, Gilds of St. Ethelbert and St. Peter; Icklingham, Fraternity of the Holy Cross and Gild of St. James; Kensford, Gild of St. John Baptist; Kettlebaston, Fraternity for lights and repairs; Monks Eleigh, Fraternity for lights; Stradishall, Fraternity of St. Margaret; and Tuddenham, Gilds of St. John Baptist and Holy Trinity.

of the parish of St. Gregory in the churchyard, to dwell together ; and they begged the bishop to admit him 'to abide your bedesman.'[1]

The mediaeval hermit differed from the anchorite or absolute recluse in having certain practical work assigned to him, hence the interest that the town authorities took in such appointments. The bridge hermit not only received alms for the sustenance of the structure, but usually kept the causey in repair. Possibly the Sudbury hermit or hermits kept the churchyard and its walks in order.

Bishop Alnwick, during his ten years' episcopate over Norwich diocese (1426–36), was frequently in residence at Hoxne. Among ordinations that were held in Suffolk churches were those at Lavenham on 18 May, 1428, at the conventual church of the Franciscans of Babwell, near Bury St. Edmunds, on 19 December, 1433, and at the parish church of Hoxne on 18 September, 1434.[2]

On Alnwick's translation to Lincoln in 1436, Thomas Brown, bishop of Rochester, was translated to Norwich. It is obvious from his register that he passed most of his time within the diocese,[3] and more in Suffolk than in Norfolk, for his favourite residence was at the episcopal manor-house of Hoxne ; there he died on 6 December, 1445.

It seems to matter but little what English county is under survey, the record of its ecclesiastical history is almost uniformly dull during the last half of the fifteenth century. It was the lull before the gusts and storms of theological passion that blew so fiercely in the century that followed. Of Bishop Goldwell's (1472–99) faithfulness in his monastic visitations there is much evidence, which is sufficiently cited under the different religious houses. Something, too, may be gleaned of the character and learning of the East Anglian clergy from their wills, wherein frequent mention is made of their books, whilst the continuous occurrence of their names as trustees in the settlement of landed estates shows that they were generally trusted by men of position.

It was certainly no time of deadness in the outward manifestation of the Church's faith. The wealthier burgesses and successful wool merchants rejoiced to spend their riches in the reconstruction of their parish churches on a grand scale, and to overcome the niggardliness of nature, that had denied to Suffolk a single stone quarry, by the exercise of a masterly ingenuity in the production of splendid effects by a combination of flints and pebbles, gathered from their own shores and fields, with the smooth textured freestone carried at no small expense from lands beyond the seas. As Dr. Raven happily expresses it, 'while the din of arms was resounding in other counties, the click of the trowel was rather the prevalent note in Suffolk.'[4] In no other county of broad England could so grand a quartet of noble fifteenth-

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 112. The episcopal registers of both Ely and Salisbury give a variety of interesting particulars as to the form used by a bishop or his commissary on admitting a hermit to his dwelling and blessing his habit ; also as to the solemn declaration made by a hermit of leading a life of chastity 'according to the rule of St. Paul, the first hermit,' and of reciting certain prayers, etc. The case of two hermits living together is exceptional, but there is an instance in 1493, of two being admitted at Cambridge on the same day. See a paper by Rev. C. Kerry on 'Hermits' Fords and Bridge Chapels,' *Derb. Arch. Jour.* xiv, 34–71.

[2] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 123, 139, 141.

[3] Ibid. x. The ordination lists of this episcopate are complete ; the deacons numbered 495, and the priests 476.

[4] Raven, *Pop. Hist. of Suff.* 133.

century churches be found, clustered together within a very short distance of each other, as those of Southwold, Covehithe, Blythburgh, and Walberswick —each of them the work of the actual inhabitants who were profiting largely by the trade of their little ports. Or, if we go further inland, where, save in Suffolk or Norfolk, can such pre-eminently noble parish churches be named, erected at this particular period, as those of Lavenham and Long Melford? The monks of Bury, retaining their vigour to the last, might re-erect, at about the same time, the fine fabrics of the churches of St. Mary and St. James, for the use of the townsmen, but placed jealously within their own precinct walls; nevertheless, they were easily surpassed by the fervour of zeal of the unvowed laity. Church towers, often stately and magnificent, like those of Laxfield, Eye, or Bungay St. Mary, sprang up all over the county; or, where the parish was too small and poor to run to such an expense, they could at least add an extra stage to the old round tower of early Norman days.

Nor was it only in stately fabrics that the churchmen of Suffolk made manifest the generosity of their religious faith. Towers were not raised for mere idle show, but all were speedily furnished with rings of tunable bells, cast for the most part in the county were they swung. The whole air of Suffolk in the days of the Seventh Henry, above that of any other district of the kingdom, must have been saturated with the brazen melody of its four hundred belfries, calling men from earthly toil to spiritual worship as the Sundays and Holy Days came round in their endless cycles.[1] To escape such music anywhere in the county would have been an impossibility, for the churches were well planted as well as numerous throughout its bounds.

When, too, the particular details of church after church come to be enumerated in the topographical section of this work, it will be found, from the remnants still extant, after three centuries of wanton destruction or criminal neglect, that the timber in which Suffolk abounded was wrought almost everywhere during the fifteenth century into glorious roofs, or carved with masterly skill into stalls and seats or pulpits, and above all into screen-work; that the sculptor's best art was lavished on the baptismal fonts and their pediments; and that figure and pattern-painting, as well as gessowork and gilding, often of consummate beauty, were employed to add to the dignity and worth of the interiors of remote village sanctuaries, as well as of the churches in the small market towns where comparative wealth could far more easily be attained.

Among the unhappily few instances in which parish books of a pre-Reformation age remain within this county, as at Cratfield and Huntingfield, plain evidence is forthcoming that the villagers depended to no small extent on those popular local gatherings termed church-ales[2] to find some of the funds necessary to maintain the beauty of the sanctuary.

In the remote village of Cratfield five church-ales occurred in 1490; three of them were strictly parochial, and were held on Passion Sunday, Pentecost, and All Saints' Day; the other two were of exceptional occurrence, being part of the Trental arrangements of deceased parishioners. The profits on four of these church-ales were 7*s.* 4*d.*, 9*s.*, 9*s.* 8*d.*, and 7*s.* 8*d.*, respectively;

[1] For the highly exceptional number of the bells of this county see Raven, *Church Bells of Suff.* By the middle of the fifteenth century there was a flourishing bell-foundry at Bury.

[2] Reproduced, to some extent, in the modern Church Bazaar, with its refreshment-stalls and tea-rooms.

the fifth is not entered. Such amounts, when it is recollected that the purchasing value of money was then at least tenfold of its present power, were by no means to be despised, for the whole items of the general church expenses for that year only amounted to 12*s.* 4*d.*[1] The church-ale money seems to have been saved up for particular purposes. Thus at Cratfield in 1493, one Thomas Bolbre received £2 13*s.* 4*d.* for 'peyntyng of ye image of Our Lady,' and the further sum of 8*s.* for 'ye peyntyng of ye tabernacull of Seynt Edmond.' In the following year Bolbre received the additional large sum of £7 for painting the tabernacle of Our Lady, and again, in 1498, for painting the image and the tabernacle of St. Edmund.[2]

There is no scholar of the present day who can in any way equal Dr. Jessopp in his intimate knowledge of the ecclesiastical affairs of East Anglia, or in the fullness of his research into all the documentary evidence that bears upon the history. His opinion, therefore, as to the church life of Suffolk and Norfolk during the century that closed under the prolonged rule of Bishop Goldwell may be quoted with confidence.

> On the whole, the impression left upon me by the examination of all the evidence that has come to hand is that the condition of the diocese of Norwich in the fifteenth century reflects credit upon the bishops of the see and the clergy over whom they ruled.[3]

With the dawn of the troublous sixteenth century began the long rule of Bishop Nykke or Nix, who died at Norwich in 1535–6, on the eve of the monastic overthrow; he seems, however, to have made but little impression on the times in which he lived. Suffolk must have known something of him personally, for like several of his predecessors, he preferred the episcopal residence at Hoxne to the palace at Norwich.

This bishop is said by Foxe to have been active in the violent suppression of heresy in the northern part of his diocese, in the earlier days of his rule; but the circumstantial statements by Foxe as to the burnings of particular individuals in 1507, 1510, and 1511 are not to be credited.[4] Well substantiated fierce persecution broke out under Nykke's episcopate, but at a much later date.

There was a singular riot at Bungay in the year 1515, on the Friday after Corpus Christi Day. A complaint was forwarded to Cardinal Wolsey, himself a native of Ipswich, by several of the leading inhabitants of the town, stating that on the day mentioned Richard Warton, Thomas Woodcock, John Woodcock, and other evil-advised persons 'arrayed as rioters' broke and threw down five pageants, namely, Heaven pageant, the pageant of all the World, Paradise pageant, Bethlehem pageant, and Hell pageant, which were ever wont to be carried about the town on that day in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. The excuse made by the defendants looks as if this riot was a piece of disorderly mischief rather than a religious disturbance. They pleaded that the pageants were very old and ancient, and they promised to assist the proprietors to make new ones in their place.[5]

In the days of Wolsey a small knot of young Cambridge men who had come under the influence of Tyndale formed themselves into a society called

[1] The various gilds that were found in every parish often reduced the general charges for church expenses to a minimum, for they usually made themselves responsible for particular lights, and not infrequently handed over their balance for ordinary church repairs. [2] Holland, *Cratfield Parish Papers*, 21, 22, 29.
[3] *Norw. Dioc. Hist.* 156. [4] Ibid. 157. 'This burning can have been no more than branding.'
[5] *Star Chamber Proc.* Henry VIII, vii, 94.

the Christian Brotherhood. They were chiefly East Anglians, and on their dispersal from Cambridge in 1525, Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity Hall, and Thomas Arthur, a fellow of St. John's, betook themselves to Norwich diocese, and became itinerant preachers of the new doctrines in Norfolk and Suffolk. Bilney was the most able and by far the most aggressive of the two. Foxe gives a curious account of a vehement dispute between Thomas Bilney and Friar Bruisyard in St. George's Chapel, Ipswich.[1] Bilney gained many adherents to his Zwinglian views, among them being Anthony Yaxley, of Rickenhall in this county, who formally recanted before Bishop Nykke at Hoxne, on 27 January, 1525–6.[2] Eventually Bilney and Arthur were brought before a great assembly of bishops, divines, and lawyers, under the presidency of Cardinal Wolsey, on 27 November, 1527, and formally charged with heresy. Both the offenders solemnly recanted. Penance was assigned to Arthur, and he was confined for some time at Walsingham. Bilney, after carrying a faggot in procession at St. Paul's, was kept in prison for a year, and on his release returned to Cambridge. Repenting of his abjuration, he left Cambridge after eighteen months' sojourn, and betook himself again to preaching and the dissemination of Zwinglian literature from the continental presses. On 3 March, 1531, he was apprehended in London, and sent down to Norwich for trial, when he was degraded from his orders, condemned as a relapsed and obstinate heretic, and burnt at the stake on 19 August.[3]

It is estimated that during the reign of Henry VIII at least thirty persons were tried and burnt as heretics for holding Zwinglian and Lutheran views, and for 'depraving the Eucharist,' whilst a far larger number saved themselves by recantation.[4] No small share of those who lost their lives in this persecution were burnt in this county, or were immediately connected with Suffolk.

Notwithstanding their stringent rules, heresy found its way into the religious houses. William Blomfield, a monk of St. Edmunds, abjured in 1529. Richard Bayfield, chamberlain of that abbey, came under the influence of Dr. Barnes the ex-Austin prior, a well-known reformer. Barnes made him a present of a Latin New Testament, and from others he received Tyndale's Testament[5] in English, and other of Tyndale's condemned books. On Bayfield's heresy being detected 'hee was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gagge in his mouth, and then stocked, and so continued,' says Foxe, 'in the same torment three quarters of a yeare.' He was released through Barnes's influence, and after visiting Cambridge was apprehended in London, abjured, recanted his abjuration and then perished at the stake.[6] Three Austin friars of Clare abjured in 1532. Some years later according to Foxe, 'one Puttedew was condemned to the fire about the parts of Suffolk,' and William Leiton, an ex-Benedictine monk of Eye, suffered a like death about 1537 'for speaking against a certain Idoll which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions' there, and for his views

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monts.* (Townsend), iv, 628–30.
[2] *East Count. Collectanea*, i, 42.
[3] See Foxe, *Acts and Monts.* (Townsend), iv, 619–56, for the general story of Bilney and his associates.
[4] Wakeman, *Hist. of Ch. of Eng.* 256.
[5] It is but fair to remember that not only did Tyndale's version show a strong Zwinglian bias, but he prefixed to each part as it issued from the press violent attacks on the Church and its system. The bias of the translation is obvious to any scholar, thus *Ecclesia* is turned into 'congregation' instead of 'church.' See Sir Thomas More, *English Works*, 419, &c.
[6] Foxe, iv, 680–3.

on the Eucharist.[1] A ghastly scene is also recorded of the martyrdom of one Peke, of Earl Stonham, at Ipswich.[2] In the days of Bishop William Rugg (1536–50), the ex-abbot of Holme, persecutions continued by the immediate and direct instigation of the king. Two men of Mendlesham, Kerley and Clarke, were burnt in 1546, the one at Ipswich and the other at Bury ; their chief offence was the denial of Transubstantiation.[3]

Bishop Nykke died on 14 January, 1536; but his successor, Bishop Rugg, was not consecrated until 11 June of the same year. Henry VIII employed the interval in stripping the old East Anglian see of all its possessions, including the very ancient Suffolk property and favourite residence at Hoxne. The original revenues of the abbey of Holme and the priory of Hickling were assigned for the upkeep of the see; but probably the king had some thoughts of re-arranging and possibly dividing the bishopric of Norwich, as on 19 March, whilst the see was vacant, he caused Thomas Manning, prior of the Austin house of Butley, to be consecrated bishop of Ipswich, and John Salisbury, prior of Horsham St. Faiths, to be at the same time consecrated, by Cranmer at Lambeth, bishop of Thetford.[4] There is no record, however, of Manning having ever acted as a suffragan in this diocese; Salisbury became bishop of Sodor and Man in 1571.

The story of the dissolution of the monasteries, with which the name of Henry VIII will for ever be associated, is told with some degree of particularity under the respective religious houses, and need not here be repeated. Between 1536 and 1539 Suffolk was swept clean of all the religious orders. Probably no other county felt the change more keenly from a social and economic standpoint than was the case with Suffolk ; the vast amount of alms so constantly distributed at some thirty convent gates instantly ceased ; the great tithes of upwards of 150 parishes passed from religious control into the hands of the purely selfish lay impropriators, and the monastic lords of the manor and landowners gave place in every direction to the sterner rule of suddenly aggrandized civilians. There was deep discontent, but every outward expression of it was crushed with the most rigorous severity.

The spoils taken from the monasteries were, however, soon dissipated. In 1544 Henry VIII had to apply to Parliament to discharge his debts, and in 1545 he turned his eyes again to the spoiling of a variety of institutions administered by the church. An Act was passed for vesting in the crown all free chapels, chantries, colleges, hospitals, brotherhoods, and gilds of an ecclesiastical nature.

When Edward VI came to the throne there were still remaining unspoiled six collegiate churches (including that of Stoke, which was the richest of all such establishments in England), nineteen hospitals or lazar-houses, as well as a great variety of chantries and gilds. The Suppression Act of 1547 was on almost the same lines as the lapsed one of Henry VIII; but it went a step or two farther, for it was therein provided that in addition to colleges, chantries, and gilds, all lands or rent-charges providing for obits

[1] Foxe, v, 254. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. 530–3.

[4] Epis. Reg. Cant. Cranmer, fol. 187–8. Both of these suffragan titles have recently been revived. Arthur Thomas Lloyd was consecrated bishop of Thetford in 1894; and George Cormac Fisher was translated from the suffragan bishopric of Southampton to that of Ipswich in 1899.

and anniversaries (which may be briefly described as temporary or occasional chantries), as well as for church lights or lamps, were to be crown property.

Commissioners had been sent round under Henry VIII's Act to take inventories of colleges and chantries and to schedule their property. A fresh set of commissioners was now dispatched to each county on a like errand. 'The certificatt or declaration of all such and so many chauntreys, hospitales, colleges, lyvinges of stipendiary priests, free chapels, fraternyties, brotherhoods, guyldes, lands appointed for the finding of obits, anniversaries, lights and lamps,' for the county of Suffolk, was issued on 13 February, 1547–8, by Sir Roger Townsend and four other commissioners. It contains 221 separate entries.[1]

It is quite obvious that in Suffolk, as well as in most other counties of which full certificates are extant, the commissioners, though appointed by the crown, had the courage strongly to deprecate the sweeping away of chantry priests or stipendiaries, at all events in the more populous places. Thus at Lavenham, where there were 2,000 inhabitants, they state that the curate of the parish could not possibly serve the cure without the help of the priest of St. Peter's gild. At Mildenhall—

> A large populus towne having in yt a greate number of housling people and sundrie hamletts dyvers of them being chapples distante from the parishe Chirche oone mile or twoo whear the seide (chantry) preiste dyd synge mas sundrie festivall dayes and other holy dayes and also helpe the Curatte to minister the Sacraments, who withoute helpe werre not able to discharge the Cuer.

At Nayland, where the housling folk numbered 560; at Beccles with 800 communicants; and at Woodbridge with a like number, the commissioners pointed out that the cure could not possibly be duly administered without the assistance of the respective chantry priests. A like statement is also made with regard to Long Melford.

At Bury St. Edmunds, after an enumeration of the various chantries and gilds in the town, the commissioners proceeded to state that there were 3,000 housling people as well as a great number of youths, adding—

> It has no schole or other lyke devise in the town or within 20 myles, nor hospital of the poor except those above named (all of which had been already granted by Edward VI to laymen), whose revenue the people petition may be formed into a foundation for the relief of the poor and for education.

The stipendiary priests of these certificates differed from the chantry priests in being supported only for a definite number of years by rent-charges, varying in duration from a few years to ninety-nine years.

There is some confusion in these entries between the chantry and stipendiary priests, but eleven of each class are named. Their general duty and work is several times referred to, even in the parishes that were not very populous. Thus at Framlingham the duty of the stipendiary is described as 'to praye for all Christian soules and to ayde the Curate and to help the Inhabitants towards the payment of the Taxe.' The chantry priest at Our Lady's altar was 'well learned and teachith children,' and those of Lavenham, Clare, and Long Melford are also entered as schoolmasters.

[1] Chantry Cert. (P. R. O.), No. 45. The parts of these certificates that refer to colleges and hospitals are referred to in the subsequent account of the particular religious houses.

The entries as to free chapels—that is chapels not subject to the diocesan or to the incumbent of the parish—are also instructive as showing that their suppression and that of their ministers did a grievous wrong to the due administration of religious worship. Now and again the suppression of a free chapel might do no particular harm when it was near to or adjoining the parish church. Thus the Lady chapel at the east end of Long Melford church was technically a free chapel, and there were several cases in which a free chapel is entered which was but a quarter of a mile from the parish church. But it must be recollected that suppression in all these cases involved the disendowment of the minister, and the priests who served such chapels were, like the chantry priests, as a rule the assistant clergy of the parochial incumbent. Thus at Kersey, where there was a free chapel a quarter of a mile from the church, the priest 'always used to helpe the Curatt synge devine service uppon the holy dayes in the parisshe Chirche of Carseye.' In other cases chapels at some distance from their parish church, and serving as chapels of ease for hamlets, were ruthlessly closed, and the lead of their roofs, the iron and glass of their windows, as well as the bells and church furniture sold. This was the case with the free chapel of Chilton, a hamlet of Clare, whose priest held service there once a week, and for the rest of the time sang in the parish church. Still worse was the instance at Botesdale, a hamlet about a mile and a half from the parish church of Redgrave; the commissioners stated that it was an ancient chapel originally built by the inhabitants for their own use, and that there were forty-six householders and 160 housling folk in the street or hamlet. A third instance is that of the free chapel in Leiston parish, built for the ease of the people 'on the sea banckes, where the inhabitants be alwayes ready to kepe watche and warde for the defence and saftie of the same Towne and countrye.'

This Suffolk certificate as to chantries, free chapels, &c. is remarkable as showing in what a large number of cases those who held the advowsons or who were the chief men in the parish or district had become a law unto themselves, and had anticipated the action of the crown by nominating laymen to hold these ecclesiastical positions or coolly retaining the incomes in their own hands. Most of the county certificates show one or two cases of this kind, but we are not aware of another county so prolific in such instances as Suffolk.

In the case of Palgrave free chapel, distant half a mile from the church, the commissioners found that the building was decayed and the incumbent a layman. The free chapel of St. Margaret in Tattingstone was held by 'John Fytzhew gent. a layman.' The free chapel of Nayland had been dissolved in the time of Henry VIII, and granted to Richard Holden. The free chapel of Cowling, which was distant a mile from the parish church, had a layman *custos;* and the free chapel of Lindsey was in like plight.

The chantry of Haverhill had been dissolved in 1542, and granted by letters patent to Lord Russell. The Duke of Norfolk had suppressed the chantry at Framlingham, and appointed no incumbent for three years. The chantry of Huntingfield, worth £7 a year, had no incumbent, for 'one Nicholas Arowsmyth taketh it to his own use by virtue of a deed feoffment 20 May, 23 Henry VIII.' The Bedingfield chantry in Greswell church,

worth £10 a year, had been taken and retained by Sir Edward Bedingfield in the reign of Henry VIII. Two chantries in Dennington church had been dissolved in 1546 and given to Richard Fulmerston, whilst the chantries of Brundish and Kedington had also fallen into lay hands.

Two cases of the absorption of incomes assigned to stipendiary (chantry) priests for ninety-nine years in neighbouring parishes, are also of interest as showing the fairly good use to which the money was put. The commissioners found that the income of the foundation at Southwold had been already converted to the use of the town; they bore testimony that it was but a poor town owing to sea encroachments, and that the money was used to maintain 'jetties and peyres.' At Covehithe they found no stipendiary incumbent, for the income had been assigned to the vicar, as the vicarage was not worth eight marks a year; it was a poor and populous town, with sixteen score housling people.

By far the greater part of the 270 separate entries on the Suffolk certificate of the commissioners relate to the small endowments, usually of the nature of a rent-charge, that provided for an 'obit' or anniversary of some departed person on the recurrence of the burial day. The ordinary notion is that these obits were simply absorbed by the celebrant of the mass. But this is a complete mistake, for such bequests provided largely for the poor, so that by their suppression a far more grievous wrong was done to the indigent and aged than to the parish priest. Suffolk affords a great number of instances, according to this certificate, wherein the proportion of an obit assigned to the poor far excelled the pittance received by the priest.

In addition to the annual value of the endowments secured by the Suffolk commissioners for the crown by the suppression of the chantries, hospitals, gilds, &c., a considerable amount of other spoils was secured. They obtained 165 ounces of silver-gilt plate, 142½ ounces of parcel gilt, and 284 ounces of white or silver plate. Other ornaments and utensils were valued at £85 9*s.* 7*d.* A stock of money to the value of £52 6*s.* 8*d.* was actually confiscated from the sums in hand belonging to those church benefit societies, the gilds. Unmolten lead on the roofs of chapels was estimated to weigh 62 fother, and bell-metal 8,005 cwt. 26 li.

There was a fairly generous pension scheme assigned to the priests of these suppressed institutions who did not hold any other preferment. On 20 June, 1548, Sir Walter Mildmay, knt., and Robert Kelwaye, esq., were commissioned to issue letters patent, under the great seal of the Court of Augmentations, to 'the Incumbents and Mynysters of dyverse late Colledges, Chauntries, and free Chappelles, and to Stipendarie priestes' of the county of Suffolk. Two days later the patents were granted.[1]

There were many abuses in connexion with the pensions granted at this time, but more particularly with those granted to the dispossessed members of the religious houses ejected during the previous reign. Necessity compelled some to part with their pension patents for ready money, and in other cases the pension distributors were exacting illegal fees. An Act was passed in 1549 to regulate these matters, and to compel the restitution of patents held by those to whom they had not been granted.[2] This Act remained to a consider-

[1] Accts. Exch. Q. R. bdle. lxxvi, 1.

[2] 2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. 7.

able extent a dead letter, until in 1552 commissioners were appointed for holding investigations in each county. For carrying out the purposes of this Pension Act, Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Jermyne, and Sir William Walgrave, knts., Clement Higham, esq., and John Holt and Christopher Payton, gentlemen, were appointed as commissioners for Suffolk on 16 September, 1552.

The late priors of Woodbridge and Eye, the late abbot of Leiston, and the prioress of Redlingfield, appeared personally before the commissioners, testifying that they were in receipt of their respective pensions, which they had 'neyther solde nor assignede.' Twenty-five monks of Bury St. Edmunds appeared and testified in like manner. Thomas Cole, an ex-monk, swore that eight or nine years past he had assigned his annuity to Ambrose Jermyne, in consideration that Ambrose obtained for him the benefice of Flempton in the gift of Thomas Lucas. Thomas Rowte, another former monk, produced an indenture dated 1 March, 1545, to the effect that he sold and assigned his letters patent of annuity to Ralph Cokkerell for £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, whereof he swore that he only received £19. Evidence was given of the death of one monk. The master and three fellows of Wingfield College, and twelve members of Stoke College, also appeared and testified to due receipt of pensions. Twenty-six chantry or stipendiary priests likewise appeared and testified. Fifteen lay annuitants appeared, but one (Edward Reve) stated that he had sold his letters patent of annuity in 1543 for £20 to John Holt, gentleman.

The commissioners returned the names of two of the college of Wingfield, three of Butley Priory, nine lay annuitants, and nine chantry priests, who did not appear before them, and as to whom they had not received 'any presente instrucyons where they remayne or abyde.'[1]

The full pension list of 1555–6, generally known as Cardinal Pole's Pension list,[2] giving details of all fees, annuities, and pensions, then paid to the religious and others of the dissolved monasteries, and to the priests of suppressed chantries, shows that the sum of £625 4*s.* 6*d.* was the amount distributed to the various pensioners of the county of Suffolk. George Carlton, the ex-abbot of Leiston, was in receipt of £20 a year; William Parker, ex-prior of Eye, £18; Edward Maltyward, ex-prior of Bury St. Edmunds, £20, and twenty-six monks of that abbey of £177 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Grace Sampson, ex-prioress of Redlingfield, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* Lay annuitants of the old religious houses, who were chiefly semi-fraudulently put on the list by the confiscation commissioners on the eve of the dissolution, were then in receipt of £129 16*s.* 4*d.* a year.

The remainder of the total sum went in pensions to the dispossessed prebendaries and vicars of the collegiate churches of Wingfield and Stoke; to the ex-chantry priests of Barham, Beccles, Bury (2), Denton, Eyke, Ipswich (2), Melford, Mildenhall, Nacton, Orford, Palgrave, Polstead, Shotley, Stowmarket, and Tattingstone (2); to the chaplains of the suppressed free chapels of Clare, Cowling, Lindsey, and Ufford; to the ex-grammar schoolmasters of Lavenham, Melford, and Stoke College; and to the stipendiary priest of the church of Botesdale.

[1] Accts. Exch. Q. R. bdle. lxxvi, 21.

[2] B.M. Add. MSS. 8102.

The uncertainty as to the eventual outcome of the clash of conflicting religious opinions, and the not unnatural expectation that the spoiling of the religious houses would be followed by the spoiling of the churches, led to a large amount of appropriation and embezzlement of church goods during the closing months of the reign of Henry VIII. In a few counties, such as Suffolk, where foreign-bred Protestantism was obtaining a considerable hold, the churchwardens and parishioners agreed to the sale of much of their church ornaments and valuables, appropriating the money for a variety of purposes. They apparently foresaw what was coming, and wisely thought that if such things were to go, the value had better be used for local than imperial purposes.

In 1547 commissioners were appointed to draw up inventories of church goods, more especially, as stated, that the goods might be preserved for the churches and not disposed of; but in reality as a preparatory step to their wholesale seizure by the crown. There was, however, just a certain amount of sincerity in the preamble to the commissioners, for in several cases where church goods had been embezzled by individuals, restitution in kind or money was enforced from the offenders.

Suffolk affords an instance of this private embezzlement by a man of position. Philip Woolverstone, esq., of Woolverstone, took from that church and sold two bells and two vestments which were declared to be worth £20, and he was called upon to pay over that sum to the Court of Augmentations. But a certificate was afterwards handed in, sealed by eleven of the parishioners, to the effect that 'the grettyst bell was no more of wayte than one man myght cary yn hys Armes,' and they both were not worth above £5. As to the vestments, one was of old white silk with a red cross of Bruges satin, and the other of old crimson velvet, both of small value. Moreover, Mr. Woolverstone took them supposing the church to be his own chapel.[1]

There are extant an exceptional number of the original returns from Suffolk made by the parish authorities to the inquiries of 1547.[2] They show the considerable prevalence of the desire of the parishioners to profit by sales of their own, and in most of the cases the sale had evidently been of quite recent occurrence.

At Aldeburgh the parish had realized the large sum of £40 (£400 of our money) by the sale of a cross, a pair of chalices, a pair of censers, two candlesticks, a pax, and a pyx, all of silver. With this money they stated that they had purchased 'powder and shot for the realm,' as well as ordnance, bows, and harness. The small parish of Ashfield certified that they had sold church goods worth 40*s*., which they had spent on the setting forth of soldiers. The churchwardens of Barking, with the consent of the whole parish, had sold a cross, three pairs of chalices, two pyxes, a pair of censers, a ship, and two paxes for the large sum of £54. With part of the proceeds they had bought a pair of organs, which cost (in addition to the pair of old organs) £14. Beccles had sold silver to the yet larger amount of £59, using the money on building their fine detached steeple. Also in 1 Edward VI they sold more

[1] Q. R. Ch. Goods $\frac{8}{25}$.

[2] Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. ccccix. These returns, numbering 176, are made on paper, and have been mounted in book form.

silver to the value of £40, using the proceeds for the repair of the church, for the great bridge, and more especially 'for the edifyinge buyldynge and fynyshinge of our steple.' In a different hand is added, as a kind of afterthought, 'and for setting forth of Soldiers to serve the Kings majesty in his affaires.'

These 1547 certificates enable us to say that the churches of Suffolk were quite exceptionally well supplied with church goods, more especially plate.

It was, however, after all, only a minority of the churches of Suffolk that had thus stripped themselves of the best of their church goods; that which remained, in this and other counties, was looked upon with covetous eyes by the insatiable council. On 3 March, 1551, they decreed 'That for as muche as the King's Majestie had neede presently of a Masse of Mooney therefore commissions should be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the Kinges handes such church plate as remayneth to be emploied unto his Highness use.'[1] There was, however, some delay in issuing these commissions. The one for Suffolk, dated 16 May, 1552, was addressed to Nicholas Hare, knt., Henry Dale, knt., the bailiffs of Ipswich, Lyonell Talmache, Edward Grymston, and William Forster, esquires. The book containing the returns of the commissioners covers the whole county, and includes 514 churches.[2] At the beginning are full entries of all the church goods of the Ipswich churches at considerable length.

The other inventories have not been preserved, but the rest of the book is taken up with the record of the miserable remnant of the goods that the commissioners were directed to leave behind them. They were instructed to sell everything save one chalice (the term chalice included a paten) or two for a great church, as well as great bells and 'saunce' bells. It was also understood that a surplice and a minimum of altar linen was to be retained in each church, but this is not specified in the Suffolk returns.[3] Among the churches to which two chalices were assigned were those of Coddenham, Covehithe, Barking, Eye, Snape, Mildenhall, Sudbury, and Woodbridge.

When Mary came to the throne the change among the beneficed clergy was considerable. Large numbers were deprived, the reason in almost every case being on account of marriage, and not, as has sometimes been alleged, because of any supposed lack of validity in ordination by Edwardian bishops. Convocation in 1547 under Edward VI sanctioned the marriage of priests, and at the beginning of 1549 an Act of Parliament gave civil authority to such unions. Many of the clergy availed themselves of this permission, but the general Statute of Repeals under Mary revoked this licence, and clerical marriage was no longer sanctioned by church or state. The revived obligation to celibacy came into force on 20 December, 1553, but before this Convocation had inhibited married priests from ministering or saying mass. It was not, however, until the spring of 1554 that formal deprivations for marriage were put in force. The entries relative to deprivation in Norwich

[1] *Acts of P. C.* 1550–2, p. 228.

[2] Aug. Off. Bks. ccccix. At the beginning is affixed the original commission.

[3] The county commission in certain hundreds, notably in Essex, left a vestment or a cope, or both, for all the churches, and occasionally other plate beside the chalice; but in such instances they were exceeding their instructions.

diocese, beginning in March, 1553–4, are more complete than for any other diocese, and work out at about one in five of the whole clergy.[1]

One of the most interesting cases of Suffolk deprivations on account of marriage is that of the well-known parson of Hadleigh, Rowland Taylor, who was a considerable pluralist. He was not only rector of Hadleigh, but also archdeacon of Cornwall, prebendary of Hereford, and canon of Rochester. On being summoned to account for his alleged marriage, Taylor had to admit that he had been married after an irregular fashion twenty-nine years before to one Margaret, at the house of John Tyndale, merchant tailor of London, not in the face of the church, but in the presence of one Benet, a priest, and of Tyndale and his wife. By this union he had had nine children, of whom five survived. He had received minor orders at Norwich, was ordained deacon by Bishop Holbeach, then suffragan of Bristol, in 1539, and priest by Ingworth, bishop of Dover, in 1543. He was a married man with wife and family at the time of his ordination both as deacon and priest, such ordinations being then uncanonical and illegal.[2] 1400147

Suffolk had no small share in the shocking persecutions of Mary's brief reign. The most eminent of the victims was Dr. Rowland Taylor, who was burnt on 8 February, 1555, which was the same day as the martyrdom of Bishop Hooper of Gloucester.[3] In the following year three men were burnt as heretics at Beccles, one at Whiston, and two at Debenham.[4] Another notable Suffolk martyr of this period was John Noyes, shoemaker of Laxfield, whose story is told at considerable length by Foxe. He was burnt at Laxfield on 22 September, 1557.[5] Suffolk attained to a gruesome notoriety during the Marian persecution; it is said, according to Foxe's estimate, that no fewer than thirty-six persons were burnt to death during her reign within the limits of the county.[6]

John Hopton, confessor to Queen Mary, and bishop of Norwich during her reign, died about the same time as his royal mistress, in the month of November, 1558. Elizabeth chose to keep the see vacant for nearly two years after her accession, and eventually promoted John Parkhurst, who had been in exile at Zurich, to the bishopric.

[1] Frere, *Marian Reaction*, 49, 51, 53. The list of the deprived clergy of this diocese gives 243 beneficed and 100 unbeneficed; but the institution book gives only 172 as the number of deprivations. The balance are probably entered as merely 'vacant'; not a few of the married and puritanically disposed clergy fled to the Continent at the beginning of the reign.

[2] Reg. D. and C. of Canterbury, cited in Frere, *Marian Reaction*, 65–6.

[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monts.* (Townsend), viii, 676–703. In the church of Hadleigh is a brass tablet to the martyr's memory, on which is engraved a rhymed doggerel epitaph. The last four lines run :—

O Taillor were thie myghtie fame
Uprightly here inrolde,
Thie deedes deserve that thie good name
Were syphered here in golde.

Those, however, who were responsible for erecting this monument did not even go to the expense of a piece of brass to his memory. The plate turns out (from the reverse) to be a portion of a fine fifteenth-century brass to a former merchant of the town, which must have been torn off from his grave, and then re-used from motives of economy.

On Aldham Common the site of the burning is marked by a rough unhewn stone, about two feet long and a foot high, on which are rudely cut the words :—

1555. D. Taylor in defending that was good,
At this place left his blode.

[4] Ibid. viii, 145.

[5] Ibid. viii, 424–7.

[6] Raven, *Hist. of Suffolk*, 169. This is probably a considerable exaggeration; see the list of 'such as were burned for religion' in Mary's reign in Strype's *Memorials* (iii, pt. 2, pp. 554–6), where twenty-one are assigned to Suffolk.

No sooner was Elizabeth established on the throne than Cecil and her other advisers successfully urged the carrying out of a general visitation of the diocese to secure the signatures of the clergy to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. The visitors were mainly drawn from more or less prominent statesmen, but were associated with certain leading divines. The dioceses of Norwich, Ely, and London were combined for the purposes of this visitation. The letters patent appointing the visitors were issued about 24 June, 1554. The first named of the visitors was Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the Great Seal, and the second was the Duke of Norfolk, who was lord lieutenant of both Suffolk and Norfolk ; these were followed by a variety of lords, knights, and esquires, seventeen in number, with John Salome as 'lawyer,' and Dr. Robert Horne (afterwards bishop of Winchester) and Dr. Thomas Huyck as preaching divines. The visitation of Norwich diocese, in which there were then between six and seven hundred clergy, occupied most of September ; the signatures obtained were rather over five hundred, showing a more ready acceptance of the settlement in this diocese than in several of the others. Sessions of the visitors were held, so far as Suffolk was concerned, at Beccles, Blythburgh, Bury, and Ipswich, as well as at Thetford on the confines of the county.[1]

It is not a little singular that among the comparatively few Suffolk incumbents who were deprived of their benefices between 1558 and 1564—only seven all told—were three who originally signed their acceptance of the changed state of matters ecclesiastical, but who could not apparently be trusted. These were Oliver Haver, rector of Burgh ; R. Appletoft, vicar of Offton and Little Bricett ; and James Stanley, vicar of Washbrook.

Between 1564 and 1570 eleven more Suffolk incumbents were deprived.[2] It cannot be said with certainty that all those removed from their benefices between 1558 and 1570 were ejected for nonconformity, but this was probably the case. At all events, the number of the Suffolk incumbents who were punished for non-compliance with the Elizabethan changes did not amount to a score out of some five hundred benefices.[3]

Among head masters deprived at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign on account of their adherence to the unreformed faith was John Fenn, master of Bury St. Edmunds school.[4]

In no diocese at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was the change in chief spiritual ruler so strongly marked. Hopton was a bitter and aggressive Catholic, whilst his successor Parkhurst upheld almost equally strong Puritan views. The prolonged interregnum between the death of Hopton in November, 1558, and the consecration of Parkhurst in September, 1560, had

[1] The actual signatures of the Norwich visitation are preserved at Lambeth. The majority do not append the name of their benefice, so that it is not possible to give the exact numbers of those clergy of Suffolk who were prompt to accept the new settlement. The place-names of Suffolk following signatures are in excess of those for Norfolk, and include the parishes of Acton, Aldeburgh, Aldringham, Beccles, Bramfield, Debenham, Fakenham, Felixstowe, Flempton, Fressingfield, Freston, Glenham, Gorleston, Henley, Henstead, Hoxne, Huntingfield, Knoddishall, Lavenham, Linstead, Lowestoft, Marlesford, Mendham, Mickford, Needham Market, Offton, Peasenhall, Pettistree, Rattlesden, Reyden, Rushmere, Southwold, Stonham Aspall, Swefling, Sternfield, Thurston, Ugghesall, Wangford, Washbrook, Westleton, Wickham Market, Whiston, Woodbridge, and Worlingham. In several of these cases the clergy are described as curates, and in one instance (Southwold) as schoolmaster. Cart. Miscell. xiii, pr. 2.

[2] For list of the deprived in Norwich diocese, see Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 281–2, 290–1.

[3] In a large number of cases two or more benefices were held by the same incumbent.

[4] Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 234.

produced bad results. In 1561 there were actually 136 parishes in the archdeaconry of Suffolk without a resident ordained minister. Queen Elizabeth visited Ipswich in July, 1561.

> Here, says Strype, her Majesty took a great dislike to the imprudent behaviour of many of the ministers and readers, there being many weak ones amongst them, and little or no order observed in the public service, and few or none wearing the surplice. And the bishop of Norwich was thought remiss, and that he winked at schismatics. But more particularly was she offended with the clergy's marriage; and that in cathedrall colleges there were so many wives and widows and children seen, which she said was contrary to the interest of the founders, and so much tending to the interruption of the studies of those who are placed there. Therefore she issued an order to all dignitaries, dated August 9th at Ipswich, to forbid all women to the lodgings of cathedralls or colleges, and that upon pain of losing their ecclesiastical promotions.[1]

But there were more complaints against Bishop Parkhurst than his strong Puritan sympathies. The historian of the diocese charges him with being 'a man of expensive habits . . . . and showing a bad example in making merchandise of the Church of God,' nor were the subsequent Elizabethan prelates much better.[2]

There was not near so much trouble with the recusants, or zealous adherents to the unreformed faith, in Suffolk as in some counties; but the persecution of the secret itinerant priests, and the severe harassing of the estates and goods of the recusants continued throughout Elizabeth's reign.

Henry Cumberford, precentor of Lichfield and rector of Norbury, Staffordshire, who was one of the first clergy to be deprived of his benefices on the accession of Elizabeth, was a native of Suffolk. In a list drawn up early in this reign (probably in 1562) of 'Recusants which are abroad and bound to certain places' Cumberford's name occurs; a marginal note describes him as 'learned, but wilful and meet to be considered.' He was bound over to remain in the county of Suffolk, but with liberty to travel twice a year into Staffordshire, six weeks being allowed at each time of his travel.[3] At this time (1562) Dr. Harpsfield, the deprived dean of Norwich, was one of fourteen 'prisoners for religion since the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth' confined in the Fleet.[4] Cumberford seems to have been one of the numerous religious prisoners either in the Fleet or the Tower, and released with others on finding sureties as to residence. Eventually Cumberford resumed the active but secret exercise of his priesthood, and was several times imprisoned. He died a prisoner in Hull Castle in 1590, after having spent sixteen years in gaol for his religion during Elizabeth's reign.[5]

Legislation immediately after Elizabeth's accession provided for a fine of 12*d.* on all absentees from the parish church on Sundays and holy days. In 1581 this punishment was much intensified, for it was then laid down that the immense fine of £20 a month was to be imposed on all recusants, and that those who could not pay the fine within three months were to be imprisoned. Further legislation gave the crown the power of seizing two-thirds of the offender's lands and all his goods in default of payment. From time to time these forfeitures were rigidly enforced in Suffolk and

[1] Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* vi, 226.
[2] S.P. Dom. Eliz. Add. xi, 45.
[3] Jessopp, *Dioc. Hist. of Norwich*, 173–5.
[4] Harl. MS. 360, fol. 7.
[5] Foley, *Records*, iii, 219, 221, 245, 803; Morris, *Troubles*, 3rd ser. 300.

elsewhere. Occasionally, when it seemed as if the collection of these fines would reduce many to beggary whose enforced contributions were so profitable to the state, milder measures were taken. Thus on 23 April, 1586, a letter was forwarded from Ipswich by the justices of Suffolk to Walsingham, saying that they

> had called before them all the Recusants whose names in a schedule we received inclosed in your lordship's letters to whom we imparted the contents thereof, advising them to consider of her Majesty's gracious favour extended towards them and measuring the benefit which thereby they are to receive to make offer by writing severally under their hands what reasonable portion they can be contented yearly of their own disposition to pay unto her Majesty, receipt to be eased of the Common danger of Law for their recusancy, whose several offers under their own hands, which herewith we send unto your lordship, may particularly appear.

Then follow the offers :—

William Yaxlee estimates his income at £220 per annum, and offers £40 per annum ; £280 has already been levied on his lands, and he has contributed £50 to setting out of horses for Her Majesty's service. Walter Norton of Chedeston, gent., having lands to the value of £100, offers £20 yearly. Henry Everard, £100 a year, offers £10. Richard Martyn of Welford, gent., offers £6 a year. Edward Sulyarde, with yearly revenue of £440, has already paid a year's income for recusancy, and has furnished a horse £25, offers £40 per annum. John Bedingfeld, £40 per annum, offers £10. Margaret Danyell of Acton, a widow, offers £20. Edward Rookwood offers £30. These are followed by nine other smaller offers.[1]

The Recusant Rolls for Suffolk at the Public Record Office begin in 1593. The first of these supplies lists of amounts owing from farmers of the two-thirds of estates of recusants, farmed out to grooms of the chamber, gentlemen of the chapel, and other of the minor court officials, and not infrequently to the tenants of the owner.

Among the Roman Catholic gentry of the county in this roll the Rookwoods of Stanningfield and of Euston are very prominent ; they are entered as indebted for sums from £260 to £280.

About ninety recusants altogether, mostly yeomen and spinsters, or engaged in humble occupations such as tailors, are entered as owing £80 to £120 of the £20 a month penalty.[2]

The condition of the church fabrics of the county in Elizabeth's reign, when all religion seemed to be at a very low ebb, went from bad to worse. 'Certificates of all the ruines and decayes of all the Ruinated churches and chauncells of the dioc. Norwich' were returned to Bishop Redman in 1602. The return for the archdeaconry of Suffolk schedules the ruinous state of the chancels of Ashfield, Bramfield, Brandeston, Culpho, Eyke, Fakenham, Flixton, Freston, Gunton, Higham, Ipswich St. Stephen, Ipswich St. Margaret, Kessingland, Lowestoft, Offton, Pakefield, Shipmeadow, Shottisham, Snape, Thorpe (Ashfield), Wherstead, Wilby, Wingfield, and Wissett. In most cases the ruinous condition had prevailed for several years. In all instances, save three, chancels were in the hands of lay proprietors, whose names are set forth.[3]

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. clxxxviii, 38.

[2] Recusant R. Suff. i, 34, Eliz. The receipts from recusant fines throughout the country from 1593 to 1602 brought over £120,000 to the crown.

[3] *East Anglian N. and Q.* i, 340–1.

In June, 1603, a circular letter was addressed by Archbishop Whitgift to his suffragans of the southern province, requesting information as to the number of communicants and recusants in the parishes of their respective dioceses, together with the names of such clergy as had two benefices, the number of impropriations and vicarages, and the values and the patrons of the various livings. The original returns are to be found in the Harleian collection of the British Museum.[1]

The returns for the county of Suffolk, as sent in to the Bishop of Norwich by the archdeacons of Sudbury and Suffolk, differ in style. The former is somewhat more detailed, and comprises an explicit answer to all the queries from each parish, three or four being entered in a small hand on each folio. The return from the Suffolk archdeaconry is more condensed, and assumes a tabulated form for each deanery.[2]

The answers do not cover quite the whole of the county, for the plan adopted was for the archdeacon to summon the parsons, vicars, or curates of the different parishes of each deanery to some appointed place, and there to receive their respective replies. In a few cases, as in three of the Ipswich parishes, no one appeared to make any reply, and the returns for such parishes were left blank. Occasionally there was a good excuse for non-appearance. Thus in the Dunwich deanery under 'Reydon cum capella de Southwold' it is entered: 'The parson did not appear by reason the Sicknes was veri dangerous in the towne.'

The numbers of those 'who do not receive' are entered separately from the avowed recusants, who were all probably confessed Romanists. The proportion of both these classes is a good deal smaller than in some counties. In the archdeaconry of Sudbury[3] the recusants of the deanery of Thingoe numbered 22; in Blackburne, 5; in Fordham, 4; in Hartismere and Stow, 4; in Clare, 1; in Sudbury, 35; and in the town of Bury, 19; giving a total of 132 for the archdeaconry. Those who did not receive the communion, though coming to the church services, numbered 89 in the same district.

The archdeaconry of Suffolk had fewer of both these classes.[4] Of recusants there were in the deanery of Lothingland, 6; in Wangford, 4; in Dunwich, 5; in Orford, 5; in Wilford and Loes, 14 men in the castle of Framlingham, and one other; in Carlford and Colneys, 4; in Ipswich, 4; in Samford, 8; in Bosmere and Claydon, 11; and in Hoxne, 2. The total, therefore, of recorded recusants for the whole county was 190; whilst the full total of those who did not receive throughout Suffolk was 122.

The totals of communicants usually entered in round numbers, doubtless include all parishioners over sixteen years, save those already enumerated; for the unhappy rule prevailed of their being compelled under heavy penalties to be at least occasional communicants. The returns afford, therefore, a good criterion of the whole population, and may be taken as a rough kind of census. The total of communicants in both archdeaconries amounted to 67,993.[5]

[1] Harl. MS. 595, No. ii.

[2] In the *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* for 1883 (vi, 361–400) the return for the Suff. archdeaconry is printed; the return for Sudbury archdeaconry appeared in 1901 (xi, 1–46).

[3] Harl. MS. 595, fol. 95–119.

[4] Ibid. 167–93.

[5] In order to get the total population, about forty per hundred have to be added to those who were over sixteen. After making allowance for several omitted parishes this would bring the population of Suffolk to about 100,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The recusants of Suffolk continued to have hard times during the reigns of the first two Stuarts. The execution of Ambrose Rookwood belongs more to political than religious history. During the comparatively mild episcopates of the four bishops who held the East Anglian diocese from 1603–32 'sectaries' multiplied and many irregular clergy were ordained, whose only title was the chaplaincy of an often nominal employer. Such clergy escaped all episcopal jurisdiction, and, as 'lecturers,' usually propagated views that were quite out of harmony with the doctrines of the Church of England.

In May, 1632, Bishop Corbett was translated from Oxford to Norwich. The next year Laud, the uncompromising opponent of Puritanism, became primate. In Dr. Corbett he found considerable support. The lecturers at Bury St. Edmunds and at Ipswich were silenced. The bishop in his answers to Laud's inquiries congratulated himself that he had made 'two wandering preachers run out of his diocese;' nevertheless, he added, 'lectures abound in Suffolk, and many set up by private gentlemen even without so much as the knowledge of the ordinary.'[1]

Bishop Corbett died in July, 1635, and was succeeded by Dr. Matthew Wren, a distinguished Cambridge scholar, who held this see for three years until his translation to Ely. He at once held a visitation of his diocese, following the exact lines laid down by his primate, and so sternly suppressing the sectaries that many fled over the seas.[2]

In the year that Wren left this diocese, the archdeacon of Suffolk, who was evidently in accord with both Wren and Laud, held his visitation. 'Articles to be Enquired of in the Ordinary Visitation of the Right Wirshipfull Doctor Pearson, Archdeacon of Suffolke' were issued and printed in 1638.[3] They follow for the most part, with some variants, the customary form of such articles in the reign of Charles I, but are of greater length and detail than several other examples. Thus the archdeacon inquired whether the

> Blessed Sacrament hath beene delivered unto any or received by any of the Communicants within youre Parish that did unreverently either sit or stand or leane, or that did not devoutly and humbly kneele upon their knees, in plaine and open view without collusion or hypocrisie.

They had also to answer whether any of the inhabitants of their company ever 'bring their Hawkes into the Church or usually suffer their dogges of any kinde to come with them thither.' Chapter four of the articles, with its five items, is entirely concerned with the steeple and the bells. The particulars as to daily service and saints' day services, with due tolling of bell, the use of the Athanasian Creed on all appointed days, the Commination Service, and the Litany every Wednesday and Friday, are most explicit. So too with regard to not preaching in the surplice, or the improper use of 'any Bason or paile or other Vessel set into the Font' at baptism.

A book of presentments in the Dean's Court of Bocking from 1637–41, termed *Liber Actorum*, is extant, which supplies many instances of the jurisdiction then exercised over the morals of the parishioners of this peculiar,

[1] *Norw. Dioc. Hist.* 187–8.

[2] Perry, *Hist. of Ch. of Eng.* ii, App. B, where the 'particulars, orders, directions, and remembrances' of Wren's primary visitation are set forth at length.

[3] Press Mark, B.M. 5155, *c.* 23.

corresponding to similar action in the archidiaconal courts for other parishes. The presentments include various ones relative to incontinence, among which occur cases of pre-nuptial fornication ; for absence from church on Sundays and holy days, and neglecting to receive the Communion, and for irreverence in church, omitting to stand or kneel in accordance with the rubric, and not bowing the head at the name of Jesus. In a few cases the offenders were excommunicated, and in cases of incontinence penance in a white sheet in the parish church was the usual result.[1]

One of the best and most able of the Puritan divines of East Anglia was Samuel Ward, a native of Haverhill. He was for many years 'town preacher' at Ipswich by the appointment of the corporation, who paid him a salary of £180 a year. He was licensed by Bishop Jegon (1603–18) as a preacher throughout his diocese ; but in Bishop Wren's time he was convicted of various acts of nonconformity, suspended, enjoined a public recantation, and on his refusal lodged in prison. When in gaol, he wrote a preface to a volume of his sermons, wherein he bravely and with some humour described his imprisonment as 'a little leisure occasioned against my will.' He died in 1640, just at the beginning of the grievous ferment in church and state.[2]

The Long Parliament, which began to sit in November, 1640, at once addressed itself to matters ecclesiastical ; Episcopacy was speedily abolished, and ere long even the private use of the Prayer Book was made penal and the directory of Public Worship imposed in its place. Meanwhile the universally respected divine, Joseph Hall, was translated from Exeter to Norwich as bishop ; he was received with a certain amount of respect when he entered Norwich, in the spring of 1642, but in the following year he was ejected and the episcopal estates were sequestered.

'The removing of scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties' of the east of England was intrusted to the Earl of Manchester, who on 12 March, 1642–3 appointed a committee of ten to deal with the matter in Suffolk.[3]

The ejections in Suffolk were carried out with exceptional harshness. A fifth part of the sequestered incomes or estates of the clergy who adhered to episcopal rule—for their private estates, if they possessed any, were also seized—might, at the option of the Earl of Manchester, be assigned to their wives and children ; but this seems to have been seldom carried out. Several of these Suffolk clergy, suddenly reduced to beggary, turned schoolmasters. Such were Lionel Gatford, ejected from Dennington, Nathaniel Goodwin from Cransford, and Thomas Tyllot from Depden ; but this form of earning an income was soon stopped, for a further ordinance was issued forbidding

[1] *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Arch.* iii, 71–2.

[2] Raven, *Hist. of Suff.* 204–5.

[3] This ordinance of the Lords and Commons was ordered to be printed on 22 Jan. 1642–3. Dr. Tanner drew up a list of Suffolk ministers who were ejected in 1643–4, appending the dates and brief particulars to each. The total is sixty-five ; it included the incumbents of Acton, Ashbocking, Bardfield, Barnham, Bealings, Bawdsey, Bedingfield, Benhall, Blyford, Blakenham, Bredfield, Brettenham, Charsfield, Chattisham, Chelsworth, Cornard, Cheveley, Copdock, Corton, Depden, Debenham, Eyke, Finborough Magna, Felixstowe, Flowton, Finningham, Friston, Grundisburgh, Hadleigh, Hargrave, Hasketon, Hepworth, Hemingstone, Hollesley, Hoxne, Kettlebaston, Kettleburgh, Lawshall, Melton, Moulton, Mildenhall, Monks Eleigh, Preston, Ringshall, Sancroft, Shimpling, Soham, Sotherton, Snape, Stradbroke, Stradishall, Trimley St. Mary, Tunstall, Uggeshall, Walton, Waldingfield, Wenhaston, Westhorp, Weston, Wicken, Winston, Wixoe, Woolpit, and Worlingworth. Many others were added to this list at later dates. *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* ix, 307–9.

the teaching of a private school by any sequestered minister. It is said that Aggas, the rector of Rushbrook, got his living by the fiddle. According to the historian of the ejection, one at least of the dispossessed ministers profited in bodily health from the treatment he received. James Buck, the ex-vicar of Stradbroke, was committed to Ipswich gaol, when a martyr to the gout, and when his physicians did not believe he had more than two years' life in him; but a diet of bread and water for two months effected a cure, the gout never returned and he lived to the age of four-score.[1]

However sorrowful many of these cases must have been, it is better to reserve our chief pity for those episcopally ordained clergy who were content to remain in their cures and teach doctrines diametrically opposed to those they were solemnly pledged to uphold. It was amongst the ejected that a certain semi-secret supply of church ministrations was maintained, in spite of all penalties. Thus Lawrence Bretton, the ejected rector of Hitcham, removed to his birthplace at Hadleigh, where he continued to use privately the daily service of the Church, and to 'administer the Blessed Sacrament on the three great festivals of the year to such loyalists as resorted to him,' and Lionel Playters, when turned out of the rectory of Uggeshall, continued the exercise of his ministry.[2]

Nor was the vehemence of the East Anglian Puritans confined to action against clerical ministrations; it blazed forth with peculiar virulence against the places of worship.

The county of Suffolk, so celebrated for the beautiful carving and furniture of its churches, had the unenviable fame of giving birth to that unhappy destroyer of so much that was worthy of God's sanctuaries, the uncompromising iconoclast, William Dowsing. It was in August, 1641, that an order was first published by the Commons 'for the taking away all scandalous Pictures out of Churches.'[3] At the instance and under the direction of the Earl of Manchester, General of the Associated Eastern Counties, Dowsing received his appointment as Parliamentary Visitor of the Suffolk Churches dated 19 December, 1643. In this commission, under Manchester's signature, it is stated that many crucifixes, crosses, images of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary, and pictures of saints and superstitious inscriptions still remained in many churches and chapels of the Associated Counties, and that William Dowsing, gent., was empowered to remove or deface all such, and to require assistance from mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and 'all other officers and loveinge subjects.' He also had the power assigned him, which he freely exercised, of appointing deputies to carry out the work. Dowsing and his associates far exceeded even the wide terms of the commission, working the most wanton and wicked mischief wherever they went, and clearly making plunder and illegal exactions a regular part of their proceedings. Memorial brasses, many of post-Reformation date, were torn up and sold, and payments actually insisted on from the churchwardens for the destructive work in which they had been engaged.

There is no reason to doubt that the work of destruction was carried out in all the Associated Counties, which included Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln,

[1] See Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, *passim*. The accounts of the sufferings entailed by several of the Suffolk ejections are peculiarly heartrending.

[2] Ibid. pt. ii, 209, pp. 177, 335.

[3] Ibid. p. 178.

Essex, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Hertford. It is known that the furious zeal of Dowsing in person was exercised at Cambridge, not only in the college chapels but even (quite illegally) in the schools, halls, libraries, and chambers of the university. But so far as Suffolk is concerned, the man left behind him a journal of his own performances in which he clearly gloried. His work in this county, recorded in the journal, extended from 6 January, 1643–4 to 1 October, 1644. During that period upwards of one hundred and fifty places were visited in less than fifty days. The journal is obviously incomplete, and only records the deeds done in about a third of the old churches. Future references will be made to this destructive work under particular parishes; here it will suffice to cite some of the wanton mischief wrought by Jessop, one of Dowsing's deputies, in the church of Gorleston, as a sample of their operations :—

> In the chancel, as it is called, we took up twenty brazen superstitious inscriptions, *ora pro nobis*, etc. ; broke twelve apostles carved in wood, and cherubims, and a lamb with a cross; and took up four superstitious inscriptions in brass, in the north chancel, *Jesu filii Dei Misere mei*, etc., broke in pieces the rails, and broke down twenty-two popish pictures of angels and saints. We did deface the font and a cross on the font. We took up thirteen superstitious brasses. Ordered Moses with his rod and Aaron with his mitre to be taken down. Ordered eighteen angels off the roof and cherubims to be taken down, and nineteen pictures in the windows. The organ I broke ; and we brake seven popish pictures in the chancel window, one of Christ, another of St. Andrew, another of St. James, etc. We ordered the steps [up to the altar] to be levelled by the parson of the town ; and brake the popish inscription *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* I gave orders to break in pieces the carved work, which I have seen done . . . and eighteen Jesuses written in capital letters, which we gave orders to do out. A picture of St. George and many others which I remember not, with divers pictures in the windows which we could not reach, neither would they help us to raise ladders; so we left a warrant with the constable to do it in fourteen days. . . . We rent in pieces a hood and surplices and brake I.H.S. the Jesuits badge in the chancel windows. . . . We brake down a cross on the steeple, and three stone crosses in the chancel, and a stone cross in the porch.[1]

William Dowsing was a member of a prosperous yeoman family at Saxfield, Suffolk, where he was baptized on 2 May, 1596, and buried on 22 March, 1679.

By order of the Commons, on 5 November, 1645, Suffolk was divided into fourteen classical presbyteries, with ministers and others nominated by the county committee in accordance with the Speaker's direction. The divisions were (1) the Hundred of Samford, with the town of Polstead, meeting at East Bergholt ; (2) the town of Ipswich and its liberties, with the Hundred of Colneys and Carlford, meeting at Ipswich ; (3) the Hundreds of Loes, Wilford, and Thredling, meeting at Wickham Market; (4) the Hundred of Plumsgate, with Aldburgh and Orford, and certain parishes in the Hundred of Blything, meeting at Saxmundham; (5) the rest of the Hundred of Blything, with Dunwich and Southwold, meeting at Halesworth ; (6) the Hundreds of Wangford, Mutford, and Lothingland, meeting at Beccles ; (7) the Hundreds of Bosmere and Claydon and Stow, meeting at Coddenham; (8) the Hundred of Hoxne, meeting at Stradbroke ; (9) the Hundred of Hartismere, meeting at Eye; (10) the Hundred of Blackburne, meeting at Ixworth; (11) the Hundreds of Thingoe, Lackford, and

[1] Two or three editions of the *Journal* have been printed. The fullest and best account of Dowsing, with the journal of his Suffolk work, is that by Rev. C. H. E. White, *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* vi, 236–90.

Thedwastre, with Bury St. Edmunds, meeting at Bury; (12) the Hundred of Cosford with certain parishes of Babergh Hundred, meeting at Bilston; (13) the rest of the Hundred of Babergh, with Sudbury, meeting at Lavenham; and (14) the Hundred of Risbridge, meeting at Clare.

It soon, however, becomes quite clear that though Presbyterianism predominated in many parts of the county, this elaborate scheme for regulating religious worship, with its stern form of discipline, existed chiefly on paper. The 'sectaries' had succeeded in upsetting for a time church government, but their attempts to build up any generally accepted substitute in its place were complete failures. The Independents or Congregationalists began to make headway, and in many parishes there was a resolute undercurrent in favour of the old episcopacy.

The melancholy petition of the ministers of the counties of Suffolk and Essex concerning church government was presented to the Houses of Parliament on 29 May, 1646. It was ordered by the Lords to be printed, together with the respective answers of both Lords and Commons; it appeared in a small quarto form of eight pages on 1 June, 1646.[1] The petition took a singularly gloomy view of the state of religion and morals, notwithstanding the abolishment of episcopacy and the stripping of the churches.

> The pressing miseries of the orthodox and well-affected ministers and people in the county cry aloud to your honours for a settling of church government according to the Word. From the want of this it is that the name of the most high God is blasphemed, his precious truths corrupted; his Word despised, his ministers discouraged, his ordinances vilified. Hence it is that schisme, heresie, ignorance, prophanenesse, and atheisme flow in upon us, seducers multiply, grow daring and insolent, pernicious books poyson many souls, piety and learning decay apace, very many congregations ly waste without pastours, the Sacrament of Baptisme by many neglected and by many reiterated, the Lord's Supper generally disused or exceedingly prophaned, confusion and ruine threatening us in all our quarters.

The petitioners therefore prayed for the establishment by civil sanction of a form of church government 'according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches,' and that all schismatics, heretics, and soul-subverting books be effectually suppressed.

To this petition the names of 163 Suffolk ministers were attached, or less than a third of the whole number, supposing each parish had a minister. Those who signed probably represented the full number of Suffolk ministers sincerely attached to a Presbyterian form of worship. Parliament replied to this petition in a few set phrases of thanks, and stated that the objects the petitioners had in view were under their consideration. The only apparent result was the printing, under the signature of Manchester, in the following April of elaborate lists of ministers and elders nominated for each of the fourteen classic divisions.

In pursuance of various ordinances of the Parliament a complete survey of all benefices was made in 1650 by special commissioners. Most of these surveys are preserved at Lambeth Library, where they are bound up in twenty-one large folio volumes. The returns for Suffolk contain a variety

[1] B. M. King's Pamphlets, E. 339.

of statistical and interesting information for the whole county, arranged in hundreds.[1]

The period of the Commonwealth is sometimes represented as a period of religious toleration, but such a view is entirely erroneous. The three denominations of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists were tolerant to each other, save in the strength of verbal criticism; but with

[1] Lambeth, *Commonwealth Surveys*, xiii. The following is an abstract of the returns of the various benefices in Blything Hundred (508–79) as an example of the rest. The commission, which met at Halesworth on 15 October, 1650, took evidence on oath as to all benefices, donations, and impropriations, etc., within the Hundred of Blything :—

Parish	Patron	Value £	Minister
Halesworth R.	Lady Allington.	60	John Swayne. 'A godly and a painfull preaching minister.'
Bamburgh V.	Co-heirs of Lord Banning (Impr. £126).	26	Benjamy Fairefax. 'A painfull preaching minister.'
Wissett V.	The State	28	
Chediston	Stephen Blomfield (Impr. £22).	50	Thomas Neave.
Holton R.	State	30	John Swayne.
Spexhall R.	State	100	Samuel Kells, 'a preaching minister.'
Cratfield	John Lanye (Impr. £90).	40	Gabriel Elands.
Huntingfield	Sir Robert Cooke	100	Edward Stubbes, 'a constant preacher of the Word of God.'
Linstead Magna, Linstead Parva V.	State Impr. as Francis Edwards, the Impr. is a 'recusant convict.'	20	Thomas Smithe, 'a preaching minister.'
Cookley R.	Sir Robert Cooke	40	Samuel Manning, 'a preaching minister.'
Yoxford V. 'A great towne and hath a great store of inhabitants.'	Philip Bedingfield, 'Impr. £30.	33	Lawrence Easter.
Sibton V.	Edward Barker (Impr. £40).	44	Nicholas Steenes, 'a preaching minister.'
Peasenhall Impr. chapel, a member of Sibton.	Vicar of Sibton.	20	
Heveningham R.	State	52	Samuel Habergham, 'an able preaching minister.'
Ubbeston V.	Roger Cooke (Impr. £10)	30	Symon Sumpter, vicar, sequestered. Richard Heath serves the cure.
Bramfield V.	Elizabeth Brooke (Impr. £30).	50	Bartholomew Allerton.
Wenhaston V. Mention made of the 'decayed chappell' of Mells	Lady Brooke's two daughters (Impr. £27).	20	'Desboreux Jefferyes, a preaching minister, supplyes the Cure once a daye, and hath for his paynes twentye pounds a yeare.' Vicarage sequestered.
Blyford V.	Henry North (Impr. £32)	13	Desborough Jefferyes, once a day.
Thorington R.	John Brooke	40	John Chunne.
Blythburgh V.	John Brooke (Impr. £40)	35	Mr. Glynne.
Walberswick V.	John Brooke (Impr. £22)	20	Stephen Fenn.
Darsham V	Philip Bedingfield (Impr. £30).	34	Edmund Barker. The cure neglected by the incumbent's absence, who has removed 13 miles distant.
Theberton R.	State	55	John Cory. Former incumbent sequestered.
Westleton V.	Robert Riddington (Impr. £45).	48	Sneyth David.
Middleton V. 'The two churches of Middleton and Fordley, standing in one churchyard were united by the late Bishop of Norwich.'	John Woodcocke and others (Impr. £40).	8	Now no minister.
Fordley R.	John Woodcocke	40	Now no minister.
Leiston V.	The Company of Haberdashers (Impr. £50)	40	Samuel Savage, curate, Impr. 'Pays him Tenn shillings a Sabbath for his Sallarye.'

these exceptions toleration was unknown. The times were cruelly hard for Anglicans and Romanists, as well as for Quakers and Unitarians.

In Suffolk, as elsewhere, the Quakers were most severely treated. It should, however, always be remembered that the early Quakers were in many respects the exact opposite of the peaceable folk who now bear the name. The curious consciences of George Fox and his immediate followers found a virtue in doing their best to upset the worship of others. When the matter is inquired into there is hardly a county of England where this was not their line of action in the Commonwealth days, and it is small wonder that such conduct provoked much resentment, and brought them within the action of the law. Their own historian affords ample evidence of this,[1] and

Parish	Patron	Value £	Minister
Aldringham with Thorpe V. A church and a chapel.	Elope Harvey (Impr. £24)	10	Now no minister.
Knodishall cum-Buxlow R. 'Buxlow church decayed and ruinated tyme out of minde.'	Sir Arthur Jennye . . .	55	George Jennye, 'an able preaching minister.'
Dunwich V. All Saints. 'Another church which is now fallen into decay, and out of use and fit to be taken down.'	William Page (Impr. £22)	22	William Browne.
Southwold. 'Impr. chappell anciently belonging to the vicarage of Reydon.' 'A mile from the decayed chapel of Easton.'	Sir John Rous (Impr. £20).	10	Thomas Spurdeons, 'an able minister.'
Raydon V.	Sir John Rous (Impr. £28).	17	Thomas Warne.
Easton Bavents	Jeffrey Howland . . .	10	Thomas West. 'Hath not preached there these foure yeares, there being neyther church nor chappell.'
Westhall V.	Late dean and chapter of Ipswich (Impr. £22).	60	John Goldsmith.
Sotherton R.	Sir John Rous . . .	38	Samuel Smithson.
Brampton R.	Heirs of Thomas Leman .	50	Now no minister.
Uggeshall R.	Sir W. Players. . . .	55	Henry Young, 'a painfull preaching minister.' Lyonell Players, late incumbent, sequestered.
Stoven V.	Bartholomew Ashdowne (Impr. £25).		John Colbache, 'a Preaching minister,' used to have £5 a year, now the impropriator allows 40s. a year for a sermon once a month.
Wangford-cum-Henham V. 'The chapel at Henham was anciently used for divine worship.'	Sir John Rous (Impr. £22).		Mr. Shepheard, curate. For preaching twice a day he has his diet, housekeeping, and £20.
Wrentham R.	Robert Bronsten . . .	60	'Mr. John Phillips, an antient and reverend preaching minister is the incumbent, and supplies the cure every Lord's day, with the assistance of Mr. William Amys, sonne to the late reverend Doctor Amys.'
Frostenden R.	William Glover. . . .	45	Thomas Plye.
Henstead. 'The church of Henstead some eight years since was burnt downe and nothing left butt the stone walls, which are able to beare a new roofe.'	Heirs of William Sidnor .	70	Edward Witing sequestered. 'John Allen a preaching minister put in by the Parliament.'
Southcove R.	State	31	Walter Manning, 'a preaching minister.'
Benacre R.	Henry North	62	William Suttlary, 'a reverend preaching minister.'
North Hales *alias* Cove Hithe V.	Jeffrey Howland . . .	18	Thomas West.

[1] Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, 2 vols. fol. (1753). The part relative to Suffolk is i, 657–87.

the corroboration of it in set terms is to be found wherever the sessional papers of that period are extant.

In 1655, one Richard Clayton, with two other Quakers, affixed to the 'steeple-house'[1] door of Bures a document full of the strongest abuse of ministers of religion, couched in Biblical language. Clayton was taken before a magistrate, whipped, and sent out of the town as a vagrant, whilst his companions, who offered some resistance, were committed to Bury gaol. At the sessions the two latter were fined twenty nobles each as, says Besse, 'disturbers of magistrates and ministers,' with imprisonment till the fine was paid. In gaol they experienced the harshest treatment, being herded with felons and sleeping on rye straw. The gaoler treated them after a brutal fashion, because they, being water drinkers, would not purchase 'strong liquors,' on whose sale he made much profit.

About the same time William Seaman, of Mendlesham, was committed to Ipswich gaol for speaking to a 'priest' in church, as the Quaker historian puts it.

The Restoration made no improvement in the position of the Quakers, but indirectly increased their troubles. The oath of allegiance was imposed on all, and their scruples as to oaths, and not any objection to the revival of the monarchy, caused the committal of increased numbers to prison. In 1660 there were thirty-three of the Friends in gaol at Bury, nine at Blythburgh, thirteen at Melton, and twenty-three at Ipswich. The majority were indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, one for refusing to swear at a court leet, and others for non-attendance at church. Their refusal to pay tithes, both under the Commonwealth and the Monarchy, brought about considerable distraining of goods.

They had a brief respite in 1672; for at that date, during the short-lived indulgence of Charles II, 'the peaceable people called Quakers,' as they termed themselves in a petition, were all released from the Suffolk gaols and elsewhere, under a special royal warrant.[2] But the continuance of their objection to paying tithes and 'steeple-house rates' soon brought them again into gaol. When the proclamation of James II, of 8 April, 1685, made another gaol deliverance, seventy-four Quakers obtained their freedom from Suffolk gaols, namely thirty-one from Ipswich county prison, thirteen from Ipswich town prison, thirteen from Bury, nine from Melton, and eight from Sudbury.

After the Restoration, Dr. Edward Reynolds was appointed bishop of Norwich; he was consecrated on 6 January, 1661. He had been for many years identified with Presbyterian theology, but his change of faith seems to have been genuine. He made a conscientious, earnest bishop, whilst his earlier belief made his action towards the nonconformists conciliatory throughout. Hence the harshness of the Conventicle Act and the Five-Mile Act was much mitigated in East Anglia. When the time came, on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1662, for the removal from their benefices of those Commonwealth ministers who refused to accept episcopal ordination, sixty-seven ministers were ejected from their cures in the widespread diocese of

[1] According to the Quaker nomenclature a church was always termed a 'steeple-house,' and a minister of any kind, even if Independent, Presbyterian or Baptist, was known as a 'priest.'

[2] S. P. Dom. Entry Book xxxiv, 171.

Norwich ; but nine of them afterwards conformed. Eleven of the number were holding livings the incumbents of which had been dispossessed about 1644 and were still surviving. Thus the real number cast out for conscience' sake in the diocese was only forty-seven. About half of that total were Suffolk incumbents ; it thus follows that the number of ejected nonconformists was about a quarter of the number of ejected churchmen.[1]

In 1672 Charles II and his council, being desirous to conciliate the dissenters, put forth a declaration of indulgence wherein it was stated that although no persons save conformists were eligible for office, the penal laws against nonconformists and recusants were to be suspended, but that none should meet for religious worship at any place until that place of meeting and the teacher had been duly licensed. Popish recusants were not to be allowed public places of worship, but they might assemble under certain conditions in private houses.

The licences that were applied for under this short-lived indulgence give a good idea of the strength of dissent in different counties and localities. There were thirty-nine licences applied for and granted for buildings for Presbyterian worship or for the residence of a Presbyterian minister, thirty-one for Congregationalists, one for Baptists, and four cases in which the particular sect was not defined. The exact number of Presbyterian ministers licensed for Suffolk was twenty-eight ; there were only ten for Norfolk. The licensed Congregational ministers for this county were twenty-three—a number exactly paralleled by Norfolk, and only exceeded amongst all the counties by London.[2]

These licences almost invariably name a particular house for the assembling of the sectaries—there was no time to erect meeting-houses. At Beccles, however, in May, 1672, 'the Church of Christ' in that town petitioned the king to allow them to assemble in the guildhall, and to have Robert Otty licensed as their teacher. They enclosed a certificate of the trustees of the hall and of the chief officers of the town consenting to the use of the building by Mr. Otty's congregation. The petition was granted.[3]

Another granted petition of some interest was one signed by twenty-one nonconformists of Wrentham and neighbourhood expressing thankfulness for the indulgence, and praying for licence for a house in Wrentham for their worship and for Mr. Ames as their teacher. They promised not to teach any doctrines tending to sedition.[4]

[1] Walker give the names of 214 ejected churchmen in the diocese, but Dr. Jessopp (*Dioc. Hist.* 206) believes they numbered 250. The proportion in Suffolk could not have been under 100.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 3 vols. from Dec. 1671 to Dec. 1673 *passim*. In the introduction to the 3rd vol. Mr. Daniel has supplied useful summary tables arranged according to counties. The following are the places licensed for Suffolk :—*Presbyterian :* Aldeburgh, Assington, Barking, Battisford, Bury, Clare, Coombes, Cowling, Creeting, East Bergholt, Geesings in Wickham, Great Cornard, Hadleigh, Haughley, Haverhill, Hessett, Higham, Hundon, Hunston, Ipswich, Kelshall, Little Waldingfield, Nayland, Nedging, Needham Market, Ousden, Ovington, Rattlesden, Rede, Rendham, Southwold, Spexhall, Stowmarket, Sudbury, Walpole, Walsham-le-Willows, Wattisfield, West Creeting, and Wrentham. *Congregational :* Ashfield, Beccles, Bury, Cookley, Debenham, Denham, Dunwich, Eye, Framlingham, Fremlingfield, Gislingham, Hopton, Ipswich, Kessingland, Knodishall, Lowestoft, Middleton, Peasenhall, Rattlesden, Rickinghall, Sibton, Sileham, Spexhall, Sudbury, Swefling, Walpole, Waybread, Westerton, Winkfield, Winston, and Woodbridge. *Congregational and Baptist :* Bungay. *Undefined :* Brockford, Bury, Stowmarket, and Wetheringsett.

[3] S. P. Dom. Chas. II, cccxxi, No. 72.

[4] Ibid. cccxx, No. 284. Interesting particulars are known with regard to this congregation at Wrentham and Mr. Ames. At Walpole an old house, which was gutted in the seventeenth century to serve as a meeting-house, is still used by the Congregationalists. See subsequent accounts of these parishes.

This mildly tolerant indulgence was, however, only in force for a few months. Parliament revoked it in 1673, and passed the Sacramental Test Act. Toleration for Protestant nonconformity did not come until 1689.

Anthony Sparrow succeeded to the bishopric of Norwich in 1676, on the death of Bishop Reynolds. He was a native of Depden in Suffolk, in which parish he resided after his ejection in 1644 from the rectory of Hawkedon, and from his fellowship at Queen's College, Cambridge. He had the boldness to publish his famous *Rationall upon the Book of Common Prayer* in 1657, at a time when its use was prohibited under heavy penalties. On his death in 1685, Bishop Lloyd was translated from Peterborough to this diocese.

The accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1688 occasioned a most serious loss to the church of England. Archbishop Sancroft, a native of Suffolk, eight other bishops (including Lloyd of Norwich), upwards of four hundred and fifty of the clergy, as well as some of the more distinguished of the laity, conscientiously objected to taking any new oath of allegiance, as they had already taken an oath of allegiance to James II and his heirs from which they had not been dispensed. Among the nonjurors were many men of the deepest piety and learning; but the Whigs pressed the advantage they had gained, and insisted on tendering the new oath to men like Sancroft, Ken, and Lloyd, who had resisted James's despotism, and who had indeed paved the way for the revolution of 1688.

Twenty-three of the clergy of Suffolk followed their archbishop and bishop in preferring to lose their cures and emoluments rather than take the new oath.[1] Two others at first refused, but afterwards complied.

It is impossible not to feel much admiration for men who, rather than do violence to their conscientious scruples, went forth from their benefices 'into the cold shade of neglect and even of want.' Archbishop Sancroft, on his ejection from Lambeth, retired to his birthplace at Fressingfield, passing the rest of his life in quiet retirement. Many in his own county had much sympathy both with the deposed archbishop and his views, particularly among the Tory gentlemen. There is an extant letter addressed to him by Mr. Glover, of Frostenden, asking Sancroft to confirm his daughter in his private chapel at Fressingfield, as he could not bear the thought of her being confirmed by the intruding bishop of Norwich.[2]

The pious archbishop died on 24 November, 1693. He was buried in Fressingfield churchyard, where a humbly worded epitaph, written by himself, records his career. It thus ends:—'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away (as the Lord pleaseth so come things to pass); Blessed be the name of the Lord.'

[1] Overton, *Nonjurors* (1902), 471–96. They were Anger, curate of Botesdale; Edward Beeston, rector of Sproughton and Melton; Matthew Bisbie, rector of Long Melford; Anthony Bokenham, rector of Helmingham; Cole, rector of Chelsworth; Sam. Edwards, vicar of Eye; Fisher, curate of Washbrook; W. Gifford, rector of Great Bradley; Mich. Gilbert, curate of Spexhall; George Gripps, rector of Brockley; W. Kerrington, curate of Depden; Ric. Lake, curate of Parham; Jonathan More, schoolmaster of Long Melford; Stephen Newson, rector of Hawkedon; J. Owen, rector of Tuddenham; W. Phillips, curate of Long Melford; E. Pretty, rector of Little Cornard; Richardson, curate of Great Thurlow; T. Rogerson, rector of Ampton; T. Ross, rector of Rede; Abraham Salter, vicar of Edwardstowe; Charles Turnbull, rector of Hadleigh; and Giles Willcox, curate of Bungay.

[2] Tanner, MSS. Bodl. cited in Raven, *Hist. of Suff.* 231.

The ecclesiastical history of Suffolk, like the rest of East Anglia, was singularly uneventful throughout both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The bishops seemed unable to resist the more wealthy attractions of other sees, particularly of the much smaller but much more lucrative one of Ely, and were constantly being translated. Out of the thirteen seventeenth-century bishops of Norwich, eight left for other sees after a brief experience of East Anglia.

'In Anne's reign,' says Dr. Raven, 'Sacheverell had many Suffolk admirers, especially Leman of Charsfield, who had perpetuated the name of that turbulent divine on one of the church bells, cast in 1710.[1]

Defoe's account of a journey he made through the eastern counties in 1722 gives an interesting picture of Suffolk in the time of George I. He spent a Sunday at Southwold, and found a congregation of only twenty-seven, in addition to the parson and the clerk, though he thought that the building was capable of holding five or six thousand people; but the meeting-house of the dissenters was full to the very doors.[2]

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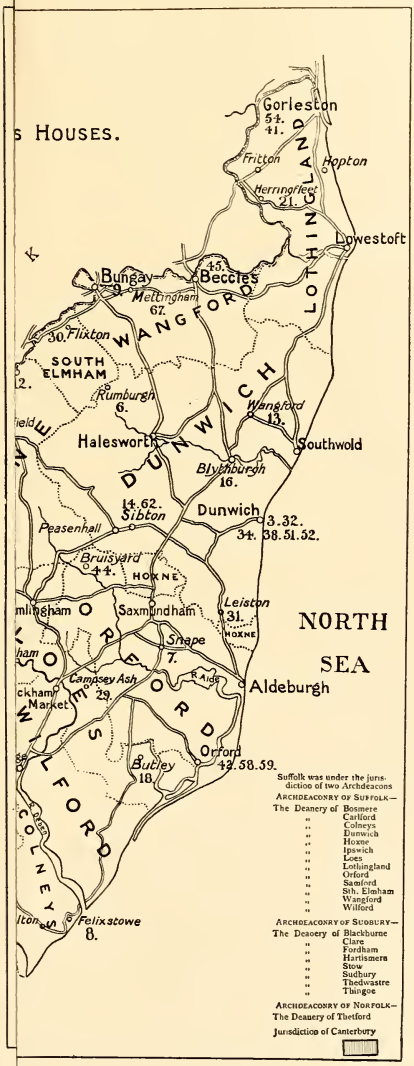
[1] *Hist. of Suff.* 232.

[2] Defoe, *Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation* (1724).


s Houses.
Gorleston
54.
41.
Fritton
Hopton
Herringfleet
21.
Lowestoft
Bungay
9.
Beccles
45.
Mettingham
67.
WANGFORD
LOTHINGLAND
30. Flixton
SOUTH ELMHAM
Rumburgh
6.
Wangford
13.
Halesworth
Southwold
DUNWICH
Blythburgh
16.
14.62.
Sibton
Dunwich
3.32.
34. 38.51.52.
Peasenhall
Bruisyard
44.
HOXNE
Leiston
31.
Saxmundham
NORTH
SEA
Snape
7.
Campsey Ash
29.
Aldeburgh
Orford
42.58.59.
Butley
18.
Felixstowe
8.
Suffolk was under the jurisdiction of two Archdeacons
ARCHDEACONRY OF SUFFOLK—
The Deanery of Bosmere
" Carlford
" Colneys
" Dunwich
" Hoxne
" Ipswich
" Loes
" Lothingland
" Orford
" Samford
" Sth. Elmham
" Wangford
" Wilford
ARCHDEACONRY OF SUDBURY—
The Deanery of Blackburne
" Clare
" Fordham
" Hartismere
" Stow
" Sudbury
" Thedwastre
" Thingoe
ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK—
The Deanery of Thetford
Jurisdiction of Canterbury

The ecclesiastical history of Suffolk, like the rest of East Anglia, was singularly uneventful throughout both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The bishops seemed unable to resist the more wealthy attractions of other sees, particularly of the much smaller but much more lucrative one of Ely, and were constantly being translated. Out of the thirteen seventeenth-century bishops of Norwich, eight left for other sees after a brief experience of East Anglia.

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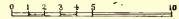
Ecclesiastical Map of SUFFOLK.

Showing ANCIENT RURAL DEANERIES and RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

according to the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535.

Scale of Miles.



Reference

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

BENEDICTINE MONKS
1. Bury St. Edmunds Abbey
2. Eye Priory
3. Dunwich Priory
4. Edwardstone Priory
5. Hoxne Priory
6. Rumburgh Priory
7. Snape Priory
8. Priory of Felixstowe

BENEDICTINE NUNS
9. Bungay Priory
10. Redlingfield Priory
11. Thetford, St. George's Priory

CLUNIAC MONKS
12. Mendham Priory
13. Wangford Priory

CISTERCIAN MONKS
14. Sibton Abbey

AUSTIN CANONS
15. Alnesbourn Priory
16. Blythburgh Priory
17. Bricett Priory
18. Butley Priory
19. Chipley Priory
20. Dodnash Priory
21. Herringfleet Priory
22. Ipswich, Priory of SS. Peter & Paul
23. Ipswich, Priory of the Holy Trinity
24. Ixworth Priory
25. Kersey Priory
26. Letheringham Priory
27. Thetford, Priory of the Holy Sepulcher
28. Woodbridge Priory

AUSTIN NUNS.
29. Campsey Priory
30. Flixton Priory

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS
31. Leiston Abbey

KNIGHTS TEMPLARS
32. Dunwich

KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS
33. Barnsford Preceptory

FRIARIES
34. Dunwich, Dominican
35. Ipswich, "
36. Sudbury, "
37. Bury St. Edmunds, Franciscan
38. Dunwich, Franciscan
39. Ipswich, "
40. Clare, Austin
41. Gorleston, "
42. Orford, "
43. Ipswich, Carmelite

HOUSE OF MINORESSES
44. Brusyard Abbey

HOSPITALS
45. Beccles
46. Bury St. Edmunds, Domus Dei
47. Bury St. Edmunds, St. Nicholas
48. Bury St. Edmunds, St. Petre
49. Bury St. Edmunds, St. Petronilla
50. Bury St. Edmunds, St. Saviour
51. Dunwich, St. James
52. " Holy Trinity
53. Eye
54. Gorleston
55. Ipswich, SS. Mary Magdalen & James
56. Ipswich, St. Leonard
57. Orford, SS. Leonard & John Baptist
58. Thetford, Domus Dei
59. " St. John
60. Sibton
61. Sudbury, St. Leonard

COLLEGES
62. Bury St. Edmunds, Jesus
63. Denston
64. Ipswich, Cardinal
65. Mettingham
66. Stoke by Clare
67. Sudbury
68. Wingfield

ALIEN HOUSES
71. Blaxenham
72. Creeting St. Mary
73. Creeting St. Olave
74. Stoke by Clare
75. Great Thurlow

76. Tutbury Hospital

Suffolk was under the Jurisdiction of two Archdeacons:

ARCHDEACONRY OF SUFFOLK—
The Deanery of Bosmere
" Carlford
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" Dunwich
" Hoxne
" Ipswich
" Loes
" Lothingland
" Orford
" Samford
" Sth Elmham
" Wangford
" Wilford

ARCHDEACONRY OF SUDBURY—
The Deanery of Blackburne
" Clare
" Fordham
" Hartismere
" Stow
" Sudbury
" Thedwastre
" Thingoe

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK—
The Deanery of Thetford
Jurisdiction of Canterbury

him to their pulpits; but on the bishop (George Horne, 1790–2), who was in the neighbourhood, being appealed to if he had any objection to Wesley using the church, the reply was: 'Mr. Wesley is a regularly ordained minister of the Church of England, and if Mr. Manning has no objection to his preaching in his church, I can have none.' After preaching in Diss church in the morning, the aged evangelist proceeded to Bury St. Edmunds, where he preached that evening and the next; but the journal does not say whether he was allowed to use either of the churches.

Neither the Evangelical movement at the beginning of the last century, nor the Oxford movement of its centre, produced any particularly apparent or striking result in Suffolk, nor was any specially prominent leader of either of these revivals—the one the corollary of the other—connected for long with the county. Nevertheless both movements have doubtless had their decided weight in Suffolk and have tended to bring about marvellous improvements in most parishes, not only in the condition of the churches and the comeliness of worship, but also in an increase of congregations and of devout communicants.

Mention, however, must not be omitted of the fact that to Suffolk belongs the honour of being the birthplace of the great Tractarian movement. Hugh James Rose, a distinguished Cambridge scholar, was appointed rector of Hadleigh and joint dean of Bocking by Archbishop Howley in 1830, but his health obliged him to resign this preferment and leave Suffolk towards the close of 1833. The design of the publication of a series of pamphlets on the position and true teaching of the Church of England from a High Church point of view was first discussed in the common room of Oriel College, Oxford; but it was at Hadleigh, in the historic library of the fine old brick tower of the rectory or deanery immediately to the west of the church, under the presidency of Mr. Rose, whose abilities and learning as editor of the *British Magazine* were acknowledged on all sides, that the project of issuing the 'Tracts for the Times' was thoroughly debated and the project crystallized. In July, 1833, Mr. William Palmer, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Arthur Perceval visited Mr. Rose for the express purpose of these deliberations.

> The conference at Hadleigh, which continued for nearly a week, concluded, says Mr. Palmer, without any specific arrangements being entered into, though all concerned agreed as to the necessity of some mode of combined action, and the expediency of circulating tracts or publications intended to inculcate sound and enlightened principles of attachment to the Church.[1]

APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISION OF THE COUNTY

The county of Suffolk was originally wholly in the diocese of East Anglia, which had, as we have seen, its first seat at Dunwich. In the seventh century the diocese was divided, Norfolk having its own bishops with the see centre at North Elmham, whilst Suffolk retained Dunwich as the episcopal seat of that county. These two East Anglian sees were reunited in the ninth century, when Suffolk lost its episcopal dignity, Elmham, and afterwards Thetford for a brief period, giving the name to the wide East Anglian diocese. Soon after the beginning of the Norman rule, the seat of the bishopric was transferred to Norwich.

For seven and a half centuries the whole of Suffolk remained under the control of the Bishop of Norwich. A small portion of Cambridgeshire (thirteen parishes), on the Newmarket verge of

[1] *Narrative of Events connected with the publ. of Tracts for the Times* (1843), by Rev. W. Palmer, 6.

the county, was also under the rule of the same bishop, and formed part of the Suffolk rural deanery of Fordham.

It is not possible to give any particular date for the subdivision of Suffolk into deaneries, but it was probably an accomplished fact when the county was divided in 1126 into two archdeaconries, namely those of Suffolk and Sudbury. The Norwich Taxation Roll of 1256 shows that the Suffolk archdeaconry then embraced the thirteen rural deaneries of Bosmere, Carlford, Claydon, Colneys, Dunwich, Hoxne, Ipswich, Loes, Lothingland, Orford, Samford, Wangford, and Wilford; whilst eight deaneries formed the archdeaconry of Sudbury, namely Blackburne, Clare, Fordham, Hartismere, Stow, Sudbury, Thedwastre, and Thingoe.

The only change that appears in the 1291 taxation is that South Elmham, a hitherto exempt jurisdiction, had become a recognized deanery of Suffolk archdeaconry.

These arrangements held good at the time of the Valor of 1535, and for just three centuries beyond; for it was not until the general upheaval of old diocesan arrangements by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1835–6 that any change was made. At that time the archdeaconry of Sudbury was annexed to the small diocese of Ely, with the not inconsiderable exceptions of the deaneries of Hartismere, Stow, and Sudbury, which were added to the archdeaconry of Suffolk.[1]

By this division of Suffolk between two dioceses there were left in the diocese of Norwich and archdeaconry of Suffolk 348 cures, namely 198 rectories, 135 vicarages or perpetual curacies, and 15 chapelries; whilst in the diocese of Ely and archdeaconry of Sudbury there were (in Suffolk) 174 cures, namely 126 rectories, 37 vicarages or perpetual curacies, and 11 chapelries.[2]

The Clergy List of 1860 shows that there were then two rural deans appointed for each of the deaneries of Bosmere, Carlford, Dunwich, Hartismere, Lothingland, Orford, and Wilford, implying their subdivision. At the present time (1906) the archdeaconry of Suffolk contains eighteen deaneries, all the old names and boundaries being maintained, but with the subdivisions they are :— Bosmere, Carlford, Claydon, Colneys, Dunwich North, Dunwich South, Hartismere North, Hartismere South, Hoxne, Ipswich, Loes, Lothingland, Orford, Samford, South Elmham, Stow, Wangford, and Wilford.

The changes in the deanery designations and boundaries of the archdeaconry of Sudbury are much greater. The Cambridgeshire deanery of Camps, which was added to the archdeaconry at the time of the diocesan change, was transferred to the archdeaconry of Ely before 1880. Sudbury archdeaconry now consists exclusively of Suffolk parishes and is divided into the eleven deaneries of Blackburne, Clare, Fordham, Hadleigh, Horningsheath, Lavenham, Mildenhall, Sudbury, Thedwastre, Thingoe, and Thurlow.

There used to be four peculiars in Suffolk that were exempt from both diocesan and archidiaconal visitation. These were the rectories of Hadleigh, Monks Eleigh, and Moulton in the jurisdiction of Canterbury; and of Freckenham in the jurisdiction of Rochester. There is a movement now (1906) on foot for securing, by a readjustment of dioceses, a bishop to be spiritual overlord for the whole of Suffolk. Should this be accomplished there will be a reversion to the ancient arrangement of the seventh century.

[1] 6 & 7 Will. IV, cap. 77; Phillimore, *Ecc. Law*, i, 25.

[2] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 15.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF SUFFOLK

INTRODUCTION

The Religious Houses of Suffolk were considerable in number, and in a few cases of no small importance.

So far as the Benedictine or Black monks are concerned, the great abbey of St. Edmunds was one of the most important and wealthy houses of the order either in the British Isles or in continental Christendom. The amount of original information that is extant with regard to this foundation is quite unusual, and the little use that has hitherto been made of a great deal of this material is remarkable.

The other houses of Black monks in the county were of comparatively small size and importance, and were, one and all, originally cells of some larger establishment outside Suffolk. The largest of these was the priory of Eye (with its cell of Dunwich) ; it was in the first instance an alien cell of the abbey of Bernay, but it became naturalized in 1385. Felixstowe was a cell of the cathedral priory of Rochester, and Edwardstone of the abbey of Abingdon, Hoxne of the cathedral priory of Norwich, and Sudbury of Westminster Abbey. Snape Priory was subject to the abbey of Colchester ; its attempt in 1400 to secure its independence eventually failed. Rumburgh was a cell of St. Mary's, York ; its priors, though removable at the pleasure of the York abbot and changed with great frequency, were always presented to the bishop before taking office ; there were no fewer than forty priors between 1308 and the dissolution, their average rule being only for five years.

There were two houses of Benedictine nuns, namely those of Redlingfield and Bungay, the latter of which was continuously supplied by daughters of the local gentry.

The Cluniac monks had two small houses, Mendham Priory, which was a subordinate cell of Castle Acre, and Wangford, a cell of Thetford Priory, which was naturalized in 1393.

The other great reformed branch of the Benedictines, the White monks, or Cistercians, had a comparatively small abbey at Sibton, of some local importance.

The Austin canons had a large number of priories in this county, as well as in Norfolk, which were mostly quite small. Such were the priories of Alnesbourn, Bricett, Chipley, Dodnash, Herringfleet, Kersey, and Woodbridge. Butley was an Austin house of some wealth and importance, whose mem-

bers were usually recruited from the gentlefolk. Ipswich had two Austin priories within its walls, dedicated respectively to the Holy Trinity and to SS. Peter and Paul ; between them they held the advowsons of almost all the churches in Ipswich and its suburbs, and were otherwise of no small influence in the administration of the affairs of the town.

Ixworth was next in importance to Butley among these priories, both in numbers and name ; sixteen canons, in addition to the prior, signed the acceptance of royal supremacy in 1534. The priories of Blythburgh and Letheringham were also Austin foundations ; the former a cell of St. Osyth, Essex, and the latter a cell of St. Peter, Ipswich.

The Austin nuns had two foundations, Campsey and Flixton. The former was an establishment of renown, the sisters always being ladies of birth, daughters of the old landed gentry of Norwich diocese ; it seems to have been always free from the slightest taint of scandal, although it was unique among all English nunneries in having a small college of secular priests within the precinct walls.

The Premonstratensian or White canons held the abbey of Leiston, in the extreme south of the hundred of Blything ; the site was changed in 1363.

The Knights Templars had an early foundation at ill-fated Dunwich, the church of which was known as ' the Temple ' long after their suppression. The Suffolk commandery of the Knights Hospitallers was at Battisford, whence annual contributions were sought throughout the whole county.

Suffolk was well supplied with the mendicant orders. There were three houses of Dominican friars, namely at Dunwich, Ipswich, and Sudbury. There were also three houses of Franciscan friars, namely at Dunwich, Ipswich, and Babwell near Bury St. Edmunds. The Austin friars had also three priories in Suffolk, at Orford, Gorleston or South Yarmouth, and at Clare in close connexion with the castle. This foundation at Clare seems to have been the most important house of their order in England. The Carmelites had a single house at Ipswich.

At Bruisyard, founded on the site of a former college in 1366, was an establishment of Nuns Minoresses, or poor sisters of St. Clare, under the rule of an abbess. There were only four houses of this Franciscan order in England, namely the head house at the Minories without Aldgate in the city of London, this Suffolk abbey, and the Cambridgeshire houses of Denney and Waterbeach.

With regard to alien priories, in addition to Eye and Stoke-by-Clare, whose denization saved them from extinction, and the semi-alien Cluniac cell of Wangford, there were in Suffolk three small cells of foreign Benedictine abbeys, which fell at the time of the general suppression of the alien houses. These were Blakenham, pertaining to the great abbey of Bec, Creeting St. Mary to the abbey of Bernay, and Creeting St. Olave to the abbey of Grestein.

The hospitals of the county—for such establishments ought always to be included in lists of religious houses, as they were under the rule of those who led vowed lives, and usually of the Austin profession—were fairly numerous. They were to be found at Bury (5), Ipswich (3), Dunwich (2), Orford (2), Beccles, Eye, Gorleston, Sibton and Sudbury. Out of these seventeen, no fewer than eleven were founded for the use of lepers.

The examples of colleges or collegiate churches in Suffolk are not many, but they were fairly representative of different classes of such foundations for the promotion of a common life amongst those serving a particular church. The oldest of these was that of Mettingham Castle, which had been originally established in 1350 at Raveningham, in Norfolk, by Sir John de Norwich; his grandson, about 1387, moved these secular canons and the rest of the establishment to Mettingham. The college of Bruisyard, established in 1334 and removed here after an existence of seven years at Campsey, had but a short life, being suppressed in favour of a nunnery in 1356. The college at Wingfield was founded in 1362; and that of Sudbury was founded by Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother in 1374. Stoke-by-Clare, originally a Benedictine cell, was changed into an establishment of secular canons with vicars, clerks, and choristers in 1415. Jesus College, Bury St. Edmunds, was founded in the time of Edward IV, for the common life of certain chantry priests; and Denston College was a like foundation about the same time, but on a smaller scale. The ill-fated Cardinal's College, Ipswich, 1522, fell at the time of its founder's downfall, ere it was completed.

As to the colleges, it is usual for many writers on monastic subjects to point with no little approval to the founding of collegiate establishments instead of monasteries, seeing therein a love of education and culture rather than of cloistered life. But a closer study of these colleges in any given area would probably lead to a revision of such opinions; certainly in Suffolk the life and work of the monasteries would compare favourably with that of the colleges. The promotion of learning was little advanced by these collegiate establishments, and certainly the monasteries were doing something in that direction. The later administration of Sudbury College was most wasteful, and the funds squandered by non-resident secular canons at the wealthy college of Stoke-by-Clare could not possibly have been thus misused when in Benedictine hands.

Perhaps other bishops, besides Bishops Goldwell and Nykke, kept special registers of monastic visitations, but none are extant save those of these two prelates, whose visitations from 1492 to 1532 are among the Bodleian manuscripts. Their visitation records were printed by the Camden Society in 1884, under the editorship of Dr. Jessopp. To that volume the ensuing notices of the particular religious houses are much indebted.

After studying, with as much closeness and frankness as is possible, the records of the latter days of the religious houses of East Anglia and their suppression, we find the opinion at which other investigators have recently arrived become more and more strengthened, namely that the condition of England's monasteries was better, and the general fulfilment of the solemn obligations more faithfully observed, in the last fifty years of their life than at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

The record of the exceedingly faithful and severe visitations of the White canons of Leiston Abbey shows that the extra-diocesan visitations of religious houses of those of their own order could be thorough and genuine, and sternly punitive in cases of offence. Nor, so far as we are aware, is there any reason to suspect that visitations of both Benedictines and Austins, by their own duly authorized visitors, to which even the 'exempt' abbey of St. Edmunds

had to submit, were on less scrupulous lines. Such visitations were made every three years, whereas those made by the diocesan were, as a rule, only undertaken every six years.

The amount of material that has had to be digested before producing the following brief sketches of the different houses has, in some cases, been exceptionally large. The extant records of St. Edmunds are almost overpowering in their number, whilst the chartularies or registers of the houses of Eye, Sibton, Blythburgh, Campsey, and Leiston, with Clare Friary and Stoke-by-Clare Priory, are considerable in extent. The endeavour has been made in each case to point out to the student the source or sources of further information.[1]

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

1. THE ABBEY OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS[2]

In the year 903, or somewhat later, the relics of the martyred king, St. Edmund, were translated from the comparatively obscure wooden

[1] The lists of superiors, though much fuller than any hitherto attempted, are not to be considered as exhaustive in all cases.

[2] Several particulars with regard to the more general details of the history of this great abbey have already appeared in the sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of Suffolk, and are not here repeated. The MS. sources of information with regard to this great Benedictine house are a good deal more numerous than those that are extant for any other English religious foundation.

But, first of all, mention must be made of the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), in 3 vols., 1890–6, edited by Thomas Arnold. The MSS. there printed are: Volume i (a), 'The Passion of St. Edmund' by Abbo of Fleury, *c.* 1000; (b) 'The Miracles of St. Edmund' by Archdeacon Herman, *c.* 1095; (c) 'The Infancy of St. Edmund' by Geoffrey de Fontibus, *c.* 1150; (d) 'The Miracles of St. Edmund' by Abbot Samson, *c.* 1190; and (e) Jocelyn's Chronicle, 1182–1211.

Volume ii contains: (a) An anonymous chronicle, breaking off 1212; (b) three narratives of the elections of abbots in 1215, 1257, and 1302 respectively; (c) a French metrical biography of St. Edmund by Denis Piramus; (d) an account of the expulsion of the Grey Friars from Bury in 1257 and 1263; (e) the story of the Great Riots of 1327; and (f) Building Acts of the Sacrists from 1065 to 1200.

Volume iii contains: (a) 'The Chronicle of Bury, 1020–1346'; (b) the Collectanea of Andrew Aston, hosteller of Bury, made in 1426; (c) Excerpts from Cambridge MSS. 1351 to 1462; (d) the Curteys Registers, 1429 to 1446; (e) the destruction of the church by fire, 1465; (f) a short general chronicle from the Conquest to 1471; and (g) a variety of valuable excerpts in an appendix.

The introduction supplies full particulars as to the MSS. cited.

MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM

I. Harl. MS. 3977 is the 'Liber Consuetudinarius' of the abbey, *c.* 1300, with a few later additions. It deals with the reception of novices, the professions of the monks, the different penances, the duties of the obedientiaries, and various matters pertaining rather to a chartulary than a custumary. There are also certain folios of general chronicles. Many of the facts contained in it, which have hitherto been ignored by writers on this monastery, are given in the account in the text. The heads of the forty-six chapters of this custumary are given in a note in Dugdale's *Mon.* iii, 116–17.

II. Harl. MS. 1005 is a thick vellum quarto entitled 'Liber Albus,' in different hands, of nearly 300 folios. The contents are most varied; but its chief importance lies in the fact that it is to a great extent a custumary of the abbey, for so many details and ordinances relative to its minor working are scattered throughout the folios. These are chiefly to be found on fol. 49–64, 69, 84*b*, 88*b*–92*b*, 95–109, 117, 192–213.

III. Harl. MS. 645, termed 'Registrum Kempe,' contains 261 large parchment folios. The contents are singularly varied, and are set forth in some detail in the old catalogue of the Harl. MSS. (vol. i, 396).

IV. Harl. MS. 447 is a book of general annals, written in this monastery about 1300; it begins with the creation and ends in 1212. It contains a few special facts as to the history of the abbey.

V. Harl. MS. 1332 is another parchment volume of general annals, with a few local details, written rather earlier than the last; it is imperfect, and ends in 1093.

VI. Add. MS. 14847 is the 'Registrum Album' of the monastery, written *c.* 1300, with a few additions by a slightly later hand. This chartulary of 95 folios contains copies of several Anglo-Saxon documents in the orthography of the thirteenth century.

VII. Harl. MS. 230 is the register of Abbot Thomas of Tottington (1302–12) and of Abbot Richard of Draughton (1312–35).

VIII. Add. MS. 14850 is a large chartulary of 107 folios (xv cent. or xvi cent.) containing many rentals, custumaries, and charters from registers of abbots from 1279 to 1312; rentals, surveys of several manors, and plan of the water-pipes of the monastery.

IX. Harl. MS. 743 is an interesting collection of charters, ordinances, &c., pertaining to the abbey compiled by John Lakynghethe, a fourteenth-century

chapel of Hoxne to Beodricsworth, afterwards known as Bury St. Edmunds.[1]

The first church in which the body of St. Edmund was placed when it was removed from the decent tomb (*competenti mausoleo*) at Hoxne was a large church made of wood with much skill by the people of the district of all ranks.[2] Edmund son of Edward the Elder granted in 945 the lands round Beodricsworth to the family [3] of the monastery. At that time the monk of St. Edmunds, and generally called by his name. This contains 280 folios. A full calendar of the contents, arranged alphabetically, occupies the first fifty folios. This is followed by a dated list of the successive abbots, with brief remarks as to their acts, from Uvius, the first abbot (1020), down to John of Brinkley, who died in 1379.

X. Add. MS. 14849 supplies extents and custumaries taken in 1357 and 1387; and various statutes and letters of Edward III.

XI. Lansd. MS. 416, called 'Ikworth,' is a register of the rents pertaining to the office of infirmarian, arranged in alphabetical order by Thomas Ikworth, infirmarian, in 1425, on 87 folios.

XII. Tiberius B. ix, of the Cotton MSS. is much damaged by fire. From folio 1 to 203 is a register of the abbey during the rule of two successive abbots, William of Cratfield and William of Exeter, who ruled from 1390 to 1429.

XIII. A. xii, of the Cotton MSS. contains the 'Registrum Hostilariae,' a collection of documents put together by Andrew Aston, hosteller, in 1426. The contents are printed, as already stated, in Arnold's *Memorials*.

XIV. Add. MS. 14848 is the 'Registrum Curteys' or register of the acts of William Curteys, abbot 1429–46.

XV. Add. MS. 1096 is the 'Registrum Curteys II,' a very large volume of 221 folios. The more important letters are in Arnold's *Memorials*, iii, 241–79.

XVI. Harl. MS. 638, known as 'Registrum Werketon,' is a fifteenth-century chartulary of 270 folios. Among the more important contents, in addition to the chartulary proper, may be mentioned (1) the process against the Friars Minors and their expulsion from the town of St. Edmunds in 1293 (printed by Arnold, op. cit. ii, 263–85); (2) a taxation roll of the possessions of the abbey in the archdeaconries of Sudbury and Suffolk in 1200; (3) charters, *temp.* Richard II, relative to the hospital of Domus Dei; (4) a convention, of 49 Edward III, between the abbots of St. Edmunds and Malmesbury as to the use of *quadam camera honesta* in Kewell Street, Oxford, for the use of students from St. Edmunds.

XVII. Harl. MS. 58 is in the main a register of the rents due to the sacrist, drawn up in the year 1433, when John Cranewys was sacrist. It also includes the various dues (*relevia*) in the town of St. Edmunds paid yearly to the sacrist under the term *Hadgovell*, which began in the year 1354.

XVIII. Harl. MS. 27 is a register known as 'Registrum Croftis,' consisting of 178 folios, in fifteenth-century hands. It relates to the property of the pittancer.

XIX. Harl. MS. 312 is a collection of transcripts, but there is nothing that is not found elsewhere.

XX. Add. MS. 31970 is a portion of a register of charters, rentals, and other evidences.

XXI. Harl. MS. 308 contains a collection of leases granted by the abbey from 9th to 31st of Henry VIII.

MSS. IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

There are six registers of Bury St. Edmunds in this library. They formerly belonged to the Bacons, to whom the abbey was granted:

I. F.2, 29 is the 'Registrum Rubeum I,' 87 folios; it deals with the privileges, disputes, and agreements of the reign of Henry IV.

II. Ff.4, 35 is the 'Registrum Rubeum II'; a continuation of the preceding one, with some additions of the next reign.

III. Ff.2, 33 is the 'Registrum Sacristae,' compiled by R. de Denham, who was sacrist *temp.* Edward II. In this volume are transcripts of 48 Saxon charters.

IV. Ee.3, 36 is the 'Album Registrum Vestiarii,' 326 folios; the work of Walter de Pyncebek, monk of St. Edmunds, begun in the year 1333; it is chiefly occupied with a register of all the pleadings, &c. between the town of Bury St. Edmunds and the abbey.

V. Gg.4, 4 is the first part of the 'Registrum Alphabeticum Cellararii.'

VI. Mm.4, 19 is the 'Registrum Nigrum,' of different hands, and of 241 folios. It is a chartulary of royal grants and papal confirmations, as well as of general benefactions and privileges.

Some of the salient points from these Cambridge registers are given in Arnold's *Memorials*, iii, 177–216.

MSS. IN VARIOUS PLACES

A. Public Record Office. Duchy of Lanc. Records, xi, 5. This is a 'Registrum Cellararii' of 152 folios, containing pleas of Edward I and II, bounds and rentals of Mildenhall, &c., and transcripts of all charters relative to the cellarer's office up to 1256.

B. Barton Hall, Suffolk (Sir E. Bunbury). 'Registrum Cellararii II.' This is the second part of the alphabetical chartulary, the first part of which is in the Univ. Lib. Camb.

C. Public Library at Douai. Cod. 553 is the *Liber Cenobii S. Edmundi*, *c.* 1424. The 72 folios of this register are occupied with a list of benefactors, and the rules of the *Officium Coquinariae*, the last compiled by Andrew Aston, who also compiled Claud. A. xii, of the British Museum. See Dr. James's treatise on the *Library and Church of St. Edmunds* (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 1895), pp. 180–2.

D. Bodleian Library, MS. 240. This is a great codex of 898 pages, in late fourteenth-century hands. A note at the beginning styles it 'Liber Monachorum Sancti Edmundi,' and gives 1377 as the date of its beginning. Dr. Horsman has given a summary of the contents of this book in the preface to his *Nov. Leg. Angl.* i (1901). The chief contents relating to Bury are a very full life of St. Edmund, and an account of the monastic discipline for the novices of the house. Excerpts are given in Arnold's *Memorials*, i, 358–77; ii, 362–8.

[1] The date 903 is assigned to this translation in the Curteys Register (pt. 1, fol. 211), and it is the most likely of the early authorities to be correct.

[2] Abbo, 'Life' (Jesus Coll. Oxf. MSS.); Arnold, *Mem.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 19.

[3] 'Familie monasterii,' Chart. Edmund II; Arnold (op. cit.), i, 340.

household or college of clerks, to whom the duty of guarding the shrine was assigned, consisted of six persons, four priests and two deacons. Herman supplies their names.[1]

In the year 1010 Ailwin, the chief guardian of the shrine, hearing that the Danes had landed, took up the body of the saint, and passing through Essex in search of a place of greater security eventually reached London, where the relics remained for three years. On the return of tranquillity, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishop of London and his flock (who are said to have been miraculously baffled), Ailwin returned with the relics to their former resting-place.[2]

In 1020 Ælfwine, bishop of Elmham, formerly a monk of Ely, removed the seculars in charge of the shrine, and twenty monks, headed by Uvius, prior of Holme, were installed at Beodricsworth. Uvius was consecrated the first abbot of Bury St. Edmunds by the Bishop of London, and a new stone church was begun by the order of Cnut.[3] In 1020 Cnut granted an ample charter of endowment and liberties. The *fundus* or farm of St. Edmunds was to be for ever in the hands of the Benedictine monks of the abbey, and they were to be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. At any time when the English might be called upon to pay danegeld for the support of the Danish fleet and army of occupation, the tenants of the abbey were to be taxed at a like rate for the benefit of the monastery. Regal rights in their fisheries were made over to the monks, and by the same charter there were assigned, as a gift from Queen Emma, four thousand eels yearly from Lakenheath. Finally, full jurisdiction in all their townships was granted to the abbot.[4]

The first stone church was consecrated by Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, on 18 October, 1032, and dedicated to the honour of Christ, St. Mary and St. Edmund.[5]

In 1035 Hardicanute confirmed and extended the privileges of the monks of St. Edmunds, imposing the impossible fine of thirty talents of gold on anyone found guilty of infringing the franchises of the abbey.[6] Edward the Confessor first visited St. Edmunds in 1044, and of his great devotion granted to the abbey the manor of Mildenhall, full freedom to elect their own abbot, and jurisdiction over eight and a half hundreds; that is to say, over about a third of the widespread county of Suffolk.[7]

In the same year Uvius died, and was succeeded as abbot by Leofstan, one of the monks who had accompanied Uvius from Holme.

The rule of Leofstan (1044–65) nearly coincided with the reign of the Confessor. It is said by Herman to have been a period of sloth and torpor at the abbey, from which the monks were roused by the entreaties and reproaches of Ælfgeth, a Winchester woman, who had been cured of a congenital dumbness at the shrine. At her instigation, the resting-place of the saint was restored. On the death of Leofstan in 1065, the influence of the Confessor caused the choice of the monks to fall on the king's French physician, Baldwin, a monk of St. Denis, a native of Chartres. The Confessor in that year granted a mint to the abbey.[8] This seems to be the first time that Beodricsworth was styled St. Edmundsbury or Bury St. Edmunds (Seynt Edmunds Biri).[9]

In 1071 Abbot Baldwin visited Rome, where Pope Alexander II received him with peculiar honour, and gave him a crozier, a ring, and a precious altar of porphyry. His chief object in undertaking the journey was to oppose the claim of Herfast, bishop of Thetford, to remove the seat of the East Anglian bishopric to Bury St. Edmunds. In this he was successful, the pope taking the monks of St. Edmund under the special protection of the holy see, and forbidding that a bishop's see should ever be there established. William the Conqueror also granted a charter to the like effect, and confirmed their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.[10]

Towards the end of his abbacy Baldwin found the wealth of the house, through fresh bene-

[1] Herman, 'De Miraculis S. Edm.' (Tib. B. ii); Arnold (op. cit.), i, 30.

[2] Herman, loc. cit.; Arnold, *Mem.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 42–5.

[3] Arnold, *Mem.* i, p. xxvii; Clarke, *Chron. of Jocelyn*, 259.

[4] Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 137–8.

[5] Arnold, *Mem.* i, pp. xxvii, 348; Matt. Westm. *Hist. Flores sub ann.*

[6] *Nov. Leg. Angl.* ii, 607.

[7] Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 100, 138. These eight hundreds were those of Thingoe, Thedwastre, Blackburne, Bradbourn, Bradmere, Lackford, Risbridge, and Babergh; the half-hundred was that of Exning.

[8] This privilege of a moneyer was confirmed by the Conqueror, William II, Henry I, Richard I, John, and Henry III. The presentation and admission on oath of moneyers and assayers during the reigns of Henry III and the first three Edwards occur frequently in the Registers 'Kempe' and 'Werketone' (Harl. MSS. 638, 645). During the Great Riot of 1327 the townsmen carried off all things pertaining to the abbey mint. On 22 January, 1327–8, the king ordered a new die and assay for the mint to be made in the place of those which had been taken and destroyed by the mob (Harl. MSS. 645, fol. 134). The sacrist's register, *temp.* Edward II, names the following mint officials: 'Monetaries, Cambiator, duo Custodes, duo Assaiatores, et Custos Cunei.' The abbots retained their privilege of coining until the reign of Edward III. Other particulars relative to the St. Edmunds mint are given in Battely, 134–43. See also Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Britain* (1840), ii, 218–20; and Andrew, *Numismatic Hist.* of Henry I, 385–92.

[9] Battely, *Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi*, 134.

[10] The texts of both bull and charter are given in Arnold's *Memorials*, i, 344, 347.

factions and the growth of the town, increasing so rapidly that he felt justified in rebuilding the church on a nobler scale.[1] The stone was procured from the fine quarries of Barnack, Northamptonshire, which belonged to the abbot of Peterborough, through the direct mandate of the Conqueror, who also ordered that the usual tolls should be remitted for its conveyance.[2] At length the noble church built by Abbot Baldwin and his sacrists, Thurstan and Tolineus, was finished, and on 29 April, 1095, the body of St. Edmund was translated with much pomp to its shrine, Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, being the presiding prelate.

Baldwin died in 1097, and Rufus, following his usual policy of ecclesiastical pillage, prolonged the vacancy for a considerable time. When Henry I came to the throne, he gave the abbacy in 1100 to Robert, one of the illegitimate sons of Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester. Two years later this Robert was deposed, because he had accepted the office without the consent or the election of the monks.

Robert II, a monk of Westminster, was elected fifth abbot in 1102; but there was a delay of five years—namely, till 15 August, 1107—ere he was consecrated by St. Anselm. He only lived a few weeks after his benediction, for his death occurred on 16 September of the same year.[3]

After an interregnum of seven years—namely, in 1114—Albold, prior of St. Nicasius at Meaux, was elected sixth abbot; he died in 1119, when there was again a vacancy of nearly two years, till in 1121 Anselm, abbot of St. Saba at Rome, and nephew of Archbishop Anselm, accepted the abbacy. In his days—namely, in 1132—Henry I made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Edmund, in accordance with a vow made during a storm at sea. About the year 1135, Abbot Anselm, in lieu of making a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, built the fine church of St. James within the abbey precincts; it was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the same time Henry I granted him the privilege of a prolonged fair at St. Edmunds—namely, on the festival of St. James, and on three days before and two days after.[4]

Abbot Anselm died in 1146, when Ording, the prior of the house, was elected eighth abbot. Four years later a fire occurred which destroyed almost the whole of the conventual buildings, including the chapter-house. The rebuilding was accomplished by Helyas, the sacrist, Ording's nephew. This Ording, who was abbot until 1156, was a *homo illiteratus*, according to Jocelyn's chronicle, but ruled wisely and obtained an extension of privileges from Stephen. On his death, Hugh, prior of Westminster, was chosen ninth abbot in January, 1156–7, receiving benediction at Colchester from Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. It is said that on that occasion the primate strove to exact future submission to the see of Canterbury. In 1161 a bull of Pope Alexander II sanctioned an appeal to the holy see in certain important matters,[5] and eleven years later the same pope issued a further bull exempting the abbey from the visitation of the archbishop of the province, even though coming as *legatus natus*.[6]

Hugh's somewhat lax rule, on which Jocelyn descants at the beginning of his chronicle, came to an end in 1180 in the twenty-third year of his abbacy. He was making a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury, when he fell from his horse at Rochester on 9 September and severely injured his knee. He was brought back to St. Edmunds in a horse-litter, but died on 15 November.

A year and three months elapsed before royal assent could be obtained to proceed with a new election, and when the king's letters at last arrived it was laid down that the prior and twelve of the convent were to appear before him to make choice of an abbot. When the chapter met they charged the prior, at the peril of his soul, conscientiously to choose twelve to accompany him, from whose life and conversation it might be depended that they would not swerve from the right. The prior thereupon nominated six from one side of the choir and six from the other, his choice 'by the dictation of the Holy Ghost' being commended by all. The chapter, however, were not disposed to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the thirteen; they chose six other of their number of the best reputation, who went apart, and, with their hands on the Gospels, selected three men of the convent most fit to be abbot. The names of the three were committed to writing, sealed up and given to those who were to go before the king. If they found they were to have free election of one of their own house, then they were to break the seal and present the three names to the king for his election. They were further instructed, in case of necessity, to accept anyone of their own convent nominated by the king, but to return to consult the chapter if the king named an out-

[1] The Domesday returns as to the wealth of the abbey will be found in that section. The annual value of the town 'ubi quiescit humatus S. Eadmundus rex et martyr gloriosus' was double that of its value under the Confessor.

[2] 'Reg. Nigrum' and 'Reg. Sacr.' cited by Battely, 49–50.

[3] These dates are usually given wrong; as to the two Roberts, see Arnold's *Memorials*, i, p. xxxvi.

[4] Battely, op. cit. 69.

[5] Arnold's *Mem.* iii, 78–80, gives the full text of this bull.

[6] Shortly afterwards, in Archbishop Richard's time, the abbey was exempted from the visitation of even a legate *a latere*. On the visitation exemptions of the abbey see Rokewood's edition of *Jocelyn's Chronicle* (1840), 108–9.

sider. The deputation came before the king at Waltham, one of the Hampshire manors of the Bishop of Winchester, on 21 February, 1182, when they were told to nominate three members of their convent. Retiring, they broke the seal of the writing and found, to their surprise, the names of Samson the sub-sacrist, Roger the cellarer, and Hugh the third prior, entered in that order, those of higher standing being ignored. Their oath forbade them to alter the names, but they changed the order, according to convent precedency, and placed Samson last. Jocelyn enters into full detail as to what subsequently happened before the king, and the nomination of others, but eventually the deputation agreed upon Samson as their first choice, the king concurred, and the Bishop of Winchester gave Samson the episcopal benediction at Merewell on 28 February.[1]

On Palm Sunday, 21 March, Samson was solemnly received by the convent, and homage was done to him on the fourth day of Easter by barons, knights, and freemen. For the thirty years of his rule, Abbot Samson proved himself to be a superior of unflinching integrity and of exceptional business capacities. Jocelyn's narrative comes to an end nine years before Samson's death; up to that date the information as to his rule is exceptionally full. The following is a very brief abstract of the more important events of his reign. Samson was appointed a judge in the ecclesiastical courts by Pope Lucius III in 1182, and obtained the privilege of giving the episcopal benediction, in 1187, from Pope Urban III; in 1184 he was appointed by the holy see one of three arbitrators in a dispute between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Christ Church, in 1200 between the archbishop and the canons of Lambeth, and in 1201 one of the three commissioners sent by the pope to Worcester to inquire into the miracles of St. Wulfstan; in 1203 he was appointed by the pope on a commission concerning the dispensation of Crusaders from their vows, and was summoned over sea to advise the king on this question. He restored the church of Woolpit to the monastery (1183), founded St. Saviour's Hospital (1184–5), effected the entire discharge of the abbey's debts (1194), took the cellarer's department into his own hands (1196), and transferred the shrine of St. Edmund to the high altar, viewing the body (1190). In 1181 Henry II was at Bury, and Samson was refused permission to accompany him to the Crusades. He took active part in the collection of money for the ransom of Richard I, in 1193, when a gold chalice given to the abbey by Henry II was ceded for that purpose, and visited the king in his German prison, taking with him many gifts. The king, on his return to England in March, 1194, after an absence of four and a quarter years, proceeded at once to make a thanksgiving visit to St. Edmunds. The death of Richard was a great loss to Samson and the abbey. John, immediately after his coronation in May, 1199, visited Bury, but caused great disappointment by his excessive meanness.

> We indeed, says Jocelyn, believed that he was come to make offering of some great matter; but all he offered was one silken cloth, which his servants had borrowed from our sacrist, and to this day have not paid for. He availed himself of the hospitality of St. Edmund, which was attended with enormous expense, and upon his departure bestowed nothing at all, either of honour or profit upon the saint, save 13*d.* sterling, which he offered at his mass, on the day of his departure.

King John again visited Bury on 21 December, 1203, when he made no personal offering, but granted the abbey 10 marks annually from the exchequer, persuading the convent to return him for life certain valuable jewels which his mother, Queen Eleanor, had given to St. Edmund.[2]

Abbot Samson died, at the ripe age of seventy-seven, at twilight ('inter lupum et canem') on 30 December, 1211. It was the fourth year of the Interdict, and even an abbot could only be buried in silence and in unconsecrated ground, and the sorrowing monks had to cover over his remains in a little meadow hard by. The Interdict was removed in July, 1214, and the remains of Samson were exhumed and reinterred in the chapter-house on 12 August of that year.[3]

The tyrannical John gave a deaf ear to the requests of the monks for a free election, and finding it to his advantage to keep the office vacant, strenuously insisted on royal prerogative. In July, 1213, he gave a half consent to an election, and the monks chose Hugh Northwold; but the king refused confirmation. In November, 1214, the king even lectured the monks in their own chapter-house as to his rights in the matter. The convent appealed to Rome, and the papal commissioners finally gave judgement in Hugh's favour in March, 1215; the king's reluctant approval to this appointment was wrung from him in Staines meadow on 9 June of the same year.[4]

Meanwhile the abbey had played a most important part in the national resistance to the

[1] Jocelyn, Chron. cap. 3. Jocelyn's delightful chronicle, which reveals the inner monastic life of the twelfth century in so intimate a manner, occupies 43 folios of the Liber Albus (Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 121–63). It was edited by Mr. Rokewode for the Camden Society in 1840. Carlyle made it famous in *Past and Present* (1843), giving it unqualified praise. Sir Ernest Clarke edited the chronicle anew in 1903, with many good notes and a table of dates of events pertaining to abbey affairs; this admirable edition has been of much service in preparing this sketch.

[2] Rokewode, *Chron. of Jocelyn*, 154.

[3] Arnold, *Mem.* ii, 19, 20, 62, 85.

[4] Ibid. ii, pp. xv, 95–6.

despotism of John. The earls and barons met at Bury on 20 November, 1214, assembling in the great conventual church; Archbishop Langton read to them Henry I's charter, and each swore on the high altar to make war on John unless he granted them the liberties therein contained.[1] As a result of this Magna Charta was sealed on 15 June following.

In 1224 Abbot Hugh II appeared in state at the royal camp before Bedford Castle, attended by the knights holding manors under St. Edmund. Abbot Hugh, whom Matthew Paris describes as 'flos magistrorum monachorum, abbas abbatum, et episcopus episcoporum,' was unanimously chosen bishop by the monks of Ely in 1229; he died in 1254.[2]

On 20 November, 1229, Richard, abbot of Burton, formerly a monk of St. Edmunds, was installed twelfth abbot, it being St. Edmund's Day.[3] Abbot Richard only ruled for some five years; for on his return from the court of Pope Gregory in 1234, whither he had gone in a matter of appeal, he was attacked in September with mortal illness and died at Pontigny. His body was embalmed and brought back to St. Edmunds for interment in the chapter-house. It was not until 27 September, 1235, that another election was held, when the choice of the monks fell on their prior, Henry of Rushbrook, as their thirteenth abbot. In the year of his election, Henry III granted to Abbot Henry two fairs at Bury and a market at his manor of Melford. Among those excused from attendance at the council of Lyons in 1245 was Abbot Henry, owing to an attack of the gout (*morbo podagrico laborantem*).[4] In the same year, at the request of the convent, Henry III gave the name of Edmund to his newly born son, who became the founder of the house of Lancaster.[5] A bull was issued by Innocent III in July, 1248, prescribing the solemn celebration of the feast of the translation of St. Edmund to be observed on 29 April.[6]

Abbot Henry died in 1248, and was succeeded in the same year by Edmund Walpole, LL.D., who had only worn the monk's habit for two years. Abbot Edmund and his two predecessors all received episcopal benediction at the hands of good Bishop Hugh of Ely, their former abbot.

In March, 1249–50, Henry III took the cross at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon Abbot Walpole did the same, exposing himself, as Matthew Paris says, to general derision and setting a pernicious example to monks, for such a vow was inconsistent with the vow of the monastic order.[7] Revised statutes for the governance of this abbey were approved in 1256 by Pope Alexander IV; they provided, *inter alia*, for four church watchers, night and day, two for the shrine of St. Edmund, and two for the church treasure and clock. On the last day of this year Abbot Edmund died.

His successor, Simon of Luton, the prior, was elected fifteenth abbot on 15 January, 1256–7. He was exempted from going in person to Rome to procure papal confirmation; but the securing of the confirmation by Alexander IV cost the vast sum of 2,000 marks, and was not obtained until October. The story of the expulsion of the Grey Friars from Bury during this abbacy is told in the account of the friary, which they were permitted to establish at Babwell. At Easter, 1264, a serious conflict arose between the monastery and the town burgesses, which resulted in the infliction of a fine on the latter. Henry III during the troublous years at the close of his reign was at the abbey of St. Edmund's on several occasions. Tarrying here on his way back from Norwich in the autumn of 1272 he was taken seriously ill, and according to some accounts breathed his last in the abbey on 16 November. On 17 April, Edward I and his queen came to St. Edmund's on a pilgrimage to the shrine, to fulfil a vow they had made when in the Holy Land. Abbot Simon died in April, 1279, and was buried in the Lady chapel of his own recent building.

John of Northwold, the hosteller, was elected sixteenth abbot by his brethren on 6 May, 1279. His journey to Rome and fees to procure confirmation cost 1175 marks. On his return he was solemnly received on 28 December in the abbey church, which he ruled for twenty-two years.

The crown, in June, 1285, granted to the abbey the fines for trespasses against the assize of weights and measures whenever the king's ministers made a view thereof; the said fines to be collected by the abbey and applied to the decoration of the tomb of St. Edmund.[8] This grant was extended in January, 1296, when Edward I was visiting the abbey. He then granted that, whenever the king's ministers of the markets passed through the town to view measures and to do other things pertaining to their office, the abbot and convent and their successors were to have all amercements and profits of bread and ale, &c. The ministers were to furnish the sacristan of the abbey with schedules of all such fines, &c., which were to be collected by the abbey's officials and applied to the decoration of the saint's tomb and shrine.[9]

[1] Roger of Wendover, *Flores* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 293–4.

[2] Matt. Paris, *Hist. Maj.* (ed. 1640), 891–2.

[3] The memorandum as to his election (Bodleian Chart. Suff. No. 37) is printed in Hearne, *Chron. of Dunstable*, ii, 837.

[4] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 413.

[5] The text of this letter is given in Arnold's *Mem.* iii, 28.

[6] *Nov. Leg. Angl.* ii, 574.

[7] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 101.

[8] Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 13.

[9] Ibid. 24 Edw. I, m. 18.

One of the recurring disputes between the monastery and the town at its gates came to a head in 1292, when a royal commission of inquiry was appointed, by which it was arranged that the burgesses were to present annually at Michaelmas an allowance for confirmation by the abbot; and the alderman was to present four persons to the sacrist as keepers of the four gates of the town. The fifth or last gate was to remain in the custody of the abbey. The commissioners stated that this had been the custom since the days of the Confessor.[1]

In consideration of a fine made by Abbot John, in June, 1300, the crown sanctioned the assignment by the abbot and convent, to two chaplains celebrating in the chapel recently built in the abbey churchyard and called 'La Charnere,' of the yearly produce of twenty-seven acres of land sown with wheat, being the produce of one acre in as many vills of their demesne lands, which produce had hitherto been assigned to the abbot's crozier-bearers for performing that office.[2] The charnel in the abbey churchyard had been founded in order to avoid the scandal of the bones of the departed lying about in the over-used burial-ground.

In May, 1304, the king pardoned the abbey of all their debts to the crown, in consideration of their remission to the king of a thousand marks, borrowed of them from the tenths of the Holy Land on the clergy, which had been deposited in the abbey's custody in the pope's name. During the same month, Edward I, 'out of devotion to St. Edmund,' granted that the prior and convent should, during future voidances, have the custody of all temporalities, saving knights' fees and advowsons. But for this privilege the abbey had to pay the stiff fine of 1,200 marks if the voidance lasted a year or less, and if longer at the proportionate rate of 100 marks a month.[3]

In May Edward I granted the murage and pavage dues of the town on goods coming into the town of Bury St. Edmunds to the abbot and convent for three years.[4] In August of the same year a commission of three justices was appointed in the matter of the rebellion of the town against the general administration of the abbot as lord of the town. The charge against sixty-two of the townsmen, who are named, and others was of a comprehensive character, accusing them of conspiring together by oaths of confederacy and resisting every detail of the abbey's rule, usurping the administration of justice and collecting tolls and other dues granted by charter to the convent.[5]

Abbot Thomas died on 7 January, 1311–12, and the election of Richard, the third prior, was confirmed in April, 1312, by Pope Clement V. This confirmation states that Richard had been elected by the sacrist, cellarer, infirmarian, and chamberlain, and by four other monks whose names are cited.[6] In June of the following year the pope sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Harlow, value 20 marks, to take effect on the death or resignation of the rector, a perpetual vicar being assigned.[7]

In 1327, the long simmering disputes between the town and the abbey came to a head with grievous results, involving the plunder of the abbey and its estates, and the seizing of the abbot and his deportation to Diest in Brabant. These disturbances were long known as the Great Riot. Long statements on both sides appear in Arnold's *Memorials*, as already set forth. In this summary it seems best to take the statements from the official entries on the patent rolls. On 14 May, 1327, mandates were delivered by the king and council to the authorities of both abbey and town, under forfeiture of all they could forfeit, prohibiting the assembling of armed men.[8] Nevertheless the riots continued, and on 20 May, 1327, Edward III appointed John de Tendering and Ralph de Bocking, during pleasure, to the custody of the abbey and town of St. Edmunds, which the king had taken under his immediate protection in consequence of the grave dissensions. Power was given to the two wardens to arrest inferior offenders, but not to remove officers and ministers of either abbey or town as long as they were obedient.[9] In July the king associated two other warders, Robert Walkefare and John Claver, with John and Ralph.[10] A further step was taken in the interest of the monks, on 16 October of the same year, when the crown appointed John Howard, during pleasure, to the custody of the abbey, with power to protect it and defend its possessions, to arrest those who had injured it, and to apply its revenues, saving the necessary provision for its governance, towards the payment of its debts and its relief;[11] but this appointment was revoked on 10 November.[12] This revocation was doubtless brought about by the very serious and extensive character of the revolt against the abbey's authority becoming better known to the authorities. By the end of October commission was granted to the Earl of Norfolk, Thomas Bardolf and others to take, if necessary, the *posse comitatus* of both Norfolk and Suffolk, to arrest those besieging the abbey, and to imprison others guilty of criminal acts in these affrays.[13] At the same time four justices were appointed to hold a special

[1] Cole MS. xiv, fol. 51.
[2] Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 13.
[3] Ibid. 32 Edw. I, m. 18.
[4] Ibid. m. 2.
[5] Ibid. m. 8 *d.*
[6] *Cal. Pap. Reg*, ii, 111.
[7] Ibid. 115.
[8] Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 *d.*
[9] Ibid. m. 20.
[10] Ibid. m. 5 *d.*
[11] Ibid. pt. iii, m. 14.
[12] Ibid. m. 12.
[13] Ibid. mm. 13 *d.*, 8 *d.*

assize[1] at St. Edmunds, on the complaint of the abbot, who gave in the names of about 300 alleged offenders out of a great multitude, including three rectors, nineteen chaplains or assistant parochial clergy, a merchant, six drapers, four mercers, two butchers, a tailor, and two taverners. Among the particular offences specified are beating and wounding the abbey's servants and imprisoning them till they paid fines; mowing the abbey's meadows, felling the trees, and fishing the fish-ponds; preventing the holding of courts and collecting rents and tolls and other customs; cutting off the abbey's water-conduit; breaking down the fish-ponds at Babwell; throwing down the houses of the abbey in the town; carrying away the timber, and burning the abbot's manor houses at Barton, Pakenham, Rougham, 'Eldhawe,' Horningsheath, Newton, Whepstead, Westley, Risby, Ingham, Fornham, 'Redewell,' and 'Haberdon,' with their granges and corn; carrying away 100 horses, 120 oxen, 200 cows, 300 bullocks, 10,000 sheep and 300 swine, worth £6,000; and besieging the abbey with an armed force and great multitude; breaking the gates and doors and windows of the abbey; entering the conventual buildings and assaulting the servants; breaking open chests, coffers and closets and carrying off gold and silver chalices and other plate, books, vestments, and utensils, and money to the value of £1,000, as well as divers writings; imprisoning Peter de Clapton, the prior, and twelve monks in a house in the town; taking the said prior and monks to the chapter-house and forcing them to seal a document setting forth that the abbot and convent were indebted to Oliver Kemp and five other townsmen in the sum of £10,000; and imprisoning the abbot and using his seal as well as the corporate seal to documents obtained by duress, the contents of which neither he nor the monks saw or heard. On 5 November, 1328, a commission was issued to the Bishop of Ely and two others to compose the differences between the abbey and the townsmen. An agreement as to the matters in dispute between the abbey and the town was finally drawn up at Bury, in the presence of the king, at Trinity, 1331, to the effect that in consideration of the remission of the huge fine of £140,000 imposed on the defendants, they should pay the abbey the sum of 2,000 marks during the next twenty years, in sums of 50 marks at a time.[2] The great seal was affixed to this covenant, and the defendants were conditionally discharged.[3]

Licence was granted in August, 1330, for the abbey to appropriate the churches of Rougham and Thurstan of their advowson, in consideration of the grievous losses they had sustained at the hands of the men of St. Edmunds, and because, at the king's request, they had pardoned a great part of the sum recovered by them as damages.[4] As a further compensation from the crown for their losses, the king in the following month granted free warren in all demesnes of the abbey, a weekly market at Melford, and an annual fair of nine days at the same place.

The riotous attacks on the abbey and its possessions in 1327 took place at the time when it was known that the king and his forces were in Scotland. When Edward III was at York, on 23 October, 1334, preparatory to another expedition into Scotland, protection was granted by the king and council to the abbey owing to the increasing hostility of the townsmen, and for fear another attempt should be made at the abbey's overthrow when the forces were across the border.[5]

Abbot Richard died on 5 May, 1335. The king's licence for a new election was speedily obtained, and the new abbot, William of Bernham, the sub-prior, was hastily chosen on 25 May, in order to forestall the expected interference of the pope. Abbot William proceeded to Rome for confirmation, and on 29 October, 1335, received the mandate of Benedict XII to betake himself to the abbey to which he had been appointed, having received benediction from Anibald, bishop of Tusculum.[6] He ruled for nearly twenty-six years.

A peculiar privilege was granted by Edward III, for life, to Abbot William in 1338, namely that the chancellor was to issue the writ *De excommunicato capiendo* in the case of persons excommunicated by the abbot at his signification and request, as he did in like cases at the request of archbishops and bishops.[7]

Five of the king's justices being directed to hold a session at Bury St. Edmunds in 1341, for hearing and determining complaints as to oppressions by ministers in the county of Suffolk, the abbey protested that this was an infringement of their chartered rights against the holding of any secular courts in the town. Edward III thereupon (out of the affection which the king bore for the glorious martyr, St. Edmund the King) granted a charter to the effect that this session was not to prejudice as a precedent the liberties of the abbot and convent.[8]

A dispute arose in 1345 between the abbey and William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, the latter making strenuous efforts to obtain a reversion of the abbey's exemption from diocesan control; but the effort completely failed.[9] A mandate was issued in 1349 by Pope Clement III

[1] Assize R. 853.
[2] Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35.
[3] Harl. MS. 654, fol. 141.
[4] Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 7.
[5] Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18.
[6] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii, 529.
[7] Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.
[8] Ibid. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.
[9] Yates, *Hist. of Bury St. Edmunds*, 109.

to the Bishops of London and Chichester touching the complaint of the Bishop of Norwich, whose citation the abbey of St. Edmund's refused to obey, sending Sir Richard Freysel, knight, to the king's chancellor, pleading that by royal letters they were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and asking for letters prohibiting their diocesan from making any such attempts. Thereupon the bishop excommunicated Richard, who returned to the chancellor pleading that this had been done in contempt of the king's majesty, and that the bishop, the prior of Kersey, and other beneficed clergy in the dioceses of Norwich and York had published the excommunication. Thereupon he obtained letters citing the bishop and his commissaries before the king's justices, before whom exception was taken that the justices could not and ought not to take cognisance of excommunication, and that appeal lay with the archbishop. Nevertheless the justices ordered the imprisonment of the commissaries, and James, rector of Wrabness, Essex, one of those who had published the excommunication, was put in the abbot's prison at St. Edmunds. The prior of Kersey and Hamo, rector of Bunny, lay in hiding, and Simon, rector of Wickhambrook, Suffolk, got away privily to the apostolic see. The justices, the king being abroad, ordered all the goods of the bishop to be seized and to remain in the king's hands until the excommunication vows were revoked and satisfaction made to Richard, who made the huge claim of £10,000 damages. Letters were sent to the sheriffs of four counties where the episcopal estates lay ordering the seizing of all temporalities of the see, and the bishop, fearing he would be taken, betook himself, with his household, to his cathedral church and shut himself up therein. The pope ordered that, if these things were so, the abbot and Richard were to be cited to appear before the pope within three months to receive what justice requires for their excesses and sins.[1]

In April, 1350, the pope sent a mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Exeter and Chichester, enjoining the public excommunication of all who hindered the Bishop of Norwich from prosecuting his cause, which had been going on for five years at the Roman court, against the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds, who claim exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, certain persons having obtained letters from King Edward ordering the bishop to prosecute the cause before him and his council, and not in the Roman court.[2] In the following July a further mandate was sent to the same papal commissioners ordering the public excommunication of all the abettors of Richard Freysel.[3]

Abbot William died on the last day of February, 1361–2, and Henry de Hunstanton was elected his successor in the following month; but proceeding to Avignon in the summer, to obtain papal confirmation, Henry fell a victim to the plague which was raging in that province, dying on 24 July, in a village two miles distant from that city. Pope Innocent VI seized this opportunity of appointing a successor, and made John of Brinkley, a monk of Bury, abbot on 4 August. Edward III gave his consent on 12 November, and on the 16th of that month the new abbot was duly installed at St. Edmunds. His was a comparatively uneventful abbacy, but he was a learned man, and for ten years was president of the provincial chapter of English Benedictines. The last recorded miracle of St. Edmund occurred in 1375, when Symon Brown, nearly lost at sea, vowed to St. Edmund and was saved.[4]

On 6 January, 1379, the prior and convent obtained licence to elect a successor to Abbot John, deceased, and on 28 January notification was dispatched to Pope Urban of the royal assent to the election of John de Timworth, sub-prior of that house, to be abbot. In August of the same year there is a further entry relative to the election on the Patent Rolls, namely, orders for the arrest of Edmund Bromefeld, a monk, who was scheming to annul the election of Tymworth as abbot, although it had received the royal assent, and who had procured a papal provision thereof for himself besides divers bulls,[5] and on 14 October, 1379, the Earls of March and Suffolk, with the sheriff of Suffolk, were appointed to arrest Edmund Bromefeld, who, notwithstanding the Statute of Provisors of 25 Edward III, had procured provision of the abbey from the Roman court, and had taken possession of the abbey by the aid of John Medenham and fourteen other monks of the abbey, and by the aid of various clerks and laymen. All the abettors of the monk Edmund were also to be arrested for this contempt of the crown.[6]

This controversy, caused by the appointment of Edmund Bromefeld to the abbacy by Urban VI, dragged on for five years; but the pope's nominee never obtained more than a partial and very short-lived recognition at St. Edmunds. Nevertheless, without the papal confirmation John Tymworth was not technically abbot until 4 June, 1384, when the pope at last gave way.[7]

Whilst this dispute was in progress, namely in 1381, Jack Straw's rebellion broke out in East Anglia, when John of Cambridge, the prior, and

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* iii, 304–5.
[2] Ibid. 388.
[3] Ibid. 391–2.
[4] *Nov. Leg. Angl.* ii, 678.
[5] Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 10; pt. ii, m. 38; 3 Ric. II. pt. i, m. 33 *d.*
[6] Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 22 *d.*
[7] The list of abbots in Lakinghethe Register enters after the death of John de Brinkley, 'Abbatia vacavit per sexennium.'

Sir John Cavendish, chief justice, were among those murdered at Bury by the mob, who plundered the abbey to the extent of £1,000. For this outrage the town was outlawed and fined 2,000 marks.[1]

An indult was granted by Boniface IV, in 1398, in order to relieve the abbey of the perils and expenses of the journey to Rome, that the convent might upon voidance freely elect their abbots, who thus elected should be *eo ipso* true abbots, and be so regarded and administer the monastery without any confirmation of the said see. Further, the abbots might receive benediction at the hands of any Catholic bishop of their choice. In compensation for first-fruits, common and minute services, &c., heretofore paid to the pope and various papal officials, the abbey was to pay to the collector in England twenty marks yearly at Michaelmas. If in any year such payment be not made within two months of the lapse of the year, then this indult was to be void.[2]

In 1383 Richard II and Anne of Bohemia paid a ten days' visit to Bury, putting the abbey to an expense of 800 marks. Archbishop Arundel paid a visit to the monastery in the year 1400, arriving from Norwich at the conclusion of a visitation of that diocese and Ely. The manner of his reception and entertainment are set forth with some detail by one of the monastic scribes, to serve, as he states, for the use of posterity if the house should again be visited by an archbishop. He was received with the greatest respect and sumptuously entertained, but every care was taken to show that his reception was one of courtesy and due to his high office, and that he was nowise to construe their hospitality as the least recognition of him as a 'visitor.' There was no solemn procession to meet him at the abbey gates, but the abbot, cellarer, sacrist, and other officials met the archbishop on the road between Thetford and Ingham, and conducted him to Bury. On reaching the abbey he was taken into the church through the cemetery and not through the great west gates, nor were the bells rung. The prior and convent met him in the nave. On the morrow, the abbot and his retinue escorted the archbishop on his road southward as far as Frisby.[3]

During the rule of William of Exeter, the twenty-third abbot (1415–29), the building of the present church of St. Mary, on the site of an older church, was undertaken in the south-west corner of the abbey cemetery; and under William Curteys (1429–46) the western tower of the abbey church fell, but immediate steps were taken to erect it afresh.[4] In 1427, Thomas Beaufort, second son of John of Gaunt, was buried in the great conventual church.[5]

Henry VI paid a long visit to the abbey, his sojourn extending from Christmas, 1433, to St. George's Day (23 April), 1434. The monastery, during this visit, presented him with a grandly illuminated 'Life of St. Edmund' by John Lydgate, which now forms one of the treasures of the British Museum.[6] It is supposed that this visit was chiefly due to the pleasure taken by Henry and his court in the loyal ballads of the abbey's famous poet-monk, presented to the king in 1429, and again when he passed through London on his return from France in 1433. Of this visit Lydgate has much to say in his metrical life of St. Edmund, of which this is the opening stanza :—

> When sixte Henry in his estat roial
> With his sceptre of Yngland and of France
> Heeld at Bury the feste prynçipal
> Of Cristemasse with fulest habundance,
> And after that list to have plesance,
> As his consail gan for him provide,
> There in his place til hesterne for to abide.

When the news of the royal visit reached the abbot he at once set eighty masons and artificers at work to enlarge and beautify the abbot's lodgings. He invited and obtained the cordial co-operation of the town in the royal reception. Five hundred townsmen turned out to meet the young king, headed by their aldermen and chief burgesses in scarlet, whilst the Bishop of Norwich and the abbot (so often rivals if not actively hostile) united in giving him holy water as he dismounted from his palfrey. Of this visit Abbot Curteys has left many particulars in his register.[7] There, too, are the various letters from the king to the abbot, whom he evidently regarded as a tried and trusted friend. He consulted him freely in his anxiety about the progress of the French arms, asked his help in making due preparation for the reception of the French princess he was about to marry, and in

[1] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 276–7.
[2] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v, 152.
[3] Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 40, 41.
[4] Add. MS. 48468, fol. 104*b*.

[5] The coffin was discovered and reinterred in 1772.
[6] Harl. MS. 2278.
[7] This abbot's register (Add. MS. 14848) contains several entries of local events not elsewhere chronicled. The exact hours of the fall of the southern side of the great western tower on 18 December, 1430, and of the fall of the eastern side of the same on 30 December, are set forth (fol. 104*b*).

Abbot Curteys, in January, 1429–30, entered into an agreement with John Housell, goldsmith of London, to make him a pastoral staff, weighing 12 lb. 9¾ oz., to have on one side at the top the image of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and on the other the Salutation of the same, and in the circumference of the same part twelve tabernacles with as many apostles, and in the curve of the staff a tabernacle with the image of St. Edmund of the best workmanship. The whole to be of silver-gilt, and finished before the ensuing All Saints' Day, when payment of £40 was to be made to Housell (fol. 78).

a letter shortly before the abbot's death (17 September 1446), urged him to be present at the laying of the foundation-stone of King's College, Cambridge, on the ensuing Michaelmas Day, as he (Henry) was unable to be present.[1]

Amongst these entries is the record of a great storm on the evening of 27 January, 1439. It did much damage, particularly to the bell tower, especially in the windows and glazing. A memorable incident was the extinguishing of every light and lamp throughout the conventual buildings and church save that only which burnt perpetually before the Blessed Sacrament; from that light all the others were subsequently rekindled. This storm was followed, on 29 May of the same year, by a great flood; the waters rose so high that they were deep enough for a boat in St. James's Church, in the nave of the great conventual church, and in the Lady chapel of the crypt (fol. 341).

The abbacy of William Babington (1446–53) was signalized by the holding of a Parliament at Bury. It assembled in the great refectory hall of the abbey on 10 February, 1446–7. Humphrey duke of Gloucester attended, and found lodgings at St. Saviour's Hospital. There he was arrested on a charge of high treason and kept under guard; a few days later the duke was found dead in his bed without any exterior mark of violence; the death was attributed to apoplexy, but popular opinion considered that he had been privately murdered. In the following November the king granted to the abbey an ample charter of all their privileges.[2] This was followed, two years later, by a royal charter which freed the abbey of all aids to the king, in consideration of paying a fixed sum of forty marks a year.

The chief event during the rule of Abbot John Bohun (1453–69) was the complete gutting of the conventual church by fire on 20 January, 1464–5, involving the fall of the central tower. The shrine of St. Edmund, though begirt with flames, remained uninjured. The catastrophe was caused by the carelessness of plumbers engaged in repairing the roof.[3]

John Reeve of Melford (sometimes called John Melford), the thirty-second and last abbot of St. Edmunds, was elected in April, 1513. He was admitted to the king's privy council in 1520, and in 1531 he was placed on the commission of the peace for Suffolk. The unscrupulous Cromwell first appears on the scene in connexion with this abbey in November, 1532, when he wrote to the abbot desiring to obtain the lease for sixty years of the farm of Harlowbury in Essex, the previous lease of which had nearly expired. He asked for an answer by the bearer, and assuming it would be favourable, had already agreed with the then holder for the remainder of his lease. If the request was granted he would do whatever he could for the monastery.[4]

Legh and Ap Rice were the two deputy visitors appointed by Cromwell to visit the abbey of St. Edmunds in November, 1535. With regard to this, Ap Rice wrote at once to his 'mastership'[5] stating that they had failed to establish anything against the abbot save that he was much at his country houses or granges, and was said to be fond of dice and cards, and did not preach. 'Also he seemeth to be addict to the maintaining of such superstitious ceremonies as hath been used here tofore' . . . 'Touching the convent, we could get little or no report among them, although we did use much diligence in our examinations, with some other arguments gathered their examinations.' This being the case, the commissioners chose to conclude 'that they had confederated and compacted before our coming that they should disclose nothing.' When with all their ingenuity and promptings to scandal, nothing evil could be discovered, it was coolly assumed that there was a lying conspiracy. The commissioners made exactly similar statements with regard to the seventeen monks of Thetford and the eighteen canons of Ixworth in this district, when they could find nothing against them.[6] The visitors reported that the convent numbered sixty-two monks, three of whom were at Oxford. Their injunctions here, as elsewhere, ordered that all religious under twenty-four years of age as well as those who had taken vows under twenty were to be dismissed. This reduced the number by eight. Another injunction insisted upon the actual confinement to the precincts of all the religious from the superior downwards.

This letter was dispatched to Cromwell on 5 November, and on the following day the abbot wrote to him as visitor in chief, begging a licence, notwithstanding the injunctions left by the late visitors, to go abroad (that is outside the precincts) with a chaplain or two on the business of the monastery.[7]

Knowing well the style of argument that would appeal to Cromwell in the obtaining of any favour, the abbot and convent granted to him, and his son Gregory, on 26 November, in the chapter-house, an annual pension of £10 from the manor of Harlow.[8] But this amount did not satisfy his avarice, and in December one of his agents, Sir Thomas Russhe,

[1] Add. MS. 7096, *passim*; Arnold, *Mem.* iii, 241–79.

[2] Arnold, *Mem.* iii, 357.

[3] Cott. MS. Claud. A. xii, 189*b*–91*b*; Arnold, *Mem.* iii, 283–7.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 1573.

[5] Cott. MS. Cleop. E, iv, 120.

[6] The actual *Comperta* show that Ringstead the prior and eight others were said to be 'defaulted' for incontinency, and it was alleged that one had confessed to adultery. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

[7] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 781.

[8] Harl. MS. 308, fol. 89.

called on the abbot to beg him to grant Cromwell and his son a larger sum, which he promised to do.[1]

One of the last favours received by Abbot John was a crown licence in August, 1536, permitting any of his servants, during his life, to shoot with a cross bow at all manner of deer and wild fowl in his parks and grounds, notwithstanding the Act 25 Henry VIII.[2]

Early in 1538, the agents for spoiling the greater monasteries (in this case Williams, Pollard, Parys, and Smyth) visited St. Edmunds. Writing to Cromwell, from Bury, they tell the Lord Privy Seal that they found a rich shrine which was very cumbrous to deface; that they had stripped the monastery of over 5,000 marks in gold and silver, besides a rich cross bestudded with emeralds and other stones of great value; but that they had left the church and convent well furnished with silver plate.[3]

On 4 November, 1539, this famous abbey was surrendered. The surrender is signed by Abbot John Reeve, Prior Thomas Ringstede (*alias* Dennis), and by forty-two other monks.[4]

Pensions were assigned, on the same day, of £30 to the prior, of £20 to the sacrist, and of sums varying from £13 6*s*. 8*d*., to £6 13*s*. 4*d*., to thirty-eight other monks.[5]

Sir Richard Rich and other commissioners who had received the surrender wrote to the king on 7 November, saying they had not yet assigned the ex-abbot any pension, but suggested as he had been 'very conformable and is aged,' and as the yearly revenues of his house would be 4,000 marks, that he should have 500 marks a year and a house. They had taken into custody for the king the plate and best ornaments, and sold the rest. The lead and bells were worth 4,500 marks. They desired to know whether they were to deface the church and other edifices of the house.[6] On 11 November, the abnormally large pension of £333 6*s*. 8*d*. was allotted to the abbot.[7] He lived, however, only a few months after the dissolution of his house. Weighed down, as it is said, with sorrow and disappointment at the complete degradation of his order, he died on 31 March, 1540, in a small private house at the top of Crown Street, Bury St. Edmunds, never having drawn a penny of his pension. He was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, with a pathetic Latin epitaph on the brass over his remains. The brasses were torn from his grave in 1643, and in 1717 the slab was broken up and the remains removed to make way for the burial of a ship's purser named Sutton.[8]

Having thus followed in outline the general history of the abbey through its succession of rulers, it may be well to give some fuller particulars as to the amount of property that it had to administer, which was chiefly in the nature of temporalities within the hundreds over which it exercised such full powers of local government.

In Abbot Samson's days (1182–1211) a large number of churches, chiefly in the eight and a half hundreds of the liberty of St. Edmunds, were in the gift of the whole convent, as set forth in detail in Jocelyn's Chronicle.[9] Thirty-four are named as pertaining to the abbot, and thirty-two to the chapter. But there were at that time very few appropriations, and only a small number of pensions or portions from the rectories. Indeed Jocelyn expressly states that 'after all these churches scarcely brought any gain or profit to the convent.' Nevertheless the holding of these numerous advowsons tended to augment considerably the abbey's dignity and influence.

The various officials or obedientiaries of St. Edmunds, in common with every large Benedictine house, had certain tithes, lands, or rents allotted to them which they had to administer for the good of their particular office, and for which they had to return annual accounts. At St. Edmunds there was such an unusual amount of definite application of early grants to specific purposes that it led to much confusion, and it was considered expedient to apply for legal sanction to a re-allotment of the monastic property in the time of Abbot John of Northwold. Accordingly in 1281, a general redistribution scheme between the abbot and the different obedientiaries was sanctioned by Edward I, and a single long charter covering the whole ground was granted in return for the handsome fee of £1,000. To the abbot was assigned the hidage or tax on every hide of land, the foddercorn or ancient feudal right of providing the lord with horse-fodder, and every kind of court fee and manorial due throughout the whole of the great liberty of St. Edmunds. The award then proceeded to set out the specific manors, lands, tithes, rents, &c., that were allotted to (1) the

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 978.

[2] Pat. 28 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 3.

[3] Cott. MS. Cleop. E, iv, 229. The actual amount of which the abbey was robbed on this occasion was 1,553 oz. of gold plate, 6,853 oz. of gilt plate, 933 oz. of parcel gilt, and 190 oz. of white or silver plate. On 2 December, 1539, after the surrender, 150 oz. of gilt plate, 145 oz. of parcel gilt, and 2,162 oz. of white plate were added to the previous spoils, besides a pair of birrall candlesticks, handed to the king, and a jewelled mitre. (Clarke, *Jocelyn's Chron.* notes, 275).

[4] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 687.

[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 462.

[6] Ibid. 475. The answer as to the 'defacing' must have been in the affirmative, for within a few weeks of the surrender the whole of the lead had been stripped from the church and monastery, and valued at £3,30*z*. Aug. Off. Mins. Accts. 30–1 Hen. VIII, 226, m. 11 *d*.

[7] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxiv, fol. 38*b*.

[8] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 751; Parker, *Long Melford*, 314.

[9] Cap. vii.

cellarer, (2) the sacrist, (3) the chamberlain, (4) the almoner, (5) the pittancer, (6) the infirmarian, (7) the hosteller, and (8) the precentor.[1]

The remarkable wealth of St. Edmunds comes out in a striking form in the very numerous entries in the general taxation roll of 1291. An exceptional feature of the income of this house is the comparative smallness of its spiritualities; this abbey had then far less appropriations than any other considerable religious foundation. Contrariwise the temporalities were much in excess of any other foundation, apart from the fees pertaining to the abbot as lord of the various hundred courts which were not inconsiderable. Thus the hundred of Lackford produced £4, and that of Blackburne £14 per annum.[2]

As to spiritualities, the appropriated rectory of Mildenhall supplied the abbey with an income of £30, and there was a portion of 13*s.* 4*d.* from the church of Horningsheath.

Other spiritualities were assigned to particular obedientiaries. The important rectories of St. Mary and St. James, Bury St. Edmunds, were divided between the sacrist and the almoner; the former receiving from these two churches £44 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the latter, £26 13*s.* 4*d.* The church of Woolpit was divided (after an endowment of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* had been arranged for the vicar) between the infirmarian and the pittancer, who each received £6, whilst the hosteller had also an annual portion of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* The chamberlain received the annual income of £33 6*s.* 8*d.* from the appropriated church of Brook, and also a portion of £4 from Rougham church. It will thus be seen that the spiritualities of the monastery at this date brought in an income of £152 13*s.* 4*d.*

No two of the great Benedictine abbeys were at all alike in the amounts assigned by grants to the different obedientiaries, and consequently in the relative financial importance of the particular offices. Naturally in the early days, when grants were made to the monks, it was always common to give lands or rents that were earmarked for the actual sustenance of the religious in the way of food. The cellarer's income was therefore usually of considerable importance, but in no other case had this official anything like so assured an income to administer as was the case at Bury. The following were the amounts definitely assigned to different officials by grants in 1291, exclusive of the spiritualities already cited. Cellarer £390 16*s.* 6½*d.*, sacrist £134 3*s.* 11¾*d.*, chamberlain £69 12*s.* 5½*d.*, almoner £11 19*s.* 0½*d.*, pittancer £11 11*s.* 11½*d.*, infirmarian £6 17*s.* 1*d.*, hosteller £2 17*s.*, subsacrist £1 15*s.* 8*d.*, sub-cellarer 16*s.*, and precentor 13*s.* 4*d.* A large portion of the remainder of the income was assigned to the office of the abbot, and the rest to the convent at large. By far the greater part of the income was derived from Suffolk parishes; the largest sum (£99 14*s.* 10½*d.*) came from the temporalities of Mildenhall; £103 7*s.* was contributed by Norfolk parishes; £3 11*s.* 10*d.* came out of the diocese of Ely, and £4 19*s.* 10*d.* from Lincoln diocese.

The complete return of 1291 thus shows that the temporalities of the abbey towards the end of the thirteenth century were worth £774 16*s.*, yielding a total income, with the spiritualities added, and an additional £40 per annum for offerings at the shrine of St. Edmund, of nearly £1,000 a year, or about £20,000 at the present value of money.

There are many particulars extant with regard to the various obedientiaries throughout the fifteenth century, particularly as to the pittancer. The special register or chartulary of the pittancer, which contains all the evidences relative to the property assigned to that office, shows that it was endowed with the church of Woolpit and much temporal property at Bury, Mendham, Clopton, and Woolpit, bringing in an income of £17 17*s.* 1*d.*[3] There is also in the same register a taxation roll giving the value of the whole property of the abbey according to its special appropriation.[4] To the abbot was assigned £798 18*s.* 2*d.*, whilst the amounts allotted to the cellarer, sacristan, treasurer, chamberlain and almoner, infirmarian, hosteller, feretrar, vestarian, sub-sacrist, sub-cellarer, and precentor, brought the total up to £2,030 7*s.* 11½*d.*

The full returns of the valor of 1535 are of much interest, though space can only be found here for the more salient points.

The abbot drew from the various hundred courts £83 0*s.* 6½*d.*; from the temporalities of Suffolk (the largest amount being £117 17*s.* 4*d.* from Melford) £549 7*s.* 8½*d.*; from the temporalities of Norfolk £102 1*s.* 4½*d.*; from the temporalities of Essex £82 18*s.* 4*d.*; and from spiritualities (the rectory of Thurston and a portion from Fressingfield) £14 6*s.* 8*d.*, giving him a total income of £843 11*s.* 3½*d.* Out of this, however, large returns had to be made to bailiffs, &c., as well as distributions to the poor of £36 3*s.* 4*d.* The cellarer drew the great income of £821 13*s.* 8*d.* from the temporalities of Suffolk (the largest contribution being £163 from Mildenhall), and when to this were added temporalities from Norfolk, Northampton, and

[1] Registrum Cellarii, Duchy of Lanc. Rec. (P.R.O.), xi, 5, fol. 84. In this register, which chiefly relates to the cellarer, his property and administration, there is a list of the sacrists, from the days of Abbot Baldwin onwards, with an account of the work they accomplished.

[2] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.) 15, 16*b*, 54, 54*b*, 58*b*, 67*b*, 74*b*, 84, 93*b*, 95, 96, 97, 99, 99*b*, 100*b*, 101, 101*b*, 102*b*, 104, 104*b*, 105, 105*b*, 108*b*, 110*b*, 114*b*, 119*b*, 120, 120*b*, 121, 123*b*, 126, 127*b*, 130, 130*b*, 131, 131*b*, 132, 132*b*, 133, 133*b*, 270.

[3] Harl. MSS. 27, Registrum Croftis, fol. 123.

[4] Ibid. fol. 164–74.

Hertfordshire, and the rectory of Mildenhall, his gross income came to £903 12*s.* 2*d.* From this great deductions had to be made, including £191 19*s.* 1*d.* for the poor, so that the cellarer's clear income was brought down to £629 16*s.* 9*d.*

The gross total of the abbey's income, irrespective of its cells, was £2,336 16*s.* 11*d.* The deductions, however, were so considerable that the clear value was only returned at £1,656 7*s.* 3½*d.*[1]

There was no other of our large English abbeys that expended by grants or charters so large a share of its income on distribution to the poor. In the case of St. Edmunds it amounted to £398 15*s.* 11½*d.* a year; and this was altogether apart from the daily distribution of broken meat, the occasional doles of old clothes, the long sustained alms on the death of a monk, the Christmas gifts, &c., and, above all, the entertainment of all comers in the guest-houses, from royalty to the poorest tramp. The sum just named is simply that which they were compelled to distribute even under the laxest administration.

It has been stated with emphasis that Bury St. Edmunds was by far the wealthiest Benedictine abbey in England. This is, however, by no means the case, the houses of Westminster, Glastonbury, St. Albans, and Christ Church, Canterbury, all possessing larger incomes.

It remains to put on record some of the more salient points relative to the inner life and working of the monastery.

As to the numbers of this great household: in the second half of the thirteenth century there were 80 monks, 21 chaplains, and 111 servants living *in curia*, apart from a considerable number of officials and hinds of the home-farms, who drew their rations from the abbey.[2] The number of the monks had dropped to about sixty at the time of the first visitation of Henry VIII's commissioners, and his policy had driven out about a third of that number before the surrender.

Many of the entries in the custumary of the abbey, *temp.* Edward I, are full of interest.[3] After reciting the very severe discipline *de gravi culpa*, and the lighter punishment *de levi culpa*, the custumary proceeds to deal with *de trunculo*, which appears to have been a third grade of yet lighter punishment. The delinquent was required to sit *super trunculum*, i.e. on a low trunk or chest, which stood in the midst of the chapter-house, between the lectern and the foot of the abbot's seat. There he had to remain whenever the convent assembled in chapter. Full details are also set forth as to the penitential positions to be taken up by the *de trunculo* offender when in choir and refectory. There was also a fourth grade of discipline *de minoribus penitentiis*. A delinquent of this class had various minor but not degrading duties assigned him, such as carrying the lamp before the convent, collecting the scraps from the refectory, &c. Nor was he severely restricted in diet; it was permitted to him if ailing to drink beer of the second quality 'propter stomachi infirmitacionem et capitis debilitatem.'[4]

Entry is made of the weekly wages (9*s.* 1¾*d.*) due to the servants of the church. The chaplain in charge of the vestments had two servants receiving 12*d.*; the sub-sacrist's boy 6*d.*; the *cressetarius*, who looked after the cressets, 8*d.*, but the *cerarius* only 4*d.*; two *steyrarii* (?) 12*d.*; a carpenter, 12½*d.*; a plumber, 12*d.*, and his servant, 6*d.*; a janitor of the church, with his dog, 7*d.*; a janitor of the west door, 2*d.*; a warden of the green gate (*custos viridi hostii*), 6*d.*; and a carter (*carractarius*), 8½*d.* A memorandum adds that the carter received from Easter to Michaelmas 1½*d.* *ad nonchenches*,[5] the woodman 8*d.*, and the two *steyrarii* 3*d.* each week during the like period.[6]

A list of the monastic servants for the year 1284 shows that the cellarer's department had forty-eight servants of different grades, such as the porter of the great gate, and the hall steward, whose names are set forth, and those of humbler degree who only appear as *messor*, *tres pistores*, or *mundator curi*. Twenty-four servants were under the sacrist; seven under the chamberlain, including a tailor and a shoemaker; six under the infirmarian; nine under the almoner; and seven under the hosteller or guest-master. This list takes no account of those of the abbot's household.[7]

A list of the chaplains of the monastery, drawn up early in the reign of Edward I, gives the names of three chaplains of the church of St. Mary, three of the church of St. James, one general chaplain, and one each of the chapels of St. Robert, St. Margaret, St. John of the Mount (*de Monte*), the Round Chapel, St. Denis, St. John at the Well (*ad fontes*), St. Katharine, St. Faith, the Great Rood, St. John at the Gate, St. Michael, the chapel of the Brazen Cross (*ad crucem aream*), the hospital of St. Saviour, and the Domus Dei. This gives a total of twenty-one chaplains supported by the abbey.[8]

The distribution of bread of different kinds to the household is set forth with much nicety in the custumary. The total of the day's baking amounted

[1] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 459–65.
[2] Harl. MS. 645, fol. 196.
[3] Ibid. 3977. Much of it has common features with the custumaries of other large Benedictine houses, such as those of Westminster and Canterbury, which have been printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society. To such details, regulating the chapter, dormitory, or refectory, blood-letting, &c., or to the general duties of the obedientaries, we do not here draw attention.
[4] Ibid. fol. 5–7.
[5] Possibly a 3 o'clock lunch.
[6] Ibid. fol. 9*b*.
[7] Ibid. fol. 237*b*.
[8] Ibid. fol. 242.

to 94 loaves, in addition to the bread for the abbot's household, for the monks' refectory, for the infirmary, and for the guest-houses. The daily allowance of beer to the household servants amounted to 82 gallons (*lagenae*), whilst 96 gallons were dispatched once a week to the nuns of Thetford.

That lordly fish, usually reserved for royalty, the sturgeon, graced the monastic table on the anniversary of Richard I, the Transfiguration, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the feast of All Saints, the feast of St. Nicholas, and the anniversary of Abbot Samson. On the feast of St. Denis, fine bread, butter, and cheese, were provided. A pittance of wine was provided for the convent at Easter, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Christmas, the feasts of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Botolph, Relics, St. Edmund, and the Assumption. On the feast of Relics a choice was given of 'must' (unfermented wine) or wine.

The pittances of this abbey for the convent were numerous; a list given in the custumary enumerates eighty-two. Thirty-one of these were on anniversaries,[1] chiefly of their own abbots or other distinguished men of the house; the remainder were on church festivals. The pittance in some cases was so small that it could not have made any appreciable difference to the diet except of a few; thus there was a pittance of a mark on the anniversary of Isabel, mother of Abbot Henry; and the like amount on the anniversary of Abbot Edmund. In several cases where the addition to the usual diet is stated, it will be seen that the extra food was of a trifling character. Pancakes and white bread were the additions at the Epiphany, the Purification, the feasts of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, &c. On Easter Monday, the octave of Easter, Michaelmas, Martinmas, the Translation of St. Benedict, &c., and on a few anniversaries, onions were supplied. On Easter Day, Whitsunday, the feast of St. Edmund and Christmas Day, apples and pears, as well as pancakes, were placed on the tables. 'Ringes,' which were probably round cakes, were supplied on the anniversary of Richard I, the Transfiguration, the anniversary of Abbot Hugh, the feast of Relics, and the feast of St. Thomas; and wafers and biscuits on the feast of St. Nicholas.[2] On forty days in the year, being the chief feasts, such as Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, &c., the servants of the church had their meals in the refectory. Particular details are given as to the Maundy gifts and observances, including the payment of *2d.* each by certain of the upper servants, termed 'glove-silver.'

Among the special privileges of the abbey of St. Edmunds were the powers bestowed upon the abbot of conferring minor orders on those of his own house and the right to call in any bishop of the Church Catholic to admit monks to the higher orders within the abbey precincts. Orders were celebrated in the chancel of the church of St. Mary in the precincts on the vigil of the Holy Trinity, 1401, by Bishop Thomas Aladensis,[3] when three deacons and four priests were ordained, all monks of the house. At the September Embertide in the same year Bishop Thomas again held an ordination in the like place, ordaining four sub-deacons and three priests.[4]

Moreover, the abbot's privilege went much further than the giving authority to bishops to hold special ordinations for his monks. He could commission the ordaining, through his own letters dimissory, of any fit candidates for holy orders within the liberties of St. Edmunds, whether religious or secular. Thus in 1410 and 1419, Abbot William of Exeter, writing from his manor of Elmswell, commissioned John, archbishop of Smyrna,[5] through letters dimissory by papal indult, to ordain certain priests who were not connected with the monastery.[6] The register of Abbot Curteys (1429–46) has many of these ordination entries.[7] On the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September) 1435, Abbot Curteys personally ordained four of the monks from exorcist to acolyte. Again, in the following year six monks were ordained deacons, in the chapel of St. Stephen, by the bishop of Emly.[8]

[1] At the beginning of Registrum Ikworth, which relates to the infirmary, is a capitular instrument, dated 1257, establishing an anniversary for Stephen the physician (*medicus*) and infirmarian of the house. The document speaks in the highest terms of the manner in which Brother Stephen had fulfilled the various offices in the monastery to which he had been called, but more especially of his devotion and zeal in the office of infirmarian, particularly at the time of the sweating sickness. It was therefore resolved to perpetuate his memory by establishing an anniversary of his death on St. Mark's Day, when the full office for the dead was to be said for him and for his father and mother. A rental of *22s.* was assigned for a pittance for the refreshment of the convent on that day, out of property in Kyrkgatestrete and Maydwaterstrete in St. Edmunds. Lansd. MSS. 416, fol. 4.

[2] Ibid. fol. 25.

[3] Aladensis-Killala, an Irish diocese. This was Thomas Howell, bishop of Killala; he was suffragan of Ely from 1389 until his death in 1404; he was also suffragan of the Isle of Wight for William of Wykeham.

[4] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fols. 140*b*, 148.

[5] John Leicester, archbishop of Smyrna, a Carmelite, acted as suffragan of Norwich from 1393 to 1423.

[6] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 144*b*.

[7] Add. MS. 14848, fols. 76*b*, 78, 87. Robert Windel, bishop of Emly, in Ireland, acted occasionally as suffragan of Norwich, Salisbury, and Worcester about this period.

[8] Ibid. fol. 143*b*, 161*b*.

There was an old religious saying to the effect that a monastery without a library was as a castle without an armoury. In this respect St. Edmunds was exceptionally well armed, even in early days. The library consisted of upwards of 2,000 volumes, and was widely famed. A large number of them have been identified among the manuscript treasures of the British Museum, and of the University and College libraries of Cambridge and Oxford. Abbot Curteys built a special library for the accommodation of the books in 1430, and drew up regulations for their use.[1]

It was for a long period, more particularly in the fifteenth century, considered a high honour to be made an associate of this celebrated monastery. During the time of Abbot Curteys (1429–46) admissions to the chapter fraternity were granted to John Brodwell, doctor of laws; William Paston, justice of the King's Bench; Thomas Haseley, king's coroner; William Brewster, king's clerk; Richard Beauchamp, Earl Warwick, with Isabel his wife, Henry and Anne his children; Henry, Cardinal St. Eusebius; Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester; William Clopton, esquire, of Melford; Elizabeth Veer, countess of Oxford; and William Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife.[2] When Henry VI and his court bade farewell to St. Edmunds on St. George's Day, 1434, the Duke of Gloucester and all the leading courtiers were admitted to all the spiritual privileges of the monks as sharers in their prayers and deeds. Last of all the king himself passed into the chapter-house, where he was enrolled as one of the holy community of associates, the abbot greeting him with the fraternal kiss.[3]

It must not be imagined that this powerful house of Benedictine monks was free from all outside visitation because of its being exempt from diocesan or archiepiscopal jurisdiction. The abbey was just as much subject to the general provincial chapter of the Benedictines as the humblest priory of the order. The general chapter met every three years, and one of its most important duties was the appointment of visitors. There are several references to these periodic inspections in the St. Edmund registers. Thus in 1393, on the feast of St. Barnabas, this abbey was visited by the abbot of St. Benet of Holme, the appointed visitor (as it is stated) of the general chapter. He did not visit in person, but appointed the prior and another learned monk of his house (*quendam alium scolare*) to act on his behalf.[4]

Moreover, the most distinguished of the fourteenth-century superiors of St. Edmunds, Abbot Curteys (1429–46), was himself appointed visitor of all the Benedictine houses of East Anglia by the general chapter of the order held at Northampton in 1431. In the following year Abbot Curteys gave formal notice of holding visitations of such important houses as the abbeys of Holme, Colchester, and Thorney, and even of the cathedral priories of Norwich and Ely. These visitations were not carried out by the abbot in person, but he commissioned his fellow-monks John Craneways and Thomas Derham to represent him.[5] It must have been singularly trying to the Bishop of Norwich, between whom and the abbot of St. Edmunds an almost permanently jealous feud existed, to find his rival holding a visitation of the cathedral priory at the very gates of his palace!

The 'Chronica Buriensis,' of the Cambridge Public Library, contains a sad account of the charges made against the monks of Bury in the fourteenth century. Many of them, it was said, were living in the surrounding villages away from the monastery, wearing the dress of laymen. It was alleged against them in 1345 that they were engaged in abductions, fightings, riots, and other unlawful practices, besides having many illegitimate children. The abbot, William de Bernham, was plainly accused of connivance at these disorders, and cited to appear before the bishop. There can be no manner of doubt that these complaints, even if they had some real basis, were greatly exaggerated. When the charges were formulated on Bishop Bateman's behalf, it was with the avowed intention of securing to himself the visitation of Bury, and his agents were naturally inclined to make out as black a case as possible. Moreover, the only authority for this grievous censure is the chronicle first cited, whose writer proceeds to state that it was a gross libel full of malignant falsehoods. True the writer was a monk, but he was a monk of Holme and not of St. Edmunds. At all events, the bishop's attempt to upset the abbey's exempt jurisdiction completely failed both in secular and ecclesiastical courts.

Mr. Arnold assumes that Abbot Bernham was a careless administrator, and that discipline was generally slack under his rule.[6] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, he states that 'nothing from any quarter turns up to their (the monks') discredit.'[7] With this opinion our own perfectly independent and unbiased investigation coincides. Legh and Ap Rice's *comperta*, which have been already discussed, are in reality strong confirmation of this favourable judgement. The monks of St. Edmunds, whatever may have been their failings in the more remote past,

[1] See a scholarly and exhaustive paper on the Library of St. Edmunds, by Dr. Montague James, president of King's College, printed by the Camb. Antiq. Soc. in 1895.

[2] Add. MS. 14848, fols. 21, 53, 103, 157, 312, 317, 319.

[3] Arnold, *Mem.* iii, p. xxxii.

[4] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 35*b*.

[5] Add. MS. 14848, fols. 84–5.

[6] Arnold, *Mem.* iii, pp. x, xiii, xv, 65–8.

[7] Ibid. p. xxxv.

appear to have been well discharging their religious and social duties at the very time of their forcible dispersion.

ABBOTS OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS[1]

Uvius, 1020–44
Leofstan, 1044–65
Baldwin, 1065–97
Robert I, 1100–2
Robert II, 1102–7
Albold, 1114–19
Anselm, 1121–46
Ording, 1146–56
Hugh I, 1157–80
Samson, 1182–1211
Hugh II, 1215–29
Richard, 1229–34
Henry of Rushbrook, 1235–48
Edmund of Walpole, 1248–56
Simon of Luton, 1257–79
John of Northwold, 1279–1301
Thomas of Tottington, 1302–12
Richard of Draughton, 1312–35
William of Bernham, 1335–61
Henry of Hunstanton, 1361
John of Brinkley, 1361–79
John of Timworth, 1379–89
William of Cratfield, 1390–1415
William of Exeter, 1415–29
William Curteys, 1429–46
William Babington, 1446–53
John Bohun, 1453–69
Robert Ixworth, 1469–74
Richard Hengham, 1474–79
Thomas Rattlesden, 1479–97
William Cadenham, 1497–1513
John Reeve, 1513–39

The first seal (twelfth century) of the abbey is a pointed oval bearing St. Edmund seated on a throne with a curved footboard crowned, with sceptre in right hand and orb in left. Legend :—

SIGILLUM SANCTO EAD . . . GIS . . . IRIS.[2]

A large fourteenth-century seal shows the abbey church of elaborate design, with two small circular openings with busts in the upper part. The lower part has three niches ; in the impression (Cott. Ch. xxi, 7) the centre is wanting, but there is a crowned king on each side. Legend :—

SIGILL . . . CONVENTUS. ECCLES . . . . MUNDI . REGIS. ET MARTIR.

The reverse bears a cross of St. Andrew, in base the Martyrdom of St. Edmund, a wolf guarding the head ; above, the Almighty holding a crown between two angels ; on the cross two angels receiving the martyr's soul in a cloth. Legend :—

TELIS : CONFODITUR : EADMUNDUS : ET : ENSE : FERITUR
BESTIA : QUEM : MUNIT : DEUS : LUME : CELESTIB'[3]

A beautiful privy seal of the thirteenth century bears the martyrdom of St. Edmund. The king is represented tied to a tree and pierced with many arrows ; on the left are three archers, and on the right two archers shooting at the king. In the base, under an arch, is the decapitation of the saint by a swordsman, and on the right a wolf bearing away the head. Legend :—

SIGNUM : SECRETUM. CAPL'I : . . . . . AEDMUNDI : REGIS : ET : MARTIRIS.

The reverse bears St. Edmund crowned and seated on a throne between two bishops, each holding a crozier. Legend :—

AGMINE : STIRPATUS : SEDET : ED : REX : PONTIFICATUS[4]

Impressions of the seals of Abbots Samson, Richard de Insula, Simon de Luton, and John Reeve are also extant.

2. THE PRIORY OF EYE

The Benedictine priory of Eye, dedicated in honour of St. Peter, was founded by Robert Malet, in the time of the Conqueror, as a cell to the abbey of Bernay. The very liberal foundation charter gave to the monks of Eye a portion of the founder's burgage in the town of Eye, together with the tithe of the market, and the church, all the churches which then existed or might subsequently be erected in the town of Dunwich, the tithes of that town, and a three days' fair on the feast of St. Lawrence, and also the schools (*scolas*) of Dunwich ; the churches of Badingham, 'Benseya,' Benhall, Burgh, Bedfield, Brundish, Denston, 'Helegleya,' 'Helegistow,' Laxfield, Mells, Playford, 'Pelecoth,' Sedgebrook, Stradbroke, Stoke, Sutton St. Margaret, Tattingstone, Thorndon, Thornham, Welbourn, and Wingfield ; tithes and portions in several other parishes ; the vills of Stoke and Badfield ; land in Badingham, Fressingfield, &c. ; and several mills and fisheries. After specifying his own donations at length, the founder confirmed various other donations made to the priory by his barons and other persons holding under him by military service. Among these gifts were two parts of his tithe in Huntingfield, Linstead and 'Benges,' by Roger de Huntingfield ; the church of St. Botolph, Iken, and two parts of his tithe in 'Clakesthorp' and 'Glenham,' by William de Roville ; the church and vill of Brome, by Hugh de Avilers ; half the church of Gislingham, by Godard de Gislingham and

[1] This list of abbots is taken in the main from that given in Lakynhethe's Register (Harl. MS. 743), but it has been collated with several other lists, and the dates slightly amended.

[2] Engraved in Yates, *Hist.* pt. i, 37. B. M. Cast, lxxi, 90.

[3] Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, pl. 17.

[4] Yates, *Hist.* v, pl. 37.

E., Prior of Snape, *c.* 1200

John, Pride of Mendham, 1307

Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds

Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (*Obverse*)

Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (*Reverse*)

Suffolk Monastic Seals, Plate I

his wife; the church of Braiseworth, by Geoffrey de Braiseworth, &c., &c. In further augmentation the founder gave the church of Yaxley, with all the churches and tithes of the house of Eye, together with the privilege of a four-days' fair at Eye. This charter was solemnly offered on the high altar of the church of Eye. Beatrice, sister of the founder, added to all this, by an independent charter, the gift of the hamlet (*villula*) of Redlingfield.

King Stephen in 1138 granted to the monks a full charter of confirmation; among the witnesses were his son Eustace and his queen Matilda. William, earl of Boulogne, son of Stephen, granted confirmation of the priory's possessions at Stoke and Occold, and the priory also received a confirmatory grant from Thomas à Becket, as archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

The exceptionally large church patronage held by this priory aroused particular attention at Rome; various popes desiring to secure some of its preferments for their friends or favourites. As early as 1251 the pope (Innocent IV) issued his mandate making provision in favour of Giles, a scholar, son of Lanfranc Rossi, of Genoa, of a benefice of the prior and convent of Eye, worth thirty or forty marks. In July, 1264, Pope Urban IV directed the Bishop of Norwich to make provision to Master Walter of Lincoln, a poor clerk, of some church in the gift of the prior and convent of Eye, usually assigned to secular clerks, his fitness as to learning and his life and conversation having been inquired into by the bishop. The bishop was also instructed to enforce residence.[2]

The taxation roll of 1291 abounds in references to the possessions of the priory of Eye.[3] The value of the spiritualities amounted to £58 14*s.*; the appropriated rectory of Eye was worth £33 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, All Saints', Dunwich, £10 13*s.* 4*d.*, and Playford £8; and there were appropriations of pensions and portions from twenty-six other churches. The temporalities, from twenty different manors or parishes, amounted to the annual value of £65 10*s.* 9¼*d.*, giving a full total of £124 4*s.* 9¼*d.*

The full accounts of the manor of Eye for 1297–8, when it was in the hands of the crown owing to the war with France, are extant. They show that the total receipts from rents, manorial court dues, &c. amounted to £54 5*s.* 5*d.*, whilst the expenses were £4 1*s.* 4¾*d.*

The accounts for the same year of other property of the priory, paid to the receivers or crown bailiffs, show that the tithes of the chapel of Badingham and of the churches of St. Leonard and All Saints, Dunwich, together with certain rents, amounted to £33 11*s.* 10½*d.*; the sale of corn realized £39 8*s.* 3*d.* These items, with certain smaller amounts, produced a total of £73 13*s.* 1½*d.* But the outgoings were £49 2*s.* 4¼*d.*; of this sum £37 8*s.* 6¾*d.* were spent on the sustenance of the nine monks of the priory. The clear total handed to the crown that year from the priory seems to have been £74 14*s.* 9½*d.*[4]

An extent of the possessions of Eye taken in 1370, during the war of Edward III with France, gives its total annual value as £123 11*s.* 8*d.*[5]

The Valor of 1535 gives £112 19*s.* 5¾*d.* as the clear annual value of the temporalities from the manors of Eye, Stoke, 'Acolt,' Laxfield, Bedfield, and Fressingfield. As to the spiritualities, the churches of Laxfield, Yaxley, All Saints, Dunwich, and Playford in Suffolk, and Barchly and Sedgebrook in Lincoln, were appropriated to the priory. They also received portions or pensions from twenty-three Suffolk churches, with one from Essex, two from Lincoln, and two from Norfolk, yielding a total income in spiritualities of £71 10*s.* 2*d.* But the outgoings from this part of their income were so considerable, including £14 12*s.* 4*d.* given to the poor, that the clear value was only £23 7*s.* 4½*d.*, leaving a total income of £161 2*s.* 3¼*d.*[6]

The income of the monks, on the eve of dissolution, would certainly have been higher, had it not been for their serious losses at Dunwich from the incursions of the sea. There was only one church at Dunwich, dedicated to St. Felix, in the days of the Confessor, but two more were built in the reign of the Conqueror, and several others shortly afterwards, so that there were churches of St. Felix, St. Leonard, St. John Baptist, St. Martin, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Michael, St. Bartholomew, All Saints, and the Templars' church of St. Mary, by the

[1] These five charters are cited at length in Dugdale's *Mon.* iii, 404–6. Bishop Tanner quotes from two chartularies of Eye, the whereabouts of which are not now known. Fortunately, however, in the collections of Sir Symonds D'Ewes there are transcripts or abstracts of the contents of both. The volume containing them is Harl. MS. 639; fols. 58–68 give the abstracts from the chartulary known as 'Malet,' and fols. 68–71 of that known as 'Danoun.' The first of these gives full copies of the five charters that appear in the *Mon.* and of various compositions as to tithes, and of charters of Kings Richard I, John, and Henry III, and of Popes Adrian and Innocent III, and Richard, king of the Romans; there is nothing later than Henry III's reign. 'Danoun' is shorter, and is chiefly concerned with the rentals and custumaries of different manors.

[2] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 273, 414.

[3] *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 60*b*, 62, 80, 84*b*, 115*b*, 116, 116*b*, 117*b*, 118, 118*b*, 123, 123*b*, 125*b*, 127, 127*b*, 128*b*, 129*b*, 130*b*.

[4] Mins. Accts. bdle. 996, No. 12. Certain of the spiritualities escaped record in these accounts.

[5] Add. MS. 6164, fol. 424; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 407–8, where it is set forth in full.

[6] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 476–7.

beginning of the thirteenth century. St. Felix and the cell of the priory of Eye (which is noticed independently) were among the first to perish, and these were followed, at about 1300, by the loss of St. Leonard's church.[1] About 1331, the sea swallowed up the churches of St. Bartholomew and St. Michael.[2] The last institution to St. Martin's was in 1335, and to St. Nicholas's in 1352. St. John Baptist's church was taken down to save the materials from the sea in 1540. St. Peter's was not pulled down till 1702.[3] The ruins of All Saints' are now gradually disappearing over the cliff.

In 1291 the taxation roll shows that their total income from Dunwich was £40 2*s.* 2*d.* at that date. In 1535 they had no income in temporalities from Dunwich, and merely received £10 13*s.* 4*d.* from the rectory of All Saints, a portion of 13*s.* 4*d.* from the church of St. John, and a general pension from the remains of other parishes of 26*s.* 8*d.*

In April, 1296, the king, when at Berwick-on-Tweed, instructed the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer to cause the custody of the priory of Eye to be restored to Edmund earl of Cornwall, to be held by writ of Exchequer, securing the right of the king and others; for the king had learnt from an inquisition that Edmund took the custody of the priory into his hands on Thursday before Palm Sunday, 1294, as true patron and advocate (*advocatus*) thereof, by reason of the death of Richard the late prior; and that Richard, Edmund's father, had always had the custody in times of voidance; and that on the eve of St. Andrew, 1295, Richard Oysel, by reason of the king's orders to take into the king's hands (on account of the war) the alien houses in Norfolk and Suffolk, ejected the earl and his men from the priory and barns and outer manors.[4]

On the death of Prior Nicholas Ivelyn, in 1313, a dispute again arose as to the charge of the priory during the vacancy. The king's escheator and his bailiffs of the honour of Eye seized into the king's hands the priory with its appurtenances. The alleged reason for this action was that the advowson had fallen in by the death of Margaret, late the wife of Edmund earl of Cornwall, who held it in dower by grant of her husband of the king's inheritance. But the sub-prior and convent represented that Eye Priory was founded by Robert Malet as a cell of the abbey of Bernay in Normandy, and that neither the founder nor his heirs, nor Henry III, into whose hands the priory fell as an escheat by forfeiture, nor the earls of Cornwall, who afterwards held the advowson as a gift of Henry III, were accustomed to receive anything out of the priory at time of voidance, but only to appoint a warden or janitor for the gates of the house, who had during voidance merely a competent sustenance as a token of their dominion. A commission was appointed on 17 July to inquire as to this, and on 10 August the temporalities were restored to Durand Frowe, who had been preferred by the abbot of Bernay to be prior of Eye.[5] In October, 1313, the king's licence was obtained for the appropriation of the church of Laxfield, the advowson of which was already held of the priory; for this licence a fine of £20 was paid by the prior.[6] The appropriation of Laxfield was not, however, carried out until 10 January, 1326. Ten days later grant was made by Edward II assuring the priory of the payment as before to them of the pensions out of the churches of Thorndon and Mells, the advowsons of which they had quit-claimed to the king.[7]

The farm of £94 10*s.* due from the alien priory of Eye was assigned by Edward III, in 1347, to the king's scholars at Cambridge, during the war.[8]

At the special request of the queen, their patron, and on payment of a fine of £60, the alien prior and convent of Eye were, in 1385, granted a charter of denization. The priors were henceforth to be Englishmen. No subsidy was hereafter to be exacted from them as aliens, but the priory was in all respects to be like that of Thetford. It was stated that at this time, through ill-government, the priory had become so impoverished that it could hardly maintain a prior and three or four monks. Certain persons had, however, promised to relieve and repair it when nationalized.[9]

The visitations of this house during the latter part of its existence are much to its credit. Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of his brother the bishop, visited this priory in February, 1494, when Richard Norwich the prior and nine monks were present. It was found that no reform was needed.[10] The next recorded visitation was in August, 1514, when Bishop Nykke visited in person. Three of the eight monks who were examined testified *omnia bene*. The rest made various complaints, the nature of which appears in the bishop's injunctions. The bishop ordered the prior to procure the return of the books lent to Doctor White before Christmas, and to exhibit a true inventory and statement of accounts before the Michaelmas synod; he also ordered that Margery, the washer-woman, was not for the future to enter the

[1] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich* (1754), *passim*.
[2] Harl. MS. 639, fol. 71, where it is said that the fruits of these two parish churches had been worth £40 to the monks.
[3] Gardner, *passim*.
[4] Close, 24 Edw. I, m. 8.
[5] Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, mm. 16, 19 *d.*
[6] Ibid. m. 8.
[7] Ibid. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 6.
[8] Ibid. 20 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 9.
[9] Ibid. 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3.
[10] Jessopp, *Visit.* 40.

priory precincts. The visitation was adjourned until Michaelmas.[1]

The suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and other commissaries visited in August, 1520. Richard Bettys, the prior, expressed himself as in every way satisfied; but the eight monks all gave utterance to their suspicions of the prior's dealings with one Margery Verre or Veer. It was also complained that the prior had presented no accounts since the first year of his appointment, and that he had sold certain silver bowls. The commissaries were evidently not satisfied, for the visitation was adjourned until Christmas.[2]

The visitation of July, 1526, by Bishop Nykke in person, when John Eia was prior, was quite satisfactory. The nine monks, as well as the prior, were severally examined by the bishop; none of them knew of anything needing reform, save the negligent keeping of the common seal, which was mentioned by the subchanter. The bishop ordered a chest to be prepared with three locks and keys, and dissolved the visitation.[3]

The last recorded visitation was also personally conducted by Bishop Nykke in July, 1532. William Hadley, the prior, presented his accounts showing a balance in hand of 49*s.* 5¾*d.* It appeared that the common seal was still kept in a coffer with only one key. Complaint was made that they had two ordinals, one old and one new, and that there were erasures in both leading to confusion and dispute. Eight monks were examined in addition to the prior. A page is left in the register for *Reformanda*, but it has never been filled up.[4]

The acknowledgement of the king's supremacy was signed in the chapter-house by William the prior, William Norwich the sub-prior, and six others, on 20 October, 1534.[5]

The Suffolk commissioners visited this priory on 26 August, 1536, and drew up a complete inventory of goods and chattels. The furniture of the high altar and quire was of trifling value, the only item of moment being 'one payer of old organs ner to the Qwyer lytell worth, at xs.' There were small 'tables' of alabaster both in the lady chapel and the chapel of St. Nicholas. In the vestry was silver to the value of £13 4*s.* 6*d.*, including three chalices and a pair of censers. In addition to a variety of vestments were 'iii lytell boxes of sylver with relyques, vs.' 'an arme of tymber garnysshed with sylver called Saint Blasis arme, at vis. viiid.,' and 'a lytell piece of timber with a piece of a rybbe in it, at xd.' 'An old masse boke called the redde boke of Eye garnysshed with a lytell sylver on the one side, the residewe lytell worth, xxd.,' refers to the book of St. Felix from the destroyed cell of Dunwich; the 20*d.* would be the value of a silver boss or corner, the residue in reality was simply priceless.[6]

The contents of the 'Queen's chamber' were valued at 7*s.* 2*d.*, the 'paynted chamber' 5*s.*, the 'inner chamber' 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the 'grene chamber' 10*s.* 10*d.* In the pantry were some silver spoons, a goblet, a salt, and four masers with silver bands. The simple contents of the kitchen, bakehouse, brewery and parlour are also set forth, as well as cattle worth £6 19*s.* 8*d.*, and £10 as the value of the 'Corne growynge upon the demaynes.' The total came to £45 17*s.* 10*d.*[7]

The formal suppression of the house took place on 12 February, 1536–7,[8] and on 7 April, 1537, the site of the priory and the whole of its possessions were granted to Charles duke of Suffolk.[9]

A pension of £18 was granted to William Parker, the prior.[10]

Priors of Eye

Hubert, *temp.* William the Conqueror and Henry I [11]
Gauselins, *temp.* Henry I [12]
Osbert, *temp.* Henry II [13]
Roger, died 2 id. April [14]
Godwinus, died 5 id. April
Silvester Bolton, died 16 kal. Mart
William de Sancto Petro, died 2 id. December
John Belyng, died 13 kal. January
Wakelin, *temp.* John [15]
Roger, occurs 1202, 1215, 1228, 1232, 1235 [16]
Richard Jacob, occurs 1237 [17]
William Puleyn, occurs 1242, 1244, 1255, 1276, 1282 [18]
Nicholas Ivelyn, appointed 1300 [19]
Durand Frowe, appointed 1313 [20]
Robert Morpayn, appointed 1323 [21]
Michael Renard, died 1380 [22]

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 140–2.
[2] Ibid. 183–5.
[3] Ibid. 221–3.
[4] Ibid. 294–6.
[5] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 515.
[6] See account of Dunwich Priory.
[7] *Suff. Arch. Inst. Proc.* viii, 105–8.
[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 510.
[9] Ibid. 1103 (11).
[10] Ibid. xiii (1), 1520.
[11] Chartul. Danoun, 49, 675.
[12] Ibid. 67*b*; Malet, 22.
[13] Chartul. Malet, 32*b*; Danoun, 67*b*.
[14] These next five priors occur in a list in the Danoun chartulary, with the days of their obits, but no year. Reg. Eye, fol. 23. This is a register of Eye in the possession of the Marquis of Cornwallis. Of this register Mr. Davy made an abstract in 1814 (Add. MS. 19089, pp. 196–344); Chartul. Danoun, fol. 66*b*.
[15] Reg. Eye, fols. 39, 70.
[16] Ibid. fols. 50, 51.
[17] Chartul. Danoun, 66*b*.
[18] Ibid. fols. 30, 47, 55; Chartul. Malet, 50*b*: Danoun, 67.
[19] Norwich Epis. Reg. i, 16.
[20] Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8.
[21] Norwich Epis. Reg. i, 102; Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.
[22] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 71.

John de Farnham, appointed 1380[1]
Thomas de Fakenham, appointed 1391[2]
Silvester Bolton, appointed 1431[3]
John Eye, appointed 1433[4]
Thomas Cambrigg, appointed 1440[5]
Thomas Norwych, appointed 1462[6]
Augustine Sceltone, occurs 1487[7]
Richard Norwich, occurs 1492[8]
Richard Bettys, occurs 1520[9]
John Eia, occurs 1526[10]
William Hadley, occurs 1532[11]
William Parker, surrendered 1536–7[12]

The first seal of the priory represents St. Peter, full length, in the right hand two keys, and in the left an open book. Over his shoulders are a crescent and a star. Legend :—

† SIGILL' . . . NTUS. SAN . . . E . . .[13]

3. THE PRIORY OF DUNWICH

In early days the monastery of Eye, to which all the churches of Dunwich had been assigned by the Conquerer, possessed a cell or small priory in that town. It was swallowed up by the sea about the time of Edward I. Leland states that the monks of Eye, in his days, possessed an ancient *textus* or book of the Gospels, brought from this cell, called in later days, 'The Red Book of Eye,' which had belonged to St. Felix.[14]

Gardner, writing in 1754, makes mention of what was probably the last trace of this cell. Common or Covent Garden, abutting on Sea-Field, was a plot of ground whereon grew large crops of thyme, &c., which created in many people a belief that it was a garden for the service of the whole town. But the name rather implies the foundation of some convent thereabouts. Also mention is made of a cell of monks at Dunwich subordinate to Eye, destroyed some ages past, so possibly it was a curtilage appertaining to the religious house. And as the sea made encroachments thereupon many human bones were discovered, whereby part thereof manifestly appeared to have been a place of sepulture, which was washed away in the winter Ann. Dom. 1740.[15]

[1] Norwich Epis. Reg. vi, 71.
[2] Ibid. vi, 158.
[3] Ibid. ix, 51.
[4] Ibid. ix, 68.
[5] Ibid. x, 36.
[6] Ibid. xi, 134.
[7] Harl. MS. 639, fol. 64*a*.
[8] Cott. MS. xxvii, fol. 90*b*.
[9] Jessopp, *Visit.* 183.
[10] Ibid. 221.
[11] Ibid. 295.
[12] Pensioned ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 510.
[13] B.M. Cast lxxi, p. 109 ; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, pt. xix, fig. 5, from Harl. Chart. 44, D. 42.
[14] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 26.
[15] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 62. For further particulars see under 'Priory of Eye.'

4. THE PRIORY OF EDWARDSTONE

The story of the small short-lived priory of Edwardstone can soon be told. Hubert de Monchesney, lord of the manor, gave the church of Edwardstone, in the year 1114, with all its appurtenances, to the abbot and monks of Abingdon, Berks. In the following year this grant was confirmed by Henry I, in whose charter mention is also made of two parts of the tithes of 'Stanetona' and 'Stanesteda,' of the tithes of mills and underwood, and of pannage for pigs, &c. A further confirmation was granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[16]

Hence it came to pass that two or more Benedictine monks were placed at Edwardstone to hold it as a priory or cell of Abingdon. This arrangement, however, only lasted until 1160. In that year Hugh de Monchesney, the son of the founder, with the assent of his own son and heir Stephen, allowed the removal of these two monks, at the wish of Abbot Wathelin, to the larger priory or cell of Colne in Essex.[17] Colne itself became an independent priory in 1311.

5. THE PRIORY OF HOXNE

A small religious house existed at Hoxne in pre-Norman times, dedicated in honour of St. Athelbright; it is mentioned in the will of Bishop Theodred II, in 962. Probably it formed part of the bishop's manor of Hoxne, for Bishop Herbert, of Norwich, founded here a cell in 1101, in connexion with the great Benedictine cathedral priory, which Ralph, the sewer, rebuilt from the ground.[18]

Bishop Herbert's charter granted the parish church of St. Peter, Hoxne, and the chapel of St. Edmund, king and martyr, to the monks of Norwich, and the cell and priory were removed to the immediate vicinity of the historic chapel under Bishop de Blunville, who was consecrated in 1226. Bishop Roger de Skarning in 1267 consecrated a churchyard for the priory. The house consisted of a prior, removable at will by the prior and convent of Norwich, and seven or eight monks. The monks kept a school for the children of the parish, and supported or boarded two of the scholars.[19]

[16] Abingdon Chartul. (Cott. MS. Claud. B, vi), fol. 137.
[17] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 96, 101.
[18] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vii, 41.
[19] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 607–10. Blomefield had access to a chartulary of Hoxne, which was then (1743) in the hands of Mr. Martin of Dalgrave, and from which he took his information as to the succession of the priors and the gifts of benefactors. This chartulary cannot now be traced.

Blomefield names various benefactions. The chief of these was the manor, with the chapel of Ringshall, granted to this priory by the mother house in 1294. Luke, the parish chaplain of Ringshall, made a return on oath that the chapel was 'a free chapel belonging to the prior of Norwich, who assigned it to his cell of St. Edmund at Hoxne; that it was endowed with thirty-two acres of land, and two parts of all the tithe corn and hay of the ancient demesnes of Sir Richard de la Rokele and Robert de la Wythakysham and their tenants in Ringshall; and that the tithes were then of the value of 30s. per annum.

In 1313 Robert Guer, chaplain, had the whole of the endowments of Ringshall assigned him for life, paying 30s. a year to Hoxne priory, serving the chapel thrice a week, and keeping the houses in repair.

Gilbert, bishop of Orkney, as suffragan of Norwich, granted a forty days' indulgence to all persons making a pilgrimage to the image of St. Edmund in the priory chapel of Hoxne, and making offerings for the repairs of the chapel.

Although Hoxne priory was allowed to hold property granted to it independently of the mother house of Norwich, the priors of Hoxne were bound to make annual returns to Norwich of their accounts. Among the obedientiary rolls preserved in the cathedral there are a large number of the annual accounts of this cell. They extend from 1395 to 1399, and from 1407 to 1410; and there are thirty others at irregular intervals, the last one being for the year 1534.

In the time of Henry VI the annual value of the lands and rents of this cell was returned at £27. The commissioners of the Valor of 1535 made no return of the priory of Hoxne, contenting themselves with stating that it was a cell of Norwich under Nicholas Thurkill, the prior, and that the accounts would be included in those of the cathedral priory.[1]

This priory obtains occasional mention in wills. In 1375 John Elys, rector of Occold Magna, left 3s. 4d. to the repairs of the chapel of St. Edmund, and a rood of meadow-land near Hoxne Bridge in perpetual alms. Bishop Brown of Norwich, by will of 1445, gave forty marks to the reconstruction of the chapel.[2]

William Castleton, the last prior and first dean of Norwich, in view of the coming dissolution, alienated the property of the cell to Sir Richard Gresham, recalling the monks to Norwich. For this act he was pardoned by the king on 1 April, 1538; the patent sanctioning this transfer declared the clear annual value of the cell to be £18 1s.[3]

[1] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 461.
[2] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vii, 42.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 652.

PRIORS OF HOXNE[4]

Hervey
Richard de Hoxne
Roger
William de Acle
John de Shamelisford
Geoffrey de Norwich, 1411
Nicholas de Kelfield, 1424
John Eglington, 1430
William Mettingham, *c.* 1428
John Elmham, *c.* 1438
John Eston, 1441
John Eshgate, 1452
Robert Gatelee, 1453
John Eston (again), 1453
Robert Bretenham, *c.* 1460
Simon Folcard, *c.* 1473
Nicholas Berdney, *c.* 20 Edw. IV, 1480
Robert Swaffham, removed 1492
John Attleburgh, 1492
Thomas Pellis, 1509
Stephen Darsham, 1523
Nicholas Thurkill, 1535

6. THE PRIORY OF RUMBURGH

The priory of Rumburgh was founded between 1064 and 1070 by Ethelmar, bishop of Elmham, and Thurstan, abbot of St. Benet at Holme, and supplied with a few monks, with Brother Blakere at their head, from that Benedictine foundation.[5] These monks are named in the Domesday Survey as being then twelve in number.

Some time in the reign of Henry I, either Stephen, the second earl of Richmond and Bretagne, or his son Alan, the third earl, gave this priory as a cell to the abbey of St. Mary, York.[6] In the charters relative to this gift the priory church of St. Michael's, Rumburgh, is described as in possession of the churches of Wisset, Spexhall, Holton, and South Cove, with other lands, tithes, and woods; to these the earl added the Norfolk churches of Banham and Wilby with all their appurtenances. It was definitely laid down in Earl Alan's charter that the prior and monks of Rumburgh were to be appointed by the abbot and convent of York, and were to be removable at will.

[4] This list is the one drawn up by Blomefield (iii, 609–10) from the lost chartulary, &c.; he was not able to fix the dates or order of the first five.
[5] Cott. MS. Galba, E. ii, fol. 59 (Reg. of St. Benet's).
[6] In Bishop Everard's charter the foundation is ascribed to Earl Alan, but in a charter of Geoffrey bishop of Ely, to Earl Stephen. Both charters are given in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 612. There is a small roll of charters relating to this cell at the British Museum (L. F. C. ix, 9); they are eleven in number, and include that of Stephen earl of Richmond, several episcopal confirmations, and references to the church of Banham.

This injunction was always observed down to the dissolution. The abbot appointed the prior of this cell, which was jointly dedicated in honour of St. Michael and St. Felix, and removed him at will. The unusual practice in such a case was also invariably observed of presenting each successive prior to the Bishop of Norwich for his sanction, although the priory could not be considered a benefice. Owing to the frequent recall of these priors, the number recorded in the diocesan institution books is abnormally large.

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the income of the priory was then £35 5s. 11¾d. Of this sum £10 12s. 11¾d. was from lands or rents in different parishes, whilst the spiritualities that made up the remainder were portions from the rectories of 'Canburgh,' North Tuddenham, Barnham, Swaffham, Chediston, Sibton, Spexhall, South Cove, Wicks, and Ryburgh, in Norwich diocese; and from those of Bassingburne, Little Abington, and Lynton, in Ely diocese.[1]

An attempt was made by the Earl of Richmond, in 1199, on the appointment of John de Acaster to be prior of Rumburgh, to claim the position of patron to that cell. But on an inquisition being held, the jury returned that the lords of Richmond never had custody nor seisin of the cell of Rumburgh during vacancies.[2]

Rumburgh was one of those small priories included for suppression, in favour of Cardinal Wolsey's great college at Ipswich, in the bull of Clement VII, dated 14 May, 1528.[3]

On 11 September, 1525, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, at the commission of Cardinal Wolsey, and under his seal, arrived at Rumburgh, and there in the convent declared to the prior and monks, with the authority of the pope and the king, the suppression of the house, assigned the goods both movable and immovable to Wolsey's college at Ipswich, and ordered that the religious should enter other monasteries of the same order. Thomas Cromwell and others were present as witnesses.[4] On the news reaching York, Edmund, abbot of St. Mary's, wrote, on 24 September, complaining that among the goods taken away from Rumburgh by the commission were certain muniments belonging to the monastery of York, which had lately been sent there for reference in a dispute between the abbey and men of worship in Cambridgeshire. He also begged that the priory might be allowed to remain a member of their monastery as it had been for three centuries. The rents of the cell were little more than £30 a year, and the abbot and his brethren were quite willing to give instead 300 marks to the college.[5]

However, in March, 1528–9, the abbey felt compelled to execute a formal release and quitclaim of the priory of Rumburgh to the cardinal's college.[6]

On the cardinal's downfall, Rumburgh priory and its property reverted to the crown and was granted to Robert Downes, who had licence, on 1 April, 1531, to alienate it to Thomas, duke of Norfolk.[7]

A survey of the site of the monastery taken soon after its suppression, wherein the dimensions of the different buildings are set out, states that 'there ys a seynt in the churche of Rumburgh called Seynt Bory, to the which there is moche offeryng uppon Michelmasday of money and cheses.'[8]

Priors of Rumburgh[9]

Blakere, *c.* 1070[10]
John de Acaster, 1199[11]
William de Tolberton, 1308[12]
Matthew de Ebor, 1311[13]
James de Morlound, 1316[14]
William de Touthorp, 1319[15]
Geoffrey de Rudston, 1322[16]
Adam de Sancto Botulpho, 1331[17]
William de Newton, 1331[18]
John de Maghenby, 1332[19]
Roger de Aslakby, recalled 1343[20]
John de Manneby (? Maghenby again), 1347[21]
Alexander de Wath, resigned 1347[22]
Richard de Burton, 1347[23]
John de Gayton, recalled, 1357[24]
John de Martone, 1357[25]
Richard de Appilton, 1361[26]
Thomas Lastels, 1370[27]
John de Garton, 1373[28]
Nicholas Kelfeld, recalled 1392[29]
Thomas de Helmeslay, 1392[30]
William de Dalton, 1394[31]
John Selby, 1405[32]
William Hewyk, 1407[33]
Thomas Ampulforth, 1412[34]
Thomas Staveley, 1417[35]
Thomas Gasgyll, 1426[36]

[1] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 85*b*, 87, 117, 118*b*, 119, 121, 126, 126*b*, 127, 131, 266*b*, 267, 267*b*.
[2] Harl. MS. 236, fol. 55.
[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 240.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4755.
[5] Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv, 46.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5353 (5), 5354.
[7] Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 17.
[8] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 615. Possibly St. Birinus, of Dorchester.
[9] The dates are those of appointment unless otherwise stated.
[10] Cott. MS. Galba, E. ii, fol. 59.
[11] Harl. MS. 236, fol. 55.
[12] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 28.
[13] Ibid. i, 44.
[14] Ibid. i, 66.
[15] Ibid. i, 78.
[16] Ibid. i, 95.
[17] Ibid. ii, 41.
[18] Ibid. ii, 46.
[19] Ibid. ii, 49.
[20] Ibid. iii, 72.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid. iv, 66.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. v, 22.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid. v, 49.
[27] Ibid. vi, 8.
[28] Ibid. vi, 21.
[29] Ibid. vi, 168.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid. vi, 192.
[32] Ibid. vi, 329.
[33] Ibid. vii, 5.
[34] Ibid. vii, 54.
[35] Ibid. viii, 22.
[36] Ibid. ix, 15.

William Esyngwold, 1428[1]
Thomas Goldesburgh, 1439[2]
Thomas Bothe, 1448[3]
Hugh Belton, recalled 1464[4]
John Ward, 1464[5]
John Brown, 1478[6]
Richard Mowbray, 1483[7]
Walter Hotham, 1484[8]
John Lovell, 1492[9]
Walter Hotham (again), 1492[10]
Thomas Burton, 1495[11]
William Skelton, 1497[12]
Richard Wood, 1498[13]
John Ledell, 1507[14]
Launcelot Wharton, 1523[15]
John Halton, 1525[16]

7. THE PRIORY OF SNAPE

About the year 1155 William Martel, in conjunction with Albreda his wife, and Geoffrey their son, gave the manors of Snape and Aldeburgh to the abbot and convent of the Benedictine house of St. John, Colchester. The founders intended that a prior and monks should be established at Snape subject to St. John's, Colchester, and this was speedily accomplished. The priory, by the foundation charter, was to pay the abbey annually half a mark of silver as an acknowledgement of its submission. The monks of Snape were to say two masses every week, one of the Holy Spirit and the other of our Lady, for the weal of William and Albreda, and after their death masses for the departed. The abbot of Colchester was to visit the cell twice a year, with twelve horses, and to tarry for four days.[17]

In 1163 Pope Alexander III confirmed to the prior and brethren of St. Mary, Snape, the churches of Freston and Bedingfield.[18]

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that there were then appropriated to this priory the churches of Snape, Bedingfield, Freston, and Aldeburgh with its chapel, producing an income of £23 6*s.* 8*d.* The lands, rents, and mill brought in £21 12*s.* 1*d.* a year, and other temporalities £11 19*s.* 7½*d.*; so that the total annual income was £56 18*s.* 4½*d.*[19]

Upon complaint made by Isabel, countess of Suffolk and patroness of the abbey, to Boniface IX, that the abbot and convent of Colchester did not maintain a sufficient number of religious at Snape, according to the founder's directions, the pope, by bull dated 10 January, 1399–1400, made this priory independent and exempt from all control by the Colchester abbey.[20] But whilst this matter was still in hand, the abbey of Colchester had sufficient influence to stir up the crown against this papal action. On 3 May, 1400, commission was issued to John Arnold, serjeant-at-arms, to arrest John Mersey (monk of St. John's, Colchester, and prior of Snape), which Henry IV claimed as of the king's patronage, as Mersey had obtained divers exemptions and privileges prejudicial to the abbey from the court of Rome, and was proposing to cross the seas to obtain further privileges. He was to be brought before the king in chancery, and to find security that he would not leave the kingdom without the royal licence, or obtain anything prejudicial to the abbey in the court of Rome.[21] On 16 July, Mersey was still at large, for the commission to arrest him was renewed and its execution entrusted to four serjeants-at-arms.[22] The upshot of the dispute was favourable to the abbey; but the final agreement was not reached[23] until 1443.

Pope Sixtus IV, in 1472, confirmed the priory in its possession and privileges, but with no statement as to independence.[24]

Archdeacon Nicholas Goldwell visited this priory, as commissary of his brother the bishop on 20 January, 1492–3; Prior Francis produced his accounts, and the commissary found nothing worthy of reformation.[25] There is record of another visitation of this small house in July, 1520; the visitor reported that everything was praiseworthy considering the number of the religious and the income of the priory; the prior was ordered to provide another brother, and to exhibit an inventory of the condition of the house at the synod to be held at Ipswich at the ensuing Michaelmas.[26]

This priory was one of those numerous small religious houses of East Anglia for whose suppression, in favour of a great college at Ipswich, Cardinal Wolsey obtained bulls in 1527–8. It was at that time valued in spiritualities at £20 per annum, and in temporalities at £79 1*s.* 11½*d.*, yielding a total income of £99 1*s.* 11½*d.*[27]

After Wolsey's attainder, the site and possessions of this priory were granted to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, on 17 July, 1532.[28]

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 32.
[2] Ibid. x, 29.
[3] Ibid. xi, 14.
[4] Ibid. xi, 146.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. xii, 61.
[7] Ibid. xii, 99.
[8] Ibid. xii, 104.
[9] Ibid. xii, 156.
[10] Ibid. xii, 162.
[11] Ibid. xii, 180.
[12] Tanner, Norw. MSS.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Norw. Epis. Reg. xiv, 199.
[17] Foundation Charter cited in an Inspeximus Charter, Pat. 51 Edw. III, m. 36.
[18] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 458.
[19] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 116, 119*b*, 125*b*, 126, 127, 127*b*, 133.
[20] Rymer, *Foedera*, viii, 121.
[21] Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. vi, m. 4 *d.*
[22] Ibid. pt. viii, m. 28 *d.*
[23] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 625.
[24] Rymer, *Foedera*, xi, 750.
[25] Jessopp, *Visit.* 37.
[26] Ibid. 177.
[27] See the subsequent account of Cardinal's College, Ipswich.
[28] Pat. 24 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 9.

PRIORS OF SNAPE

John Colcestre, 1307[1]
Gilbert, occurs 1311[2]
Thomas de Neylond, 1327[3]
Simon de Elyton, 1349[4]
John de Colne, 1349[5]
Robert (? Richard) de Colne, 1360[6]
Richard de Bury, 1372[7]
John de Grensted, 1385[8]
John de Mersey, 1394[9]
John Wetheryngsete, died 1439[10]
John Norwych, 1439[11]
William Cambrigge, mentioned 1441[12]
Henry Thurton, resigned 1489[13]
John Barney, 1489[14]
Thomas Mondeley, 1491[15]
Francis, occurs 1493[16]
Richard Bells, 1504[17]
Richard Stratford, 1514[18]
Richard Parker, 1526[19]

A seal of a prior of this house *c.* 1200 is appended to two charters at the British Museum. It represents a prior standing, holding a book in his hands. Legend:

+SIGILLUM PRIORIS DE SNAPE.[20]

8. PRIORY OF FELIXSTOWE

Roger Bigod, in the reign of William Rufus, gave the church of St. Felix at Walton to the monastery of St. Andrew, Rochester. Some monks from that priory soon established a cell at Walton,[21] to which the founder gave the manor of Felixstowe, and the churches of Walton and Felixstowe.[22]

There was a grant, *c.* 1170–80, to the monks of St. Felix by Robert de Burneville, of his man Eluric Pepin with his children, which was confirmed by William de Burneville.[23]

The taxation of 1291 shows that this priory had then an income of £6 12*s.* 1½*d.* from lands and rents in eight different parishes.[24]

In 1291 there was a commission from Thomas the prior and the chapter of Rochester to John, warden of the cell of St. Felix, Walton, and others, as to the election of a bishop of Rochester.[25]

A roll of 1499, when William Waterford was warden of the cell of St. Felix, gives a full account of the year's receipts and outlay. The rents and court fees amounted to £10 16*s.* 10½*d.*, and tithe portions from three parishes to 12*s.* The sale of corn brought in £13 12*s.* 2*d.*, and the farming of pasture and mills and certain other details brought the total receipts to £33 9*s.* 10½*d.* Among the smaller payments of the outgoings are 20*d.* to the friars of Ipswich towards building their church, 2*d.* for cleaning the churchyard, and 6*d.* for oil for the church lamp. The chief payments were for repairs to the conventual and farm buildings and mills, and for wages of the servants. Among the gifts and rewards were 8*d.* at Christmas to a harp-player, three bushels of wheat and three of barley to the three orders of friars at Ipswich, one bushel of each to the friars of Orford, and half a bushel of wheat to the anchorite of Orford. There were also various donations of corn to the lights, &c., of the churches of Walton and Felixstowe. The last entry under this head is the gift to Thrum's wife of a bushel of both wheat and barley, inasmuch as her house was burnt, and her husband and two children burnt by the fire.[26]

This priory was suppressed in 1538 towards the founding of Cardinal's College, Ipswich, under the bull of Clement VII.[27] On 29 August, 1528, Thomas duke of Norfolk wrote to Wolsey, asking if 'the house of Fylstowe' of his foundation is really going to be suppressed for the college, and if in that case it would be left in fee farm for him and his heirs.[28]

Eventually on 9 September in the 'priory of Felixstowe *alias* Fylstowe,' before Stephen Gardiner, LL.D., archdeacon of Worcester, and Rowland Lee, canon of Lichfield, sitting as judges, there was presented a commission of Cardinal Wolsey, the effect of which Gardiner declared to the prior and two other monks, by which with the authority of the pope, and the consent of the founder's kin, he proceeded to the suppression of the monastery, applied the goods both movable and immovable to the college at Ipswich, and ordered the prior and his monks to enter other monasteries of the same order. The prior and monks being asked what monastery they would choose, they begged time for consideration, which was allowed them till the arrival of the legate at London. Thomas Cromwell was one of the witnesses.[29]

The formal grant of the site of Felixstowe priory, with its appurtenances, was made to

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 26.
[2] Westm. Mun. (Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 557).
[3] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 18. [4] Ibid. iv, 93.
[5] Ibid. iv, 113. [6] Ibid. v, 49. [7] Ibid. vi, 72.
[8] Ibid. vi, 113. [9] Ibid. vi, 196. [10] Ibid. x, 29.
[11] Ibid. [12] De Banc. R. 21 Hen. VI, m. 321.
[13] Norw. Epis. Reg. xii, 140.
[14] Ibid. [15] Ibid. xii, 154.
[16] Jessopp, *Visit.* v, 37. [17] Norw. Epis. Reg. xiii, 44.
[18] Ibid. xiv, 117. [19] Ipswich College Chart.
[20] Harl. Chart. 431, 18; 441, 26.
[21] Leland, *Itin.* viii, 66; Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xlv.
[22] Taylor, *Ind. Mon.* 83.
[23] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 239, 240, Chart. 241–3. In this collection there are also some small grants to the church of St. Felix.
[24] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 124, 125, 128.
[25] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 1304.
[26] Set forth at length in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 563–5.
[27] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 240.
[28] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. ii, 4673.
[29] Ibid. 4755.

Wolsey on 30 December, 1528. On the following day the cardinal's agent entered into the barn of corn at Felixstowe, and met with no resistance.[1] On 6 January, 1528–9, the Duke of Norfolk made a formal grant of Felixstowe to the cardinal. An unsigned memorandum sent to Cromwell about that date of 'certain utensils that I saw at Filstou,' mentions in the hall, old hangings of little value, stained, of the life of Job. The contents were very poor according to this summary; for instance, in the cellar, 'nothing'; in the chamber over the parlour, a small bedstead, and a 'noghty lok'; 'all the locks about the house been nought.'[2]

William Capon, the dean of Wolsey's Ipswich College, writing to the cardinal on 12 April, 1529, mentions a visit from the Duke of Norfolk, who was at first very rough with him as he had been informed that the house at Felixstowe was spoiled, and lead and stone conveyed away; but he was able to assure him that this was not the case.

On the speedy ending of Ipswich College, owing to the fall of Wolsey, the crown granted this priory and its appurtenances to the Duke of Norfolk.

WARDENS OR PRIORS OF FELIXSTOWE

Robert de Suthflete, prior of Rochester, 1352[6]
John Hertley, prior of Rochester, 1361[7]
Richard Pecham, 1496[8]
William Waterford, occurs 1499

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

9. THE PRIORY OF BUNGAY

About the year 1160 Roger de Glanville and the Countess Gundreda, his wife, founded the priory of Bungay, in honour of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross, for nuns of the Benedictine order. The first endowment consisted of benefices, lands, and rents, the greater part of which had been part of the dower of Gundreda on her marriage, and included the four churches of All Saints, Mettingham, Ilketshall St. Margaret, Ilketshall St. Andrew, and Ilketshall St. Laurence.[3] An elaborate charter of confirmation by Henry III in 1235 marks a great variety of other benefactions chiefly of small plots of land, made since the foundation, including the church of St. Mary Roughton, by Roger de Glanville, and the mill of Wainford by Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk.[4]

It is not a little remarkable that there is no mention of the possessions of the nuns of St. Cross, Bungay, throughout the taxation roll of Pope Nicholas in 1291. We can only conclude that the house obtained at that date the rare privilege of exemption from such taxing.

On the complaint of the prioress of St. Cross, Bungay, a commission of inquiry was issued in February, 1299, as to Robert, prior of Coxford, with various men, carrying away her goods at Roughton and Thorpe Market, county Norfolk, and assaulting her men.[5] On the other hand, in May, 1301, a commission was appointed on the complaint of the abbot of Barlings, that Joan, prioress of Bungay, Simon, parson of the church of St. John by Mettingham, and many others, had carried away the abbey's goods at Bungay and other places.[9]

The prioress obtained licence in 1318 to appropriate the church of St. John Baptist, Ilketshall, which was of their own advowson,[10] and in consideration of their poverty the prioress and convent obtained licence, without fine, in 1327, to acquire in mortmain land and rent to the yearly value of £10.[11] Edward de Montacute and Alice his wife assigned the advowson of the church of Redenhall to the priory of Bungay in 1346, together with licence for its appropriation.[12] In 1441 this church was disappropriated, a pension of 40s. being reserved for the nunnery.[13]

In 1416 a list was drawn up of all the churches of Norwich diocese appropriated to nunneries, with the date of the appropriation. Under Bungay priory appear the names of the four churches originally given by the founder, as well as Bungay St. Thomas and Roughton, and the date assigned to the appropriation of these six and the establishment of vicarages is *temp. Lat. Conc.*[14] To these six the list adds Redenhall, giving 1349 as the year of the ordaining of a vicarage.[15]

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the temporalities, which were chiefly in Suffolk, as £28 1s. 8¾d. The clear value of the spiritualities came to £33 10s. 0½d., giving a total income of £61 11s. 9¼d. The spiritualities included the appropriated churches of St. Mary

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5075, 5077.
[2] Ibid. 5144, 5145.
[3] A confirmation charter of Henry II, cited in inspection charter 3 Edw. III, No. 48.
[4] Chart. R. 19 Hen. III, m. 13. Cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 338–9.
[5] Pat. 27 Edw. I, mm. 37 *d.* 25 *d.*
[6] *Angl. Sacr.* i, 394.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Cole MS. xxvii, 691 *b.*
[9] Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 24 *d.*
[10] Ibid. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.
[11] Ibid. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 16.
[12] Ibid. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6; Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, fol. 27, 28.
[13] Norw. Epis. Reg. x, fol. 48.
[14] The fourth Lateran Council, 1215, insisted on the proper founding of vicarages in the case of appropriations.
[15] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 28.

and St. Thomas, Bungay; St. John, St. Laurence, St. Andrew, and St. Margaret, Ilketshall; Mettingham and Roughton, Norfolk; and portions of 10*s.* and 40*s.* respectively, from Morton and Redenhall.[1]

The advowson or patronage of this priory, implying the assent of the patron (usually formal) to the prioress chosen by the chapter, and certain rights during a vacancy, belonged in the reign of Edward I to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, died seised of it in 1381; and John, duke of Norfolk, in 1432, as pertaining to the manor of Ilketshall.[2]

The visitations of Bishops Goldwell and Nykke were entirely to the credit of this nunnery. The numbers of the religious of this house were considerably less towards the close of its history than had been the case in the thirteenth century. In 1287 there were a prioress and fifteen nuns,[3] but probably Bungay, like many other religious houses, never recovered from the pauperizing effects of the Black Death, as when Nicholas Goldwell visited Bungay on 31 January, 1493, as commissary for his brother the bishop, besides Elizabeth Stephynson, the prioress, nine sisters were resident. Nothing was then found worthy of reformation.[4] Bishop Nykke visited this priory in August, 1514; the register page beyond recording the visit is blank.[5] The next visitation entry was of that made by two of the bishop's commissaries in August, 1520; the prioress, Elizabeth Stephynson, did not appear on account of infirmity, as well as another of the sisters; seven other nuns replied both as to the state of the house and the essentials of religion, *omnia bene*.[6] At the visitation of 1526 Maria Loveday, the prioress, stated that everything was praiseworthy both in spiritualities and temporalities, and in this estimate the visitor and seven nuns concurred.[7] Equally satisfactory was the visitation of 1532, when Cecilia Falstolf was prioress; there was nothing to reform.[8]

This priory came, of course, under the Act of 1536 for the suppression of the smaller houses. The exact date on which it was dissolved is not known. In April of that year a memorandum in the hand of the Duke of Norfolk was forwarded to Cromwell, wherein he stated that he had obtained possession of Bungay, worth £60 last St. Andrewtide. The nuns seem to have forestalled forcible action and deserted the house, knowing what was in store for them, for at that date the duke found 'not one nun left therein.' He stated that he had previously shown the king that the nuns would not abide, so 'the house being void, I, as founder,[9] lawfully entered thereunto.'[10]

On 18 December, 1537, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, obtained a grant of the site of this priory, with the whole of its property and advowson, from the crown at the modest rental of £6 4*s.* 3*d.*, about a tenth of its annual value.[11]

PRIORESSES OF BUNGAY

Mary de Huntingfield, 1220[12]
Alice, occurs 1228[13]
Mary, occurs 1270[14]
Sara de Strafford, 1291[15]
Joan, occurs 1301[16]
Elizabeth Folyoth, 1306[17]
Mary de Felbrigge, 1308[18]
Mary de Castello, died 1335[19]
Katharine Fastolf, 1335[20]
Ellen Becclesworth, resigned 1380[21]
Katharine de Montacute, 1380[22]
Margaret Smalbergh, 1395[23]
Margaret Park, 1399[24]
Sara Richeres, 1407[25]
Margaret Takell, 1433[26]
Emmota Roughed, 1439[27]
Ellen Tolle, occurs 1451[28]
Emma, occurs 1455[29]
Anne Rothenhall, occurs 1459[30]
Margaret Dalenger, 1465[31]
Elizabeth Stephynson, 1490[32]
Maria Loveday, occurs 1526[33]
Cecilia Falstolf, occurs 1532[34]

The conventual seal of the priory of Holy Cross, Bungay, was engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May, 1810, from an impression attached to a deed of 1360. The design is our Lord on the cross, with a man kneeling on each side at the base. Legend:

+ S' . S'CIMONIALIA' . DOMUS + S' . CRUCIS DE BUNGEYA

The matrices of the seals of two early prioresses are also extant; in each case the design is

[1] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 430–1.
[2] Inq. p. m. 35 Edw. I, No. 46; 5 Ric. II, No. 57; 11 Hen. VI, No. 43.
[3] Tanner, *Not. Mon.* Suff. viii.
[4] Jessopp, *Visit.* 39–40.
[5] Ibid. 144.
[6] Ibid. 189.
[7] Ibid. 261.
[8] Ibid. 318.
[9] i.e. descendant or inheritor of the founder or patron.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 599, 1236.
[11] Ibid. xii (2), 1311.
[12] B.M. Topham Chart. 13.
[13] Feet of F. Suff. Add. MS. 19111, fol. 158.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 24 *d.*
[17] Add. MS. 19111, fol. 158.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 76.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. vi, 73.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid. vi, 217.
[24] Ibid. vi, 256.
[25] Ibid. vii, 6.
[26] Ibid. ix, 67.
[27] Ibid. x, 31.
[28] Add. MSS. 14111, fol. 158.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 151.
[32] Ibid. xii, 145.
[33] Jessopp, *Visit.* 260.
[34] Ibid. 318.

suggested by the name of the prioress. On the one, *circa* 1200, appears the Blessed Virgin, crowned and seated under a trefoiled arch, with the Holy Child on left knee. In the base, under a pointed arch, is the half-length kneeling figure of the prioress. Legend :

+ SIGILL' . MARIE . D' . HUNTINGEFELD.[1]

On the other, *circa* 1300, appears the figure of St. John Baptist, right hand raised in benediction, in the left hand the Agnus Dei on a plaque. In the base, half-length of prioress kneeling. Legend :

+ S'. JOHANNE. PRIORISSE. DE. BUGEIA[2]

10. THE PRIORY OF REDLINGFIELD

The foundation charter of this priory of Benedictine nuns, dated 1120, shows that it was founded by Manasses count of Guisnes and Emma his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of William de Arras, lord of Redlingfield. It was endowed with the manor of Redlingfield and all its members and all such customs as William de Arras held.[3]

The assignment of the parish church of Redlingfield to the priory is an exceptionally early instance of appropriation. In the official list of appropriated churches of this diocese drawn up in 1416, it was stated that the nuns of Redlingfield had held this church to their own use (*in proprios usus*) from the year 1120.[4]

Redlingfield is one of the very few religious houses omitted from the taxation roll of 1291 ; it was probably exempted on the ground of exceptional poverty. In 1343, it was stated that the prioress held part of the tithes of corn, wool, and lambs of Redlingfield worth two marks a year, and also forty acres of land worth 14*s.* 4*d.*[5]

The prioress and convent obtained licence, in 1344, to acquire land or rents to the annual value of £10 under the privy seal.[6] It was not, however, until 1381 that grants were obtained covered by this licence ; in that year Sir William de Kerdiston assigned to the priory a third part of the manors of Hickling and Rishangles, of the yearly value of £7 13*s.* 4*d.*, in full satisfaction of the licence of 1344.[7] A further licence to this priory, described as of the patronage of Queen Anne, was granted in 1383 to obtain property to the value of £20 a year,[8] and other small grants were subsequently made.[9]

[1] B.M. Cast lxxi, 88. [2] Ibid. lxxi, 85.

[3] This charter is cited in an Inspeximus Charter of 1285, Chart. R. 13 Edw. I, m. 16, No. 51.

[4] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 125.

[5] *Inq. Nonarum* (Rec. Com.), 69.

[6] Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1.

[7] Ibid. 4 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 27.

[8] Ibid. 6 Ric. II. pt. iii, m. 16.

[9] Ibid. 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 46 ; Ibid. 19 Edw. IV, m. 23.

The Valor of 1535 shows that the clear annual value of this priory was at that time £81 2*s.* 5½*d.* The temporalities in Suffolk and Norfolk, chiefly from lands and rents at Redlingfield, Rishangles, and Thorndon, amounted to £68 10*s.* 11*d.* The spiritualities consisted of portions of the churches of Redlingfield, Walpole, Melton, and Levington, amounting to £12 11*s.* 6*d.* The daily dole of pence, bread, beef, and herrings, according to ancient use, and certain alms to aged poor at Easter and Lent cost the nuns £9.[10]

The foundation charter states that the house was dedicated to God and St. Andrew, but the Valor of 1535 gives the joint invocation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Andrew. In 1418 the Bishop of Norwich transferred the feast of the conventual and parish church of Redlingfield from 24 December to 24 September.[11] The cause assigned for this change was that there ought to be an abstinence from work on the day of the dedication feast, but that immediately before Christmas there were so many worldly occupations and social duties pressing on both the nuns and the parishioners that the day could not be duly observed. The reason given by the bishop for selecting 24 September was that on that date the feast of the dedication of Norwich Cathedral was observed.

More than one scandal came to light in connexion with the episcopal visitations of this nunnery ; but it is satisfactory to find that the house had recovered its good tone when the last of the series was held. The sad irregularities disclosed in 1427 supply another proof of the evil result of the rule of an unprincipled superior ; the result shows the genuine character of such investigation. An inquiry was held on 9 September, 1427, in this convent by Dr. Ringstede, dean of the collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, Norwich, as commissary of the bishop, concerning alleged excesses and dilapidations. Isabel Hermyte (prioress), Alice Lampit (sub-prioress), five professed sisters, and two novices, assembled in the chapter-house, when the deputy visitor read his commission first in Latin, and then in the vulgar tongue, in order that it might be the better understood by the nuns. The prioress confessed that on 25 January, 1425, she had promised on oath to observe all the injunctions then made ; she admitted that since that date she had never been to confession, nor had she observed Sundays or double principal feasts as ordained. The prioress further admitted for herself and for Joan Tates, a novice, that they had not slept in the dormitory with the other nuns, but in a private chamber contrary to injunctions ; that there ought to be thirteen nuns, but there were only nine ; that there ought to be three chaplains, but there was only

[10] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 478.

[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 231*b*.

one; that she had laid violent hands on Agnes Brakle on St. Luke's Day; that she had been alone with Thomas Langelond, bailiff, in private and suspicious places, such as a small hall with windows closed, *and sub heggerowes*; that no annual account had been rendered; that obits had been neglected; that goods had been alienated, and trees cut down and sold without knowledge or consent of the convent; and that she was not religious or honest in conversation. On Joan Tates being questioned as to incontinence, she said that it was provoked by the bad example of the prioress.

The inquiry was adjourned to 11 September, when the prioress, to avoid great scandal, made her resignation in a written document witnessed by all the nuns. The commissary's secretary set down the details of this solemn scene, with curious particularity, describing even the difference in dress between the professed sisters and the novices. Dr. Ringstede considered that all the religious were to blame, and ordered the whole convent to fast on bread and beer on Fridays. Joan Tates having confessed to incontinence, was to go in front of the solemn procession of the convent next Sunday, wearing no veil and clad in white flannel. The full form of resignation and confession of the prioress was entered in the diocesan register, and she was sent in banishment to the priory of Wykes.[1]

Bishop Nykke personally visited Redlingfield on 7 August, 1514, when certain minor irregularities were brought to light. The prioress complained of the disobedience of some of the sisters. Several of the nuns complained that the sub-prioress was cruel and too severe in discipline, even to the often drawing of blood. It was objected by others that no statement of accounts had been rendered for some years; that there were no curtains between the beds in the dormitory; that boys slept in the dormitory; that they had no proper infirmary; and that the refectory was unused for meals, being put to other purposes. The visitor ordered the prioress to exhibit an inventory of the valuables, of the cattle, and of all movables before the feast of All Saints, and a statement of accounts at Michaelmas, 1515. The refectory and infirmary were to be put to their proper uses, and a warden of the infirmary appointed. The sub-prioress was to correct and punish with discretion and not cruelly. Curtains were to be provided between the beds, and boys were not to sleep in the dormitory.[2]

The suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and Dr. Cappe visited this priory, as commissaries of Bishop Nykke, in August, 1520. Margery Cokrose, the prioress, and nine other nuns were all examined, with the result that not a single complaint nor any remissness was brought to light; a full inventory of all the goods was exhibited, and the annual account would be presented at Michaelmas.[3] There was an equally satisfactory visitation in July, 1526, when there was nothing to redress; the visitation was attended by Grace Sansome (*alias* Sampson), prioress, and by five professed sisters and three novices.[4] The last visitation of this house, undertaken by Bishop Nykke, with Miles Spenser as auditor and principal official, was held on 5 July, 1532, when the same prioress and nine other nuns testified; all returned satisfactory answers, and the bishop could find nothing needing reformation.

This house coming under the Suppression Act of the smaller monasteries of 1536, the Suffolk commissioners visited Redlingfield on 26 August to draw up an inventory. The ornaments of the altar were only valued at 7*s.* 8*d.* A pair of organs and four books in the quire were estimated at 5*s.* The contents of the vestry 8*s.* 4*d.*, including a silver chalice, many old altar cloths and linen cloths, and a pair of censers and a ship of latten. The contents of the Lady chapel only added 8*d.* to the total. The hall, parlour, chambers, &c., were but poorly furnished. The only substantial items were the cattle £11 14*s.*, and the corn £11 16*s.* The total of the inventory was £130 7*s.* 11½*d.*[5]

Grace Sampson, the prioress, on the day before the taking of this inventory, deposed to Sir Anthony Wingfield and the other commissioners that the house had seven religious and twenty-three servants, of whom two were priests, four women servants, and seventeen hinds.

The priory was surrendered on 10 February, 1536-7, when each nun received the trifling sum of 23*s.* 4*d.*, the two priests 25*s.* each, and thirteen other servants sums varying from 15*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* The nuns were turned out penniless save for their 'rewards.' The prioress obtained no reward, but then she had been well pensioned on the preceding 20 January at twenty marks a year.[6]

The house and site of the dissolved monastery, with the whole of its property, were granted on 25 March, 1537, to Sir Edmund Bedingfield and Grace his wife.[7] Sir Edmund was a large purchaser of the church furniture from the inventory of 10 February. The lead and bells were valued at £90.[8]

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, fol. 104–6. This is the only religious house scandal that we have noticed in the whole of the diocesan registers at Norwich.

[2] Jessopp, *Visit.* 138–40. By the boys, as may be gathered from other nunnery visitations, were meant the little boys who occasionally accompanied their sisters as boarding scholars.

[3] Ibid. 182–3. [4] Ibid. 224.

[5] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 95-8.

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 388, 510; Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 40*b*.

[7] Pat. 28 Hen. VII, pt. iv, m. 6.

[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 388 (iii, iv).

PRIORESSES OF REDLINGFIELD

Emma (probably daughter of the founder), *c.* 1120 [1]
Alice Davolers, *temp.* Henry III [2]
Margery, 1303–14 [3]
Agnes de Stuston, 1314 [4]
Julia de Weylond, 1331 [5]
Alice Wynter de Oxford, 1349 [6]
Eleanor de Bockynge, 1394 [7]
Ellen Hakon, died 1416 [8]
Margaret Hemenhale, 1416 [9]
Elizabeth Clopton, died 1419 [10]
Isabel Hermyte, 1419 [11]
Alice Lampit, 1427 [12]
Alice Brakle, 1459 [13]
Margaret, died 1482 [14]
Alice Legatte, 1482 [15]
Margery Cokrose, 1520 [16]
Grace Sampson, 1524 [17]

There is a poor impression of the twelfth-century seal of this house attached to a charter. It is a pointed oval, and represents the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child on her knees. The only word of the legend remaining is RADELING.[18]

11. THE PRIORY OF ST. GEORGE, THETFORD

There was an old religious house on the Suffolk side of Thetford founded by Uvius, the first abbot of Bury St. Edmunds in the days of Cnut. It was said to have been founded in memory of the English and Danes who fell in a great battle near by between King Edmund and the Danish leaders Ubba and Hingwar. It was served by canons who officiated in the church of St. George as a cell of St. Edmunds. About the year 1160, in the days of Abbot Hugh, Toleard and Andrew, the two surviving religious of this cell, depressed with poverty, visited the abbot and expressed their strong desire to withdraw. At their suggestion the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds resolved to admit to the Thetford house certain Benedictine nuns who were then living at Ling, Norfolk. The bishop of Norwich, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk gave these ladies and their prioress Cecilia an excellent character, and the change was solemnly effected.

The abbot assigned to these nuns, at the time of the transfer, the Thetford parish churches of St. Benedict and All Saints, his rights in Favertin Fields, and whatever else belonged to the abbey of Bury within the limits of Thetford. As an acknowledgement of this, the nuns were to pay yearly 4*s.* to the abbey infirmary. The prioress undertook to be in all respects faithful and obedient to the abbot.[19]

Maud, countess of Norfolk and Warrenne gave to these nuns in her widowhood a rent of three marks out of her mill at Cesterford, Essex, towards their clothing.[20]

Pope Nicholas's taxation gave the annual value of the temporalities of this house as £72 9*s.* 4*d.*[21]

The 1535 Valor gave the spiritualities in Norfolk as £4 15*s.* 1*d.*, and those in Suffolk at £13 16*s.* 8*d.*, the temporalities in the two counties as £31 14*s.* 11¼*d.*; but from this sum there were various deductions, the largest of which was £5 6*s.* 8*d.* to their chaplain, so that the clear annual value only amounted to £40 11*s.* 2½*d.*,[22] which was a great drop from the earlier valuation. The reason for this depreciation becomes clear from the statement made by Martin with regard to the taxing of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VI. At that time the nuns of Thetford were excused; their petition for relief stated that their revenues both in Norfolk and Suffolk were much decreased by recent mortality and had so continued since 1349, and that their possessions in Cranwich deanery had suffered much from inundations.[23]

In 1214 the abbey of Bury granted the nuns seven loaves and 2*d.* in money, to be given them every Sunday by their almoner for the corrody of Margaret Nonne.[24]

From the first establishment of the nuns at Thetford, the cumbersome plan had been adopted of sending weekly supplies from Bury St. Edmunds (a distance of about twelve miles) not only of bread and beer but even of cooked meat (*fercula*). The thirteenth-century custumary of the abbey states that thirty-five loaves and ninety-six gallons of beer were sent weekly to Thetford.[25] Owing to the not infrequent robberies and assaults on the servants and wagons of the convent conveying this weekly dole on a long journey, and to the occasional unsatisfactory state of the provisions on arrival, it was agreed in 1369 that henceforth, instead of forwarding bread, beer, and dressed provisions, the abbey should

[1] Add. MS. 19099, fol. 70*b*.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. 19090, fol. 70; Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 19.
[4] Ibid. m. 18.
[5] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 43.
[6] Ibid. iv, 93.
[7] Ibid. vi, 195.
[8] Ibid. viii, 22.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid. viii, 46.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. ix, 27.
[13] Ibid. xi, 112.
[14] Ibid. xii, 97.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. xiv, 60.
[17] Ibid. xiv, 190.
[18] Add. Chart. 10640.
[19] Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 477–8, where the original account of the foundation is set forth at length, from Harl. MS. 743, fol. 219.
[20] Maddox, *Hist. of Essex*, 33.
[21] *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 109.
[22] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 314.
[23] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 106.
[24] Ibid. 101.
[25] Harl. MS. 3977, fol. 25.

grant annually ten quarters of corn, twenty quarters of barley, and 62*s.* in money.[1]

One of the few early notices preserved of this priory tells how in 1305 William de Fornham, clerk, Walter de Trofton and John Cat, chaplains, one night after dark climbed over the priory wall and went into a house in the courtyard to talk with one Joan de Fuldon, a servant, and how, when the light shining under the door had attracted the notice of some of the nuns, the gay clerks rose up and fled back over the wall the way they came.[2]

There was a long lawsuit in 1438 between Alice Wesenham, prioress, and Robert Popy, rector of Ling. When the nuns first removed from Ling they held a messuage where they dwelt, close to the chapel of St. Edmund in Ling, together with 60 acres of land and 30 of meadow adjoining, and rents of 5*s.* 9*d.* and two hens. From that date for a long period they had received the profits; and out of them had paid a chaplain at Ling, who was sometimes called the prior of St. Edmund's chapel. But for some years past the prioress had let all to the rector of Ling, who undertook to serve the chapel, and the dispute arose as to the amount of rent and the rights of the prioress. Eventually it was decided that the king should license the prioress to convey the chapel and all the premises to the rector and his successors for ever, they paying to the prioress a clear annual pension of four marks.[3]

The nunnery was visited in November, 1492, by Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of his brother the bishop. Joan Eyton the prioress, six professed nuns, and four novices were severally and privately examined. The visitor found nothing needing reformation.[4]

The only suggestion made by the visitor in 1514 after examining the prioress and eight nuns was that the books required repairing. Two of the nuns expressed a fear that the prioress was about to receive as nuns certain unlearned and even deformed persons, particularly one Dorothy Sturghs, who was both deaf and deformed.[5]

The visitation of 1520, undertaken by the bishop in person, simply resulted in an entry that the nunnery was very poor; there was clearly nothing amiss.[6] Nor was there anything to correct at the visitation of 1526, when there were six professed nuns and four novices, in addition to the prioress, in attendance.[7]

The last visitation, held in July, 1532, was attended by the prioress and nine nuns. The state of the house and the observance of religion required no reformation. There was, however, an irregularity pertaining to a corrody, for one Thomas Forster, gentleman, was receiving support for himself, his wife, three children, and a maid. The infant daughter of John Jerves was in the priory, and he was paying nothing for its support. Silence was scarcely observed as well as it ought to be in the refectory.[8]

The house was dissolved in February, 1537.[9] Elizabeth Hothe, the prioress, obtained a pension of £5;[10] this pension the prioress was still enjoying at the age of 100 in the year 1553, when she was living 'as a good and catholich woman,' in the parish of St. James, Norwich.[11]

PRIORESSES OF ST. GEORGE, THETFORD

Cecilia,[12] *c.* 1160
Agnes,[13] occurs 1253
Ellen de Berdesette,[14] elected 1310
Margaret Bretom,[15] elected 1329
Beatrix de Lystone,[16] elected 1330
Danetta de Wakethorp,[17] elected 1339
Margaret Campleon,[18] elected 1396
Margaret Chykering,[19] elected 1418
Alice Wesenham,[20] elected 1420
Margaret Copynger,[21] elected 1466
Joan Eyton,[22] elected 1477
Elizabeth Mounteneye,[23] elected 1498
Sarah Frost,[24] elected 1519
Elizabeth Hothe,[25] or Both,[26] occurs 1535, last prioress [25]

HOUSES OF CLUNIAC MONKS

12. THE PRIORY OF MENDHAM

There are two charters of William de Huntingfield, the founder of Mendham Priory, in the chartulary of Castle Acre. By the first of these he gave to the Cluniac monks of Castle Acre the isle of St. Mary of Mendham, with 'Ulordage,' and the granges there, together with certain land in 'Crodustune' on condition that as many brethren as might be requisite for ruling the island should be placed there, and their number afterwards increased until a secular convent of

[1] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 102–3.
[2] Assize R. 1234, m. 26.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 33.
[5] Ibid. 90–1. [6] Ibid. 155. [7] Ibid. 243.
[8] Ibid. 303–4. [9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 510.
[10] Ibid. xiii (1), 576.
[11] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 92.
[12] Harl. MS. 743, fol. 219.
[13] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 106.
[14] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 39.
[15] Ibid. ii, 33. [16] Ibid. ii, 36. [17] Ibid. iii, 39.
[18] Ibid. vi, 223. [19] Ibid. viii, 36. [20] Ibid. viii, 57.
[21] Ibid. xi, 158. [22] Ibid. xii, 55.
[23] Ibid. xii, 203. [24] Ibid. xiv, 153.
[25] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 576.
[26] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 313.

monks was properly established. The cell of the island of Mendham was to show such subjection to St. Mary of Castle Acre, as Castle Acre did to the priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, and as Lewes did to the mother house of Cluni; and it was to pay half a mark yearly to Castle Acre, as an acknowledgement of submission. By his second charter the founder described more in detail his gifts of land; and at the same time he confirmed the gifts of Roger de Hammesirl, William the son of Hoscetel, and Sigar, and provided that the bequests of these three should only be used towards providing the monks with a church of stone.[1] The exact date of these charters is not known; but the founder died in 1155, and his wife Sibyl in 1186.[2]

Roger de Huntingfield, the son of the founder, who died in 1204, materially increased the endowments of Mendham. He gave to the monks the church of St. Margaret, Linstead, a moiety of the church of St. Peter, Linstead, and all his right in the church of Mendham. The convent of Mendham was by this time complete; and Roger appointed John de Lindsey the first prior. An agreement was at the same time entered into between Hugh, prior of Castle Acre, and his convent and Roger de Huntingfield, that the prior of Mendham was not to be deposed, save for disobedience, incontinence, or dilapidation of the house, and that such deposition was not to take place without the advice of the monks of Mendham and the patron. It was also agreed that the convent of Mendham was to consist of at least eight monks, four of whom were to be sent from Castle Acre. Any man betaking himself to Mendham through fear of death was to be received; but no one in health to be admitted without the consent of the prior of Acre. If the house at Mendham so increased as to sustain its whole congregation, they were to be at liberty to receive any according to their own discretion.[3]

The taxation of 1291 showed that Mendham priory had an income of £19 18s. 6½d. Of this sum, £11 came from a portion of the rectory of Fressingfield, and the remainder in lands or rents from ten parishes in Suffolk and Norfolk.[4]

During the wars with France Mendham was treated as an alien priory; but in 1337 Edward III ordered the restoration to the prior of Mendham of the priory with all its lands, benefices, goods and chattels (in like manner as with Castle Acre, of which Mendham was a cell), as the prior and all his monks were Englishmen, and the priory was founded by an Englishman, and sent no 'apport' or contribution across the seas.[5]

[1] Cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 58.
[2] Harl. MS. 972, fol. 113.
[3] Charters cited, Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 58–9.
[4] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 92*b*, 94*b*, 104, 104*b*, 105, 107, 115*b*, 118*b*, 126*b*, 127*b*.
[5] Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 39.

The visitors from Cluni reported of Mendham, about 1405, that it was a cell subordinate to Castle Acre. The brethren then numbered nine; there were three daily masses, two sung and one said.[6]

A writ was issued in November, 1534, to the sheriff of Suffolk to the effect that Sir Humphrey Wingfield, kt., and others had recovered in the king's court the manors of Mendham and Kingshall, with other rents and lands against Thomas, prior of Mendham.[7]

There is no entry with regard to this priory in the Valor of 1535.

This house and its revenues were given by Henry VIII, together with the possessions of several dissolved priories to the short-lived Benedictine abbey of Bisham, Berks, established in 1537. In the following year, when this abbey was suppressed, the Mendham possessions were granted by the crown to Charles duke of Suffolk.

Priors of Mendham

John de Lindsey, *c.* 1170[8]
John, occurs 1239[9]
Simon, occurs 1250[10]
John, occurs 1307[11]
Nicholas Cressi, died 1336[12]
John de Walton, 1340[13]
Henry de Berlegh, 1342[14]
William, 1353[15]
John de Tornston[16]
Robert, 1400[17]
John Betelee, 1420[18]
Thomas Rede, 1449[19]
Thomas Pitte, 1487[20]
Thomas Bullock, 1501[21]
Simon, 1523[22]
Thomas, 1534[23]

An impression of the seal of John, prior of this house, A.D. 1307, shows the Blessed Virgin seated on a throne, under a canopy supported on slender shafts, with the Holy Child on the left knee. In the base, under a trefoiled arch, a shield of arms, on a fesse three plates, for William de Huntingfield the founder. Legend:—

S' FRIS JOHIS . . . . MENDHAM.[24]

[6] Duckett, *Visitations and Chapters-General of Order of Cluny*, 40.
[7] Ibid. 229.
[8] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 59.
[9] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 254, from Mendham Ct. R.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Maddox, *Form. Angl.* 360.
[12] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 254.
[13] Ibid. [14] Ibid. [15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. [17] Ibid. [18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. [20] Ibid. [21] Ibid. [22] Ibid.
[23] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 229.
[24] Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 57; B.M. Cast lxxii, 8.

13. THE PRIORY OF WANGFORD

A small priory of Cluniac monks was founded at Wangford, as a cell of the important priory of Thetford, before the year 1160. There is some confusion as to the founder and the precise date; but from early deeds cited by Gardner it would appear that Weever's statement as to the founder being 'one Ansered of France' is correct. Sir Geraline de Vernuns gave to God and the church of St. Peter, Wangford, and the monks there serving God, whatever his father Anteredus had granted them, namely the church of Reydon with the chapel of Rissemere (afterwards Southwold), the water-mill and dam at Reydon, and an acre of land near the dam for its repair. The witnesses show that this deed was *circa* 1200. Another somewhat conflicting early charter by Richard FitzWilliam confirms to God and St. Mary and the monks of Thetford the gifts of his grandfather Dodo and his father William, of the church of St. Peter, Wangford, and the chapel of St. Mary, Rissemere.[1]

The taxation of 1291 shows that the benefactions to the priory had been fairly numerous. The prior held lands and rents in Wangford and adjacent parishes of the annual value of £12 1s. 11½*d.*, and also a mill at 'Surgueland,' worth 20s. a year. The spiritualities included Reydon with its chapel, and Stoven, and these appropriations were worth £22 a year. The total income of the priory, exclusive of the tithes of Wangford itself, was thus £35 1s. 11½*d.*[2] An extent of the lands, tenements, churches, rents, and other temporalities pertaining to the priory of Wangford, taken by order of the crown in 1370,[3] shows a slight increase of about £8, but the Valor of 1535 showed a considerable drop in the value of the temporalities, which only brought in a clear annual sum of £5 5s. 7*d.*; the spiritualities, however, brought the total clear income up to £30 9s. 5*d.* The prior then held the rectories of Wangford, Reydon cum Southwold, Covehithe (North Hales), and Stoven, with portions from the churches of Stoven and Easton Bavents.[4]

The prior of Wangford was appointed by the pope in 1226, to be a joint papal commissioner with the great abbot of Westminster and the archdeacon of Sudbury in an important dispute as to the tithes of the church of Walpole.[5]

The hundred jury of 1275 declared that William Giffard, the sheriff, had taken Reginald, prior of Wangford, by violence from the court of Master Philip of Wangford, contrary to peace, had imprisoned him for a week in the castle of Norwich, and did not release him until he had paid an unjust fine of seven marks.[6]

The Cluniac houses were all reckoned as alien during the wars with France, and were taken into the hands of the crown. In October, 1307, Edward II appointed John de Benstede and William Inge to the custody of the lands and possessions of the priory of Thetford, with its cells of Wangford and Horkesley, to apply the rents and issues to the discharge of the debts of the house, reserving a reasonable sustenance for the religious of the mother house and its cells.[7] In the December of the following year protection was granted for one year to Martin, prior of Wangford, who was going beyond the seas on the king's service,[8] and in 1310, Prior Martin had renewed protection granted him, as he was staying beyond the seas on the king's service.[9]

Edward III in 1327 granted to the prior of Wangford, amongst a large number of priors of alien houses, the right to resume control over his possessions, which had been taken from him by the late king during the wars with France, saving the advowsons of benefices, and saving also the apport or tribute to the parent house of Cluni.[10]

Edward III took the priory of Wangford again into his hands by reason of the war with France, and committed the custody of it to William de Cusance, king's clerk and treasurer, to whom, in February, 1342, the £30 rents of this priory were assigned, in recompense for the losses he had sustained during the war.[11]

In November, 1393, the prior of Wangford paid 100 marks to the crown, and obtained from Richard II a full grant of denization, in consideration of the poverty of the priory lately committed to his (the prior's) custody at the yearly rent of £10, and of its being ruled henceforth by true-born Englishmen, and that the prior had paid no yearly pension to the king's enemies as other alien priors had.[12]

Walter, prior of Wangford, about 1402, sued the pope for the appropriation of the vicarage of North Hales (Covehithe) to that priory, without the knowledge or consent of the prior and convent of Thetford, in whose name the suit ought to have been made, and the pope 'so far as was in him,' appropriated the vicarage to Wangford. The vicarage was at that time void by the resignation of one Peter Braunche, and after that resignation Henry IV presented a clerk because the priory of Wangford had no royal licence for the appropriation, but on 18 June, 1402, the king granted that the clerk presented was to hold the vicarage of North Hales for this turn, but that afterwards

[1] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, &c., 254; Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 762; Leland, *Coll.* i, 162; Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xliv.

[2] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 104*b*, 114*b*, 119, 126, 126*b*, 127.

[3] Add. MS. 6164, fol. 422.

[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 438.

[5] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 113–14.

[6] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 149.

[7] Pat. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 18.

[8] Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.

[9] Ibid. 3 Edw. II, m. 5.

[10] Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

[11] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 38.

[12] Ibid. 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 13.

Thetford priory was to hold the advowson and patronage as before, as Thetford was able to show that Wangford was only a cell, and the prior removable at will.[1]

The report of the visitors from Cluni as to their houses of English foundation, drawn up about 1405, stated that Wangford priory, a cell of Thetford, had two daily masses, both with song; the number of the brethren was fixed by some at five, and by others at only four.[2]

Thomas duke of Norfolk, writing to Cromwell in March 1537, stated that the small cell of Wangford had gone to ruin by the misuse of those to whom it had been committed, and the prior of Thetford had thought good to call home his monks and let the cell to farm. He had offered to lease it to the treasurer of the duke's household, provided he could do so lawfully and with Cromwell's favour.[3] In the following April, William, prior of Thetford, wrote to Cromwell, who had written to the prior for the assignment of Wangford cell to one Mr. Felston, begging the visitor general to take no displeasure, for he and his brethren had already granted a lease to Mr. Rouse, treasurer of the Duke of Norfolk, their patron.[5]

The surrender of Wangford was included in that of Thetford, which was signed on 16 February, 1539–40, as related under Thetford.[6]

The site of this priory and all its possessions were assigned to the Duke of Norfolk on 9 July, 1540.[7]

PRIORS OF WANGFORD

John, occurs 1218[8]
William, occurs 1249[9]
Reginald, occurs 1275[10]
Martin, occurs 1308[11]
Walter, occurs 1402[12]
John, occurs 1536[13]

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

14. THE ABBEY OF SIBTON[4]

The Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin of Sibton was founded by William Cheney, sometimes called William Fitz Robert, and was colonized by an abbot and twelve monks from the abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire.

The advowson of the church of Westleton was given to the abbey in 1272,[14] and it was appropriated in 1332.[15]

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that this abbey held lands or rents in ten parishes of the city of Norwich, and in twelve parishes of the county of Norfolk, which brought in an income of £29 7s. 5½d. There were also considerable temporalities in upwards of twenty-five Suffolk parishes, yielding £103 8s. 6½d. The spiritualities consisted of the rectory of Sibton with the chapel of Peasenhall, and portions from four other churches, producing £11 7s. 4d. The total income of the abbey was thus £144 3s. 4d.[16]

[1] Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 12.
[2] Duckett, *Vis. of Engl. Clun. Found.* 41.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 711.
[4] A register book (Add. MS. 341560) giving an extent of lands, &c., of this abbey, of early fourteenth century date, was purchased by the British Museum in 1894 of the late Rev. C. R. Manning. It consists of 139 vellum folios.

The most important MS. relative to this abbey is the chartulary or register (Arundel 221) formerly in the Earl of Arundel's collection, afterwards in the library of the Royal Society, but transferred to the British Museum in 1831. It was drawn up towards the end of the fourteenth century, and contains 153 parchment folios.

From fol. 32 to fol. 143 is a chartulary proper; the charter transcripts are followed by a series of papal bulls granted to the abbey of Sibton, twenty-two in number, ranging from Alexander III, 1160, to Innocent IV, 1254.

The earlier part of the volume contains a variety of entries, such as copies of Magna Charta and the Forest Charter, the names of the kings of England down to Edward III, list of the towns in Blything hundred, and various pleas and inquisitions relative to the abbey in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II.

Of this chartulary there are several transcripts. A portion, on paper in an Elizabethan hand, appears in Cott. MS. Vitel. fol. xii. Add. MS. 8172 (vol. v. of Jermyn's Suffolk Collections) is entirely occupied with Sibton parish, and most of it with transcripts of the abbey charters and evidences. Add. MS. 19082 (part of Davy's Suffolk Collections) concerns Sibton from fol. 1 to 249, mainly about the abbey. Most of Davy's transcripts correspond with Arundel 221, but others, with some variants, are taken from a chartulary and two bursar's account books of the fifteenth century, then in possession of the Bishop of Salisbury. Rawlinson MS. B. 419, of the Bodleian, is a transcript of Arundel 221. A further chartulary, cited by Jermyn and Davy, in the possession of Mr. Scrivener of Sibton, appears also to correspond with the Arundel register. Other miscellaneous extracts are to be found in the Dodsworth MSS. of the Bodleian, and in the Harley Collection (2044 and 2101) of the British Museum.

[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 836.
[6] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv, 666.
[7] Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 3.
[8] Add. MS. 19803, fol. 66. [9] Ibid. 67*b*.
[10] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 149.
[11] Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 7.
[12] Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 12.
[13] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1257 (2).
[14] Feet of F. Suff. 1 Edw. I, No. 83.
[15] Pat. 5 Edw. III, m. 5.
[16] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 91, 95*b*, 99*b*, 103, 103*b*, 104, 104*b*, 105, 108, 115, 118*b*, 125, 125*b*, 126, 126*b*, 127, 127*b*, 128, 128*b*, 130, 132*b*.

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value as £250 15*s.* 7½*d.* The spiritualities, which then produced £41 19*s.*, consisted of the rectories of Sibton-cum-Peasenhall, Westleton, Rendham, and Tunstall, Norfolk, with a portion from Cransford.[1] The churches of Tunstall and Cransford had been appropriated in the reign of Edward I, and were confirmed to the abbey by his successor.[2]

In 1316 Robert Petit was sent by Edward II to receive the allowance previously enjoyed by William de Wendelesburgh.[3]

The abbot and convent, at the supplication of Ralph, son of the Earl of Stafford, were licensed in 1385 to acquire lands in mortmain not exceeding the yearly value of £10.[4]

The accounts of John de Merton, bursar of the abbey from 1362 to 1372, yield various interesting particulars.[5] For the first of these years the total receipts amounted to £162 5*s.* 10*d.* The visitor of the order for that year was the abbot of Warden. The total expense of the visitation was £4 7*s.* 3*d.* Bread, beer, wine, fish, and horse-meat for the abbot and his train to Bury St. Edmunds cost 13*s.* 8¾*d.*; from thence to Eye, 23¼*d.*; from Eye to Woodbridge, and returning to Ipswich, 20*d.*; and for tarrying a night at Ipswich and returning, 12*s.* 6½*d.* The remainder was spent on entertaining at the abbey the abbot and his two monks, together with his two squires and three servants.

The receipts for 1363–4 were £185 15*s.* 11*d.*, and the expenses £183 10*s.* 1½*d.* The repairs for this year to the monastic buildings are interesting; they included 3*s.* 4*d.* for 200 tiles for mending the furnace of the bakehouse, 8*s.* for six weeks' work in dressing and carving stones for the monks' lavatory (*cisterna*), and 14*s.* 8*d.* for seven lime trees for the new chamber of the abbot. In the following year three windows of the abbot's new lodging were glazed. The receipts that year came to £204 4*s.* 11¾*d.*, and the expenses to £199 12*s.* 1*d.*

In 1365–6 the receipts rose to £241 12*s.* 1*d.*, but the expenses increased to £262 1*s.* 11¼*d.* The last year of these accounts, 1371–2, the receipts were £204 16*s.* 5½*d.*, and the outgoings £213 10*s.* 10½*d.*

A detailed list of payments to the abbey sacrists in 1369–70 shows that the full number of the servants for this year was forty-four, and the expenditure in money £23 14*s.* 11*d.*

The abbot of Warden filled the obligation imposed on him by the Cistercian statutes of visiting the daughter house of Sibton year by year. The average cost of this visit to the Suffolk abbey was £3 10*s.* No Cistercian abbey was ever visited by the diocesan, and there are therefore only few references to Sibton in the Norwich registers. But in 1426 a bull of Pope Martin authorizing Robert Aldeby, abbot of Sibton, to hold a benefice, was transcribed in the bishop's register.[6]

Henry, abbot of Sibton, was summoned to attend convocation in 1529.[7]

An undated memorandum among the State Papers, but clearly of the year 1536, gives the names of the religious of this house, namely, William Flatbury, abbot; Robert Sabyn (*alias* Bongay), prior; and six other monks. It is noted that the vicar-general was to be asked to commission some person to take the abbot's resignation, with capacity to change his habit, and to take two benefices with cure without residence, and a licence for the same from the chancellor. The abbot was willing to purchase these privileges. Also for the monks, save Prior Sabyn and another of the name of John Fawkon, all desired 'capacities,' and to take a benefice each with cure.[8]

The value of this house being well over £200 a year, it would not have fallen for another two years; but the recently-appointed abbot, William Flatbury, had apparently been put in through the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, and with the connivance of Cromwell, on purpose to bring about a speedy surrender. At all events the abbot and convent sold their house and possessions to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, some time in 1536, and this action was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1539.[9] In the duke's annual receipts for 1538 entry is made of 'Sipton £200, whereof to the quondam (abbot) and other monks £72.'[10] It therefore appears that all the monks of this house obtained a pension.

The impression of the fourteenth-century seal attached to a charter of 1406 shows the Blessed Virgin under a pinnacled and crocketed niche; on each side is a flowering branch, as well as a star on one side and a crescent on the other; in the base under an arch is a lion's face, a possible allusion to the arms of the founder's family. Legend:—

. . . COM . . . . . ET CONV . . . . . SIBETON . . .[11]

Abbots of Sibton

Constantine[12]
Laurence, *c.* 1200[13]
Alexander de Walpole[14]

[1] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 434–6.
[2] Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 9.
[3] Close, 10 Edw. II. m. 24*d.*
[4] Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 8.
[5] Add. MS. 34560, fols. 65–137. See first note.
[6] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, fol. 23.
[7] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 6047.
[8] Ibid. x, 1247.
[9] 31 Hen. VIII, cap. 13.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 1215.
[11] Harl. Chart. 83, D. 1.
[12] Add. MS. 8172, fol. 173.
[13] Ibid.; Harl. Chart. 44 I, 25.
[14] Ibid.

Ralph, occurs 1253[1]
Richard, occurs 1269[2]
Walter, occurs 1289[3]
John, occurs 1303[4]
Eustache, occurs 1313[5]
Ralph, occurs 1334[13]
Walter, appointed 1375[14]
Robert Aldeby, occurs 1426[15]
Henry, occurs 1529[16]
William Flatbury, occurs 1536[17]

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

15. THE PRIORY OF ALNESBOURN

At Alnesbourn or Albourn, near the river between St. Clement's, Ipswich and Nacton, in the ancient parish of Hallowtree, was one of the smallest of the several small Austin priories of Suffolk. This house, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, was probably founded by Albert de Neville; at all events he endowed the priory early in the thirteenth century, with the manor that bore his name in the parish of Hethill, and also with the advowson of Carlton St. Mary.[6] It is stated in a certificate of the year as to the diminution of the profits of the churches of Alnesbourn and Carlton St. Mary that those two rectories were appropriated to this priory in the year 1247.[7]

The taxation roll of 1291 gives a total annual value of £71 1*s.* 1½*d.* to the temporalities of this priory, all in the county of Suffolk; the largest item was for rents and lands in Hallowtree valued at £2 11*s.* 9*d.* a year; there were also small rents from the Ipswich parishes of St. Clement, St. Matthew, St. Nicholas, and St. Margaret.[8]

Robert de Belstede and Robert de Thweyte obtained licence in 1301 to alienate to the priory the advowson of the church of Halghtree or Hallowtree, with two acres of land in that town,[9] and in 1334 licence was granted for the appropriation of the church.[10]

Before 1324 the priory of Alnesbourn held the church of St. Mary, Carlton, county Norfolk, appropriated to them. It was served by a stipendiary chaplain, but was conveyed in 1324 by the priory to the master and brethren of St. Giles' Hospital, Norwich.[11]

In 1391 Robert Bretenham, prior of Alnesbourn, held Neville's manor, Hethill, as half a fee, and paid £5 for a relief as his predecessors had done, and was taxed at £3 5*s.* 5*d.* for his temporalities.[12] This manor was sold in 1424 by the prior to John duke of Norfolk, Walter bishop of Norwich, and others, and by them conveyed to the hospital of St. Giles, Norwich.[18]

Soon after this date, the exact year has not been ascertained, the priory of Alnesbourn ceased to have an independent existence, and was united to the Austin house of Woodbridge.[19]

The Valor of 1535 gives the annual value of this priory, under the heading of Woodbridge Priory, as £7 13*s.* 11*d.*[20]

Priors of Alnesbourn

Robert, occurs 1286[21]
Walter de Cretynge, appointed 1311[22]
John de Stoke, died 1345[23]
John de Fynyngham, appointed 1345[24]
Robert Snyt, appointed 1350[25]
John de Louder, appointed 1350[26]
Robert Bretenham, occurs 1391[27]
Richard Susanne, appointed 1392[28]
John Turnour, occurs 1424[29]

16. THE PRIORY OF BLYTHBURGH[30]

The real founders of the priory of the Blessed Virgin were the abbot and canons of the im-

[1] Chart. R. 37 Hen. III, m. 9.
[2] Add. MS. 19082, fol. 49.
[3] Ibid. fol. 42.
[4] Ibid. 8172, fol. 173.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 98, 107.
[7] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 130.
[8] *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 124*b*, 125, 128, 129, 129*b*.
[9] Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 36.
[10] Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.
[11] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* v, 98.
[12] Ibid. ii, 107.
[13] Close, 8 Edw. III, m. 17 *d.*
[14] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 43.
[15] Ibid. ix, 32.
[16] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. iii, 6047.
[17] Add. MS. 19083, fol. 18.
[18] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 107.
[19] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 583, 601.
[20] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 422.
[21] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 187.
[22] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 45.
[23] Ibid. iv, 51.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid. iv, 123.
[26] Ibid. iv, 124.
[27] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 105.
[28] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 170.
[29] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 107.
[30] A chartulary of Blythburgh priory, in private hands, contains sixty-two folios; the date of the writing is *c.* 1100. The greater part of the transcribed deeds are undated, and of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they relate to grants, chiefly of trifling properties.

The following are among the more important documents:—

Grant by Henry I to the canons of St. Osyth, of the church of Blythburgh. (fols. 3, 7*b*).

Charter of Henry II, between 1164–70, confirming

portant Austin house of St. Osyth, Essex. Henry I bestowed on that abbey the tithes of the widespread parish of Blythburgh, and here, aided by the support of the Claverings, the lords of the manor, a priory or dependent cell of St. Osyth was established at an early date.[1]

Blythburgh is an instance of one of those important cells which had a double life, being partly independent of the mother house, but in the main, dependent. The priory presented to several neighbouring benefices and to one in Norfolk, and it also possessed a good deal of property both in spiritualities and temporalities

to the abbot and convent of St. Osyth the right of placing a prior in the church of Blythburgh, granted to them by King Henry, his grandfather. (fol. 9*b*.)

Bull of Innocent III (1198–1216) to Ralph abbot of St. Osyth, confirming to him and his canons the church of Blythburgh. (fol. 9*b*.)

Confirmation by William de Kerdiston of the church of Claxton, &c. (fol. 12.)

Grants by Richard, son of William son of Duet, of the church of Blythburgh. Confirmation of the same by Ralph de Criketot and by Hubert de Criketot, Ralph's son. Grant by William bishop of Norwich (1146–75) of the church of Blythburgh to the canons of Blythburgh on petition of Ralph de Criketot, lord of that place; and certificate of the archdeacon of Suffolk that he was present when the bishop instituted the canons to the church of Blythburgh. (fols. 16, 16*b*.)

Grant to Blythburgh by Eudo son of Ogar of the church of Bramfield, with confirmation by William bishop of Norwich, and by John and Thomas, archbishops of Canterbury. (fols. 19, 19*b*.)

Grant by Richard de Clippesby of the church of Clippesby, and by Roger de Claxton, with confirmation by John bishop of Norwich and his archdeacons (1175–1206). (fols. 25*b*, 26.)

Confirmation by Archbishop Peckham of the rights of the priory in the churches of St. Mary and the Holy Trinity at Blythburgh with the chapels of Walberswick, Bramfield, Clopton, Blyford, and a moiety of Wenhaston (1281). (fol. 25.)

Grant by Geoffrey de Beletone, rector of the church of St. John's, Dunwich, of the advowson of the church of Thorington, with a piece of land. (fol. 54*b*.)

Agreement in 1278 between Robert FitzRoger, knt., and the prior and convent of Blythburgh, by which the former releases the latter from the old custom of providing a feast at Christmas for his men and serfs at Walberswick, on condition of providing a resident chaplain to celebrate mass in Walberswick chapel daily, instead of thrice a week, four of the weekly masses being for the benefit of the said Robert and Margery his wife. (fol. 62*b*.)

A report as to this volume, with an analysis of its chief contents, appeared in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, 451–7. It was at that time in the hands of the Rev. F. S. Hill, rector of Thorington; but is now owned by Mr. F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., who has kindly allowed it to be inspected by the writer.

[1] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich, Blythburgh and Southwold*, 128; Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 143; *V.C.H. Essex*, ii.

uncontrolled by St. Osyth's; moreover it was subject to the visitation of the diocesan, the Bishop of Norwich. But, although it was thus to a certain extent conventual, the most important function of a chapter or conventual gathering was the choice of a superior on the occurrence of a vacancy, and in this respect Blythburgh was voiceless. The appointment of the prior always rested with the abbot and convent of St. Osyth's, though in the formal presentation to the bishop, the lord of Blythburgh, as lay patron of the priory, was always associated with the abbot.[2] Moreover the prior and his two canons were always expected to attend the visitations of St. Osyth whenever they were held by the Bishops of London or their commissaries; they also took part in the election of an abbot over the mother house.

The elaborate charter of confirmation granted to the priory by Richard I recites all their benefactions up to that date. It makes no reference to the mother house of St. Osyth's.[3]

The Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas (1291), about a century later, shows that the priory had gained several small benefactions during that period. The house held lands or rents in about forty Suffolk parishes, as well as in Great Yarmouth, yielding an annual total of £36 3*s*. 1½*d*. Of this sum £20 19*s*. 6½*d*. came from Blythburgh and Walberswick. In addition to this there were the then appropriated churches of Bramfield, Wenhaston, and Blyford, which yielded collectively £23 6*s*. 4*d*.[4] Moreover the appropriate tithes of Blythburgh-cum-Walberswick were omitted in that list, but shortly afterwards taxed as of the annual worth of £28 6*s*. 8*d*.;[5] so that by the end of the thirteenth century the priory was worth the fairly large annual sum of £88 6*s*. 1½*d*., though the total would be considerably reduced by a variety of outgoings.

John Fovas, vicar of Claxton, and Henry Brid of Halesworth had licence in 1345 to alienate to the priory 61 acres of land and 3 acres of pasture in Spexhall, Westhall, Thornton, and Blythburgh, towards the support of a chaplain to celebrate weekly in the priory church for the souls of Henry de Harnhull, and his father, mother, and ancestors.[6] The priory obtained licence in 1347 to appropriate the church of Thorington, which was of its advowson.[7]

[2] Thus the Norwich visitation books show that the Claverings, Audleys, Uffords, and Lords Dacres were successively patrons.

[3] This charter is cited in full by Dugdale (*Mon.* vi, 588–9), and by Suckling (*Hist. of Suff.* ii, 145–6).

[4] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 97*b*, 113, 118*b*, 126, 126*b*, 127, 127*b*, 128*b*, 132.

[5] Chartul. fol. 1*b*. In this place two small portions or pensions are also named from the rectories of Stoven and Walpole, amounting to 11*s*. 3*d*.

[6] Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

[7] Ibid. 21 Edw. III, pt. iv, m. 6.

The value of the property pertaining to the priory suffered severely from the Black Death of 1349, and never recovered from the deterioration that then ensued. There was also much loss experienced from the sea encroachments at Dunwich and on the coast line of Blythburgh parish.

The Valor of 1535 gives the annual value of the temporalities as £28 13*s.* 4*d.*, but the outgoings brought the clear value down to £22 14*s.* 4*d.* The spiritualities or tithes of the parishes of Blythburgh-cum-Walberswick, Bramfield, Thorington, and Blyford were then worth £28 a year; but from this deductions of over £6 had to be made for pensions to the abbot of St. Osyth and the prior of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, as well as for procurations and synodals. The clear total value of the priory was thus reduced to £48 8*s.* 10*d.*

The office of prior, notwithstanding its dependent position on St. Osyth, was esteemed a position of some importance. Thus in 1217, Pope Honorius III considered the prior of Blythburgh to be a sufficiently noteworthy person to be associated with the abbots of Sibton and Leiston in a commission appointed to report as to the conduct of Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln.[1]

Whatever may have been the number of the canons of this house prior to the Black Death, they do not seem to have ever exceeded a total of four, including the superior, at subsequent dates. In 1473 there were three canons and a prior; for in that year John Woley of Blythburgh left 40*s.* to the prior and convent, viz., 20*s.* to the prior, and 6*s.* 8*d.* to each canon.[2]

The injunctions consequent on a visitation in 1308 enjoined on the abbot and convent of St. Osyth to be careful in the election of canons suitable to be sent to Blythburgh.[3] In 1317, when the commissary of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's was holding a visitation at St. Osyth, *sede vacante*, certain irregularities at the cell of Blythburgh were condemned.[4] The prior of Blythburgh and his canons attended at the election of an abbot of St. Osyth by scrutiny in 1427, when four were present from Blythburgh.[5]

The several sixteenth-century diocesan visitations of this priory show that the number of the religious was then four. The house was in debt, and the old chapter-house had disappeared.

Blythburgh was visited by the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and other commissaries of the diocesan in 1520, when the prior and brethren assembled in a certain chapel of the conventual church which they used as a chapter-house. They were severally examined as to the state of the house and the essentials of religion, and their answers were in every way satisfactory.[6]

Bishop Nykke visited in person in June, 1526. Prior John Righton, Thomas Chapet, sub-prior, and three other canons attended. All made satisfactory replies save Robert Francis, who said they had given up the singing of mass, and complained that the prior was too lenient in correction towards those he favoured, but cruel and severe towards those whom he disliked.[7] The bishop again visited Blythburgh in July, 1532, when Prior Righton stated that the house was in debt to the amount of £30, of which £10 was due to the bishop. The three brethren, on examination, stated that they knew of nothing worthy of reformation.[8]

Between the two visits of Bishop Nykke this priory narrowly escaped dissolution. It was included in the bull of Pope Clement, granted to Cardinal Wolsey in 1528, among minor houses to be suppressed in favour of his proposed college at Ipswich, which was never carried out.[9]

On 6 October, 1534, the priory's acceptance of the supremacy of Henry VIII was signed by John Righton the prior, and by John Baker, George Thurstan, and Robert Sprot, the three canons.

Although strictly speaking Blythburgh priory, as a cell of St. Osyth's, did not come under the act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries, it was placed in that category, and the suppression was carried out on 12 February, 1537.[10] In the previous August an inventory of the priory's goods had been drawn up by the three suppression commissioners for Suffolk. The priory was in a somewhat poor plight even for a small house; the total value was only £8 2*s.* 8*d.*, including 40*s.* for five horses and an old cart. All the vestments in the vestry were valued at 36*s.* 6*d.* There were two silver chalices with patens and a cross of copper gilt. The contents of the house were apportioned between the kitchen, pantry, hall, and parlour, and there is certainly no sign of luxurious living.[11]

On 29 February, 1537, a pension of £6 was assigned to John Righton the ex-prior; and the three canons were turned out penniless.[12]

The house, site, and all the possessions of the priory were originally granted by the crown to Walter Wadelond, of Needham Market, for twenty-one years, at a rental of £59 9*s.*, and in November, 1548, the reversion was granted to Sir Arthur Hopton.[13]

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 47.
[2] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich, &c.* 129.
[3] Lond. Epis. Reg. Baldock, fol. 912.
[4] Ibid. Newport, fol. 7.
[5] Ibid. Grey, fol. 64.
[6] Jessopp, *Visit.* 177.
[7] Ibid. 216.
[8] Ibid. 284–5.
[9] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 240–1.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 510.
[11] This inventory is set forth in full in the proceedings of the *Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 99–100.
[12] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxii, fol. 40.
[13] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 967 (20).

PRIORS OF BLYTHBURGH

Nicholas [1]
Thomas [2]
Osbert [3]
Roger [4]
Richard [5]
Elias [6]
Wyth [7]
Guy, occurs 1200, &c.[8]
William, occurs 1260, &c.[9]
Adam, occurs 1290 and 1294 [10]
Alexander de Donewych, appointed 1310 [11]
Nicholas de Daggeworth, appointed 1332 [12]
John de Norton, appointed 1361 [13]
Walter de Stanstede, appointed 1371 [14]
John de Alveley, appointed 1374 [15]
William de Wykeham, appointed 1382 [16]
Lawrence de Brysete, 1395 [17]
John Hydyngham (Hethyngham), appointed 1395 [18]
John Lacy, appointed 1418 [19]
Thomas Hadley, resigned 1427 [20]
Roger Okham, appointed 1427 [21]
William Kent, appointed 1431 [22]
John Sompton, died 1483 [23]
John Newton, appointed 1483 [24]
John Brandon, appointed 1497 [25]
John Marham, appointed 1500 [26]
Robert Park, appointed 1506 [27]
John Righton, appointed 1521 [28]

An impression of the common seal of the priory is attached to the acknowledgement of the supremacy at the Public Record Office. It is of large oval shape, and bears the Blessed Virgin, with sceptre in right hand, and Holy Child on left knee, with the legend :—

SIGILLUM . SANCTE . MARIE . DE . BLIEBURGH

17. THE PRIORY OF BRICETT

Ralph FitzBrian and Emma his wife, about the year 1110, founded a priory for Austin canons at Bricett, which was dedicated to the honour of St. Leonard. The foundation charter endowed the priory with the tithes of Bricett and of 'Losa' with its chapel, a moiety of the church of 'Stepla,' and the church of Stangate, Essex, in addition to various plots of land in the vicinity. The founder also gave to the canons a large garden on the south of the monastery and a smaller one on the east, and he ordained that whenever he was in Suffolk the canons were to act as his chaplains and to receive a tithe of his bread and beer.[29]

These gifts, with slight additions, were confirmed to the canons both by the son and grandson of the founder and by Sir Almaric Peche, who married the great granddaughter and heiress. In 1250, Walter bishop of Norwich, with the assent of the prior and convent, licensed a chantry in the chapel of Sir Almaric and his lady, within the court of their house, on condition that the chantry chaplain, at his first coming, should swear, in the presence of the prior, to restore to the mother church of Bricett every kind of offering made in the chapel, without any deduction, on the day or the day after the offering was made; and also that no parishioner should be admitted to the sacrament of penance or any other sacrament by the chaplain, save in peril of death. It was also stipulated that Almaric and his wife and household and their heirs should attend the mother church at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, and St. Leonard's Day, and make the accustomed offerings at high mass.[30]

Although the founder had enjoined that the canons of this house were to be under the special protection of the Bishop of Norwich, and that the prior was to have the power of appointing and removing canons, the priory of Bricett was claimed, early in the thirteenth century, as pertaining to the monastery of Nobiliac, in the diocese of Limoges and the duchy of Berry.[31] This claim was resisted, but in 1295 an agreement was arrived at favourable to the foreign house, whereby Bricett became an alien priory; this composition was renewed and confirmed by the Bishop of Norwich in the chapter-house of Bricett, on 16 July, 1310.[32]

The taxation roll of 1291 gives the annual value of the temporalities of Bricett priory in various Suffolk parishes and in Pentlow, Essex, as £13 18s. 0½d. Under spiritualities there was the church of Wattisham with an income of £5 6s. 8d. and portions from Castle Acre of £1 13s. 4d., and from Wenham of 6s.[33]

[1] Blyth. Chartul. fol. 8b. Nicholas and the six following priors are mentioned in undated grants, &c., of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
[2] Ibid. fol. 8b, 36. [3] Ibid. fol. 39b, 48.
[4] Ibid. 29. [5] Ibid. 30. [6] Ibid. 60b.
[7] Ibid. 62. [8] Ibid. fol. 30, 31, 61.
[9] Ibid. fol. 8b, 13, 20b, 24, 52.
[10] Ibid. fol. 2, 9, 20b, 61.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 40; Blyth. Chartul. fol. 13, 24, 30b, 31.
[12] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 54.
[13] Ibid. v, 52; Blyth. Chartul. fol. 15b.
[14] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 10. [15] Ibid. vi, 28.
[16] Ibid. vi, 85. [17] Ibid. vi, 202.
[18] Ibid. vi, 217; Blyth. Chartul. fol. 12b.
[19] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 37. [20] Ibid. ix, 27.
[21] Ibid. [22] Ibid. ix, 49. [23] Ibid. xii, 99.
[24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. xii, 195. [26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid. xiii, 70. [28] Ibid. xiv, 170.

[29] Foundation Charter among King's Coll. Cambuniments. Cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 174.
[30] Ibid. 174–5.
[31] Prynne, *Pap. Usurp.* iii, 682, 707.
[32] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 188.
[33] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 17b, 115, 117b, 122, 124, 128, 128b, 129b, 130b, 131, 131b, 132, 133.

In a long list of royal protections to religious houses in 1295, in return for bestowing on the king a tithe of their income, the priory of Bricett is described as a cell to the priory of 'Noblac in Lymoches.'[1]

In 1325 Thomas Durant and Margaret his wife obtained licence to enfeoff John de Bohun of a fourth part of the manor of Great Bricett, together with the advowson of the priory of St. Leonard of the same town.[2]

Licence was granted in 1331 for the alienation by Thomas le Archer, rector of Elmsett, and Richard his brother, to the prior and canons of Bricett of three parts of the manor of Great Bricett, of the yearly value of £7.[3] The fourth part of the manor of Great Bricett of the annual value of 36*s.* 8*d.* was assigned to the priory in 1346 by Richard Hacoun and Anne his wife.[4] In the same year John Bardoun and Isabel his wife released to the prior and canons of St. Leonard's all their right and claim in the manor of Great Bricett.[5]

The prior, with a great number of other priors of alien houses and cells, was summoned to appear before the council at Westminster, on the morrow of Midsummer, 1346, 'to speak with them on things that shall be set forth to them,' upon pain of forfeiture and the loss of the priory, lands, and goods.[6]

On the general suppression of the alien priories, Bricett came into the hands of the crown. In 1444 Henry VI granted the whole of the possessions to the college of SS. Mary and Nicholas (afterwards King's), Cambridge.[7] This grant was confirmed by the same king in 1452,[8] and it was again renewed by Edward IV in the first year of his reign, namely on 24 February, 1462.[9]

In a book of surveys of the University of Cambridge, 1545–6, the annual value of the priory or manor of Bricett is set down under the possessions of King's College at £33 11*s.* 8*d.*[10]

Priors of Bricett

William Randulf, appointed 1312[11]
John de Essex, appointed 1337[12]
Alan de Codenham, appointed 1372[13]
Nicholas Barne, appointed 1399[14]

[1] Pat. 24 Edw. I, m. 21.
[2] Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 37.
[3] Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.
[4] Ibid. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 4.
[5] Close, 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23 *a.*
[6] Ibid. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6 *d.*
[7] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v. 93.
[8] Pat. 31 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 20.
[9] Ibid. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 23.
[10] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 175.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 46.
[12] Ibid. iii, 5.
[13] Ibid. vi, 14.
[14] Ibid. vi, 256.

18. THE PRIORY OF BUTLEY

This important priory of Austin canons was founded in honour of our Lady, in the year 1171, by Sir Ralph de Glanville, justiciary of England. It was founded upon lands called Brockhouse, which Ralph held by his wife Bertha, daughter of Theobald de Valoins, lord of Parkham. A chief part of the founder's original benefaction consisted of the churches of Butley, Farnham, Bawdsey, Wantisden, Capel, and Benhall.[15]

Henry II, at the request of the founder, gave the rectory of Burston, Norfolk, to the canons; but they subsequently resigned the appropriation and appointed a rector, securing a pension of 40*s.*[16] It was further endowed, in the same reign, with the rectory of Winfarthing, Norfolk, but in this case the advowson and appropriation were lost in 1425[17]. In 1209 the two moieties of the advowson of Gissing, Norfolk, were granted to the priory, and the appropriation was sanctioned in 1271. The advowson and appropriation of the church of Kilverstone, Norfolk, together with a fold-course and common of pasture in that parish were granted to the prior in 1217.[18]

The Norfolk parish of Dickleburgh possessed four rectories; sanction to appropriate one of these portions was granted by the bishop in 1180. The abbot of St. Edmunds drew pensions from two of the other portions. But in 1454, with the consent of all parties, the four portions were consolidated, each rector covenanting to pay a yearly pension of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the priory of Butley.[19]

There was hardly a religious house in the kingdom, save some of the largest Benedictine abbeys, that had so much church patronage, or such a wealth of appropriations in its hands as was eventually the case with the priory of Butley. In the year 1235, William D'Auberville, grandson of Maud, eldest daughter of Ralph de Glanville, the founder, gave to the priory his third[20] of the churches of Chedgrave, Somerton, Upton, Wantisden, Capel, Benhall, Bawdsey, and Finborough, with a moiety of the church of Glemham Parva. In 1271 Lady Cassandra Baynard gave her share of the church of Chedgrave; and other shares of several churches subsequently fell to the canons.[21]

The prior and convent of Norwich confirmed in 1249 the church of Little Worlingham St.

[15] The foundation charter is among the MSS. of C. C. C. Camb., and is cited in full in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 380.
[16] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 125.
[17] Ibid. i, 181.
[18] Ibid. i, 543.
[19] Ibid. i, 191–3.
[20] The founder's property had been divided between his three daughters and heiresses.
[21] Add. MS. (Davy), 19100, 19096.

Peter to the monastery of Butley, which had been appropriated to this house by William de Suffield, bishop of Norwich.[1] An undated confirmation by Norwich priory, *c.* 1266, also confirmed the appropriation to Butley of the church of Gissing.[2]

The taxation of 1291 shows that the priory then held the appropriation of fifteen churches, yielding a total income of £127 6*s.* 8*d.*; the most wealthy of these were Debenham, £30; Upton, £16 13*s.* 4*d.*; Ashfield-cum-Thorp, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; and West Somerton, £12. The temporalities in about sixty Suffolk parishes, and in a few parishes of Norfolk and Lincoln produced £68 9*s.* 8*d.*, and give a total annual income from all sources, at that date, of £195 16*s.* 4*d.*[3] By far the largest holding of the priory, under temporalities, was at West Somerton, Norfolk, whence their income amounted to £37 3*s.* 4¾*d.*

There were several minor bequests in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. An important but temporary addition was made to the priory's income by Henry VIII, in 1508, when the cell of Snape, which till then had belonged to St. John's, Colchester, was given to the Butley canons, together with the manors of Snape, Scottow, 'Tastard,' Bedingfield, Aldeburgh, and Friston. The Colchester monks, however, showed themselves, not unnaturally, very troublesome over this transfer, and the prior of Butley resigned it in 1509.[4]

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up it was found that this priory had an income considerably exceeding £3,000 of our money. The clear annual value of the temporalities amounted to £210 7*s.* 7¾*d.* Among the deductions was the sum of £8 16*s.* 8*d.* paid in pence to the poor of Chesilford at the chief festivals, out of the rentals of that manor. The spiritualities produced a further clear income of £108 9*s.* 7½*d.*, leaving a total net income of £318 17*s.* 2¼*d.*[5] The priory had lost in recent years, through various causes, two or three of its appropriated churches; those that it still retained were Butley, Capel, Gedgrave chapel, Wantisden, Glemham Magna, Kesgrave, Shelley, Redisham, Willingham Magna and Parva, Ramsholt, Ashfield-cum-Thorp, Aspall, Fornham, Harleston, Kylmton, Weybread, Debenham, Finborough, Benhall, Bawdsey, in Suffolk; West Somerton, Gissing, Upton, and Bylaugh, in Norfolk; Byker, in Lincoln; St. Stephen Coleman, City of London; and Debenham, Essex—twenty-seven in all.

The leper hospital of West Somerton, Norfolk, was in the charge of the prior of Butley in the time of Edward I. A commission was issued to William de Ormesby and William de Sutton in February, 1299, touching the persons who entered the West Somerton lazar-house—in the custody of the prior of Butley, by the king's orders—and carried away the corn and goods and the muniments of the hospital.[6] In October of the following year the crown granted to the prior of Butley, keeper of the leper-house of West Somerton, in consideration of a fine of 100 marks, to hold the hospital quit of any account, as his predecessors used to do, but subject, like other hospitals of the king's advowson, to be visited by the chancellor or his deputies to correct defects.[7]

An inquisition held on 14 November found that Ralph Glanville, whose heir the king was, granted to the prior and convent of Butley the custody of the hospital of West Somerton, on condition that they maintained in it thirteen lepers, with a chaplain to celebrate daily there and a clerk, praying for the souls of Ralph and his father and mother; that the prior for twenty years past had ceased the maintenance of nine of the lepers and of the chaplain and the clerk; that for twelve years the prior had withdrawn from the four lepers who were there on that date seven gallons of ale a week, worth 1*d.* each; and that the hospital was worth ten marks annually. Thereupon the hospital was taken into the king's hands. In November 1399 the priory informed Henry IV that the hospital at the time of its first endowment was worth £60 a year, and that as it was now worth only 10 marks it could not possibly discharge its first obligations; and that the place where the hospital formerly stood was desolate. Whereupon Henry IV discharged the priory of all its hospital obligations, on condition that two canons of the priory celebrated daily for the good estate of the king, and for the souls of his progenitors and predecessors, and for the souls of Ralph, the founder, and his father and mother.[8]

Much light is thrown upon the inner working of a fairly large house of Austin canons, towards the close of the monastic system, by the visitations of Bishops Goldwell and Nykke, of which unusually full records remain.[9] It is evident that here, as elsewhere, the tone of a house depended much upon the character of the superior.

Bishop Goldwell visited this priory on 10 July, 1494, when the prior (Thomas Framlingham) and thirteen canons were examined. Another canon was absent. The report stated that the brethren who had granted 13*s.* 4*d.* of their stipends to the prior for the needs of the house, sought restitution; that the prior punishes at his

[1] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 190. [2] Ibid. 191.

[3] *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 19, 24*b*, 74, 78*b*, 79, 83*b*, 97*b*, 104*b*, 105, 113, 115*b*, 117, 119, 123, 129*b*, 131*b*, 133*b*.

[4] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 381, where Henry VII's charter of transfer is cited in full.

[5] *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 418–22.

[6] Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 37*d.*

[7] Ibid. 28 Edw. I, m. 3.

[8] Ibid. 1 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 10.

[9] Bodl. Tanner MSS. 108, 132, 210 (ed. Dr. Jessopp for Camd. Soc. in 1884).

own pleasure, without the consent of the seniors (against the custom of religion); that utensils pertaining to the infirmary ought to be restored to their proper use; that the prior should assign to each canon a certain chamber, but that he takes them away for a light breach of discipline; that many gentlefolk, particularly relatives of the prior, frequent the house to its great detriment; that there is no schoolmaster for the teaching of grammar; and that the prior does not exhibit any statement of account, nor has he any cellarer or other official who knows the state of the house and could act in case of his sickness. The bishop stated, before leaving, that he did not find much worthy of reformation, and therefore dissolved the visitation, promising to forward certain injunctions.[1]

Bishop Nykke visited in July, 1514. Prior Augustine Rivers said that there was an old debt of £70, as well as one incurred by himself and due to the bishop of £20. He said that all things were laudable so far as the income of the house permitted; but that the buildings and manor houses were out of repair. William Woodbridge, the sub-prior, said that three masses were said daily, and that both day and night hours were duly observed; also that the brethren were obedient and continent, and that all other things were well. John Thetford, having a bachelor's degree, said that he knew but little of the state of the house as he was absent at the university, but he knew nothing but what was creditable of his brethren. He considered that Thomas Orford was a good grammarian and given to letters, and his friends wished him to go to the university at their expense. Richard Wilton, cellarer, spoke warmly of the prior's industry, both in the spiritual and temporal interests of the house so far as income would permit, but that he was overburdened with the dilapidations of the buildings, granges, and manor houses. Seven of the canons simply testified *omnia bene*. John Norwich said that the service books were sadly worn. James Hillington considered that the sub-prior and some of the older canons were negligent in attending divine offices. Thomas Sudbury complained of the language of Reginald Westerfield towards the younger canons; in this he was supported by another canon who had heard Westerfield call the juniors 'horesons.'

The bishop, in his consequent injunctions, cautioned Westerfield against the use of opprobrious terms, and ordered the prior to permit both Thetford and Orford to go to the university.[2]

The priory was visited in July, 1520, by the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and three other commissaries of the diocesan. Prior Rivers was able to say that the debt was reduced to 40*s*. William Woodbridge, the sub-prior, said that everything was well and industriously observed, and one other canon was equally content. The rest had various complaints, but of no very serious character. Their nature can be gathered from the subsequent injunctions, which ordered that a suitable place should be at once provided for the infirm; that a sufficiency of food should be daily provided in the refectory; that the quire books should be properly repaired before Christmas; that an inventory should be exhibited at the next Michaelmas synod; and that the brethren should observe silence in the refectory, dormitory, and cloister.[3]

At the visitation of 1526 the same prior and sub-prior again gave good testimony and knew of nothing worthy of reform. Five of the fourteen other canons were equally satisfied. The only complaint was that they had no scholar at the university. John Debenham, who suffered severely from gout (*padagra cruciatus*), sought to be excused from matins during the winter. Thomas Orford (*vexatus morbo gallorum*) exhibited a dispensation to retire from the religious life granted him by the Lord Cardinal (Wolsey). The sacrist stated that the main sewer could not be flooded. The sub-sacrist complained that the prior scolded the brethren before laymen, and that the roof of the church admitted rain. The third prior said that the seniors confessed to whom they liked, that the quire books were insufficient, that due food for the infirm was not provided, that they had no porter, and that the roof of the church was defective. These and other minor irregularities were duly dealt with in the injunctions.[4]

The last visitation of Butley priory before the dissolution was held on 21 June, 1532, by Bishop Nykke, and entered at great length in his visitation register. The sub-prior gave a good report and spoke of the wise administrative powers of the prior (*politicus et circumspectus*). The precentor and sacrist said that the prior kept everything pertaining to the different offices of the house in his own hands, and a like complaint was made by others. The third prior reported that neither doctor nor surgeon were provided for the infirm; that the quire books had not been repaired; that junior candidates seeking holy orders were sent on foot, instead of on horseback; that the prior made no annual account in spite of the bishop's injunctions; that the presbytery of the church and both the porches were out of repair; and that the food was too sparse, with a too great frequency of salt fish. The refectorian complained that the refectory was too cold in the winter, from which cause the brethren suffered from the gout and severe colds (*alias gelidas infirmitates*); that there was not a sufficiency of food; that certain pewter cups for the use of the infirm had been removed by the sub-prior; and

[1] Bodl. Tanner MSS. 53–5 (ed. Dr. Jessopp for Camd. Soc. in 1884).

[2] Ibid. 131–3.

[3] Ibid. 177–9.

[4] Ibid. 216–20.

that no statement of accounts had been rendered by the prior for thirty years. Among the complaints of other canons (in all sixteen were examined) were the badness of the food and the dirty methods of serving it; the faulty nature of the prior's accounts; the lack of due provisions for the sick; the poor quality of the beer; and the lack of necessary garments for the novices.

This visitation also brought to light a grave case of fraudulent letters to obtain orders. Thomas Woodbridge, one of the canons, proceeded to Norwich and received priest's orders without the licence or knowledge of the prior, presenting letters forged in the prior's name. Thomas Ipswich confessed that he had written these letters for Woodbridge last Whitsuntide.

The *reformanda* of the bishop, consequent on this visitation, ordered that a master was to be provided for instructing the novices and boys in 'priksong' and grammar; that one canon should be sent to the university; that an annual statement of accounts was to be presented in the chapter-house before three or four of the older brethren; that a proper place was to be assigned for an infirmary, with a sufficiency of healthy food and drink and of medical and surgical assistance for the infirm; that the prior was to pay each novice 20*s.* for clothing according to old custom; that horses and a servant be provided for canons when they seek orders; that the presbytery be at once repaired; that one brother be sacrist and another precentor; that the same drink be supplied to the brethren as to the prior; that warning be given to the servants as to being insolent; that the roof and walls of the chapter-house be repaired; and that the refectory be supplied with footboards and backs to the benches to lessen the cold in winter. The visitation was adjourned until the ensuing feast of the Purification to see if the various reformations were carried out.[1]

John Thetford, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, Thetford, was a benefactor to Butley priory about 1534. He gave them two chalices, one for the chapel of All Saints and another for the chapel of St. Sigismond. He also gave them a relic of special value, namely the comb of St. Thomas of Canterbury and a silver box of small relics.[2]

Thomas Manning *alias* Sudbury, who had been elected prior in 1528, was appointed suffragan Bishop of Ipswich in March 1536, having been nominated along with George, abbot of Leiston, by the Bishop of Norwich.[3] In December 1536 the new suffragan bishop got into trouble with Cromwell over some alleged complicity in the escape of a canon of Butley imprisoned on a charge of treason, whereupon he dispatched his servant to the Lord Principal, two days after Christmas, with two fat swans, three pheasant cocks, three pheasant hens, and one dozen partridges:—the weather had been so open and rainy that he could get no wild fowl. In his letter he told Cromwell that divers were busy to get him to resign his house, but that with the king's favour he would never surrender it.[4]

However, the prior-bishop found it impossible to resist—all pensions would have been forfeited if he had remained obstinate—and on 1 March, 1538, Manning and eight of the canons signed the surrender.[5] A list of the household drawn up at the same time shows that there were then twelve canons, two chaplains, an under-steward, twelve men-servants, including a barber, a master of the children, seven children kept of alms to learning, three scullions, a slaughterman, two sheep reeves, two horse-keepers, a church clerk, a cooper, five wardens of the boats—ferry and river—a smith, two warreners, three bakers and brewers, two maltsters, a porter, a gardener, six women in laundry and dairy, twelve husbandmen, five carters, three shepherds, two woodmakers, a swineherd, two plough- and cart-wrights, two for making candles and keeping the fish-house, and two impotent beadsmen.[6]

This list shows that the canons retained up to the end, in their own hands, the direct control of the adjacent lands, treating them as a 'home farm.' Moreover, it is quite clear that they not only kept school for others besides their own novices, but that they had also a certain number of poor boarding scholars.

Prior Manning does not appear to have had any direct pension granted him, but shortly after the dissolution of his house he was appointed warden of Mettingham College, and was also granted for life (with reversion to the Duke of Suffolk) considerable manors and lands that had belonged to the monasteries of Monks Kirby, Warwickshire, and Axholme, Lincolnshire.[7]

The site of the priory, with adjacent lands, was granted to William Naunton, treasurer of the Duke of Suffolk's household, in July 1538, on a twenty-one years' lease.[8]

Priors of Butley

Gilbert, 1171[9]
William, elected by priory 1195[10]
Robert, 1213[11]
Adam, 1234[12]
Peter, 1251[13]

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 285–9.
[2] Add. MS. 19050, fol. 216.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 597 (2).
[4] Ibid. xi, 1337, 1357.
[5] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 13.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, pt. i, 394.
[7] Ibid. xiv (1), 651; xiv, pt. ii, 442.
[8] Ibid. xiv (1), 603.
[9] Appointed by the founder; *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 406, 408.
[10] Ibid. 412, taken from a chartulary in private hands.
[11] Ibid. [12] Ibid. [13] Ibid.

Walter, 1263 [1]
Robert, 1268 [2]
Richard de Yaxley, 1303 [3]
Nicholas de Wittelsham, 1307 [4]
Richard de Hoxne, 1309 [5]
William de Geytone, 1311 [6]
Alexander de Stratford, 1332 [7]
Matthew de Pakenham, 1334 [8]
Alexander de Drenkiston, 1353 [9]
John Baxter, resigned 1374 [10]
William de Haleworth, 1374 [11]
William Randeworth, 1410 [12]
William Poley, 1444 [13]
Thomas Frankingham, 1483 [14]
Robert Beeches, 1497 [15]
Edmund Lydefield (bishop of Chalcedon), 1504 [16]
Robert Brommer, 1508 [17]
William Woodbridge, 1509 [18]
Augustine Rivers, 1509 [19]
Thomas Manning *alias* Sudbury, suffragan bishop of Ipswich, 1528

The pointed oval fourteenth-century seal of this house bears the Blessed Virgin seated beneath an elaborately carved niche with sceptre in right hand, having birds billing in the foliage at the top, and with the Holy Child on the left knee. Outside the niche, on each side, is a palm branch. Under an arch in the base is the kneeling figure of a prior. Legend :

: S'. C'E. ECCE. SC'. MARIE. DE. BUTTELE.[20]

19. THE PRIORY OF CHIPLEY

Neither the date of the foundation nor the name of the founder of this small priory of Austin canons, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, is known.

The earliest known records pertaining to it are of the year 1235, relative to lands at Clopton and Denardiston.[21]

The taxation roll of 1291 gives diverse entries of its small possessions, which then reached a total annual income of £4 19*s.* 4*d.*; including 20*s.* of spiritualities out of Poslingford church, £3 4*s.* of lands, meadows, and pasture at Stoke, and 15*s.* 4*d.* of smaller temporalities at Stansfield, Poslingford, and Gelham Parva (Essex).[22]

Licence was granted in 1343 to Roger Normaund to alienate to this priory the manor of Chipley, knights' fees and the advowson of the church excepted, to find two canons to celebrate daily in the priory church for the souls of Roger and Joan his wife, when they shall depart this life, and for his ancestors and heirs.[23] Roger Normaund or Norman died seised of the advowson or patronage of this priory in 1363.[24] From this it seems probable that an ancestor of Norman was the founder.

The buildings being in a ruinous condition, and the income not exceeding £10, the Bishop of Norwich consented in 1455 to the annexing of this little priory to the collegiate church of Stoke-next-Clare, who had become its patrons.[25]

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up the college of Stoke held temporalities in Chipley to the annual value of £14 13*s.* 4*d.*; and there was also a small pension accruing from the church of Poslingford and the chapel of Chipley.[26]

Priors of Chipley

John de Cavendish, died 1333 [27]
Richard de Norwich, elected 1333 [28]
David de Thornham, elected 1349 [29]
Reginald de Rushworth, elected 1350 [30]
Thomas de Hippesworth, resigned 1370 [31]
Richard Man, elected 1370 [32]
Thomas Hepeworth, elected 1395 [33]

The pointed oval thirteenth-century seal of this priory bears the Blessed Virgin, half length, with the Holy Child on the left arm; in base, under a trefoiled arch is the kneeling prior. Legend :

S' : PRIORIS : DE : CHIPPELEIA[34]

20. THE PRIORY OF DODNASH

Information respecting the small Austin priory of the Blessed Virgin at Dodnash is somewhat scanty. Neither the time of the foundation nor the name of the founder is known, but it was

[1] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 412, taken from a chartulary in private hands.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 12. This and the following are dates of election.
[4] Ibid. 25. [5] Ibid. i, 33. [6] Ibid. i, 46.
[7] Ibid. ii, 51. [8] Ibid. ii, 58. [9] Ibid. iv, 48.
[10] Ibid. vi, 36. [11] Ibid. [12] Ibid. vii, 27.
[13] Ibid. x, 55. [14] Ibid. xii, 99.
[15] Add. MS. 19000, fol. 216.
[16] Tanner, Norw. MSS.
[17] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 233; *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 413. This prior committed suicide at Ipswich.
[18] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 325, 746. Royal assent in July, but cancelled by the bishop in December.
[19] Norw. Epis. Reg. xiv, 90.
[20] B.M. Cast, lxxi, 99.
[21] Feet of F. Suff. 19 Hen III, Nos. 83, 175
[22] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 17, 121, 121*b*, 132.
[23] Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.
[24] Inq. p.m. 36 Edw. III, pt. ii, No. 7.
[25] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 36.
[26] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 469–70.
[27] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 62.
[28] Ibid. [29] Ibid. iv, 120 [30] Ibid. iv, 129.
[31] Ibid. vi, 3. [32] Ibid. [33] Ibid. vi, 210.
[34] B.M. Cast, lxxi, 102.

probably founded by an ancestor of the earl and dukes of Norfolk, as they held the patronage of the priory for many generations.

The priory held lands in Bentley,[1] Chelmondiston,[2] and Bergholt,[3] in the thirteenth century, and in 1327 the prior of Dodnash obtained free warren over his lands in Bentley, Falkenham, and Bergholt.[4]

Licence was obtained in January 1331 by the prior and convent to acquire lands or rents in mortmain to the yearly value of £10.[5] In April of the same year John de Goldyngham, under the foregoing licence, was allowed to alienate to the priory, property in Bentley, Bergholt, Capel, Brantham, and Tattingstone, of the yearly value of £5.[6]

The endowment of the priory in 1485 included the tithe of barley in Falkenham, 320 acres of land in Hemingstone, Coddenham, etc., 280 acres of land in Burstall, Bramford, etc., a messuage and 39 acres of land in Bergholt, free warren in the three places already named, and rents and lands in fifteen Suffolk parishes.[7] The total clear annual value of the priory was declared at £44 18*s.* 8½*d.*, when it was suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey, in 1525, among the group of smaller houses whose endowments were intended to be used in the founding of his colleges of Ipswich and Oxford. The priory of St. Mary Dodnash was surrendered by Prior Thomas on 1 February 1524–5, in the presence of Thomas Cromwell and other members of Wolsey's commission.[8]

On the downfall of Wolsey the priory site and lands were assigned, on 1 April 1531, to Lionel Tolemache, his heirs and assigns.[9]

Priors of Dodnash

John de Goddesford, resigned 1346[10]
Adam Newman, elected 1346[11]
Thomas de Thornham, resigned 1383[12]
John Capel, elected 1406[13]
Robert Newbone, resigned 1438[14]
Michel de Colchester, elected 1438[15]
Richard Whytyng, elected 1444[16]
Thomas, resigned 1525[17]

[1] Feet of F. Suff. 19 Hen. III, No. 77.
[2] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 177, 190.
[3] Feet of F. Suff. 15 Edw. I, No. 99.
[4] Chart. R. 1 Edw. III, No. 11.
[5] Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.
[6] Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18.
[7] Esch. Enr. Accts. Suff. 3 Ric. III, No. 156.
[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. i, 1137, 1832; pt. ii, 3538.
[9] Pat. 22 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 17.
[10] Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 54.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. vi, 90.
[13] Ibid. iv, 332.
[14] Ibid. x, 19.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. x, 55.
[17] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. i, 1137.

21. THE PRIORY OF HERRINGFLEET

The priory of St. Olave, Herringfleet, was founded for Austin canons by Roger FitzOsbert, near the ancient ferry across the River Waveney about the beginning of the reign of Henry III. The founder assigned to the monastery 40 acres of land in Tibenham; he did not die until 1239, and willed that his body should be buried in the priory church. Peter, the founder's son, gave to the canons the advowson of Witlingham. Both Peter and his wife Beatrice, who died respectively in 1275 and 1278, were also buried in the canons' church.[18]

In 1314 John son of Sir Ralph Nunoion, knt., granted the patronage of the priory of St. Olave to Peter Gernegan,[19] and in 1410 the advowson was granted to Margaret, wife of John Gernegan.[20] There are various other grants relative to the transference of this priory patronage to Sir John Hevyngham, knt., in the reign of Henry VI,[21] but in 1491 the patronage was restored to the family of Gernegan by Sir John Hevyngham, Sir Henry Bryan, and others.[22]

The churches of Herringfleet and Hales, Norfolk, were appropriated to St. Olave's at an early date. St. Peter's, Burgh, was appropriated by leave of the bishop about 1390, but in 1403 the appropriation was resigned, a small pension being reserved to the priory.[23]

The taxation of 1291 shows that the priory then held the rectories of Herringfleet and Hales, and a pension from the church of Bonewell, yielding a total in spiritualities of £14 13*s.* 4*d.* The temporalities in Suffolk and Norfolk at the same time brought in £12 14*s.* 0½*d.*, giving a total income of £26 17*s.* 4½*d.*[24]

According to the Valor of 1535 the gross receipts from the temporalities were £15 13*s.* 8½*d.* but the clear value was only £13 3*s.* 11*d.* The spiritualities included the rectories of Herringfleet and Hales, together with a pension from the church of Burgh, yielding a clear annual value of £5 2*s.* 7½*d.* There are evidently some omissions from the details of this return, as the net income is returned at £49 11*s.* 7*d.*[25]

Licence was granted in 1377 by the crown, on payment of ten marks, to Edmund de Carlton, chaplain, and four others, to alienate to the priory of St. Olave property in Ashby and Herringfleet, for finding a lamp to be kept

[18] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 15; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 660.
[19] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 1036.
[20] Ibid. 1079.
[21] Ibid. 1086, 1102, 1105, 1106, 1113.
[22] Ibid. 1134.
[23] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 340.
[24] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 83*b*, 84, 93, 97*b*, 103, 103*b*, 104, 104*b*, 107*b*, 113, 116*b*, 124, 126, 126*b*, 127.
[25] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 412.

burning before the high altar in the priory church, and for performing the offices of the dead at the anniversaries of the five donors.[1]

The priory of St. Olave was visited by Archdeacon Goldwell on 30 January 1493, as commissary for his brother the bishop. Thomas Bagot the prior and five canons were severally examined, with the result that William Cokke was pronounced to be quarrelsome, and the prior reported for not showing the accounts of the house to the canons. The canons complained that they were scarcely able to live.[2]

The next recorded visitation was held in July, 1514, by Bishop Nykke. Prior William Dale stated that he rendered an account yearly to the senior canons; that the canons were obedient; and that he had recently purchased certain lands of the annual value of £10 14*s.* 10*d.*, and paid for them. Robert Starys, the sub-prior, said that they did not rise for mattins at midnight, but at 5 o'clock; that they did not sing the offices save on festivals and Sundays; and that their number was incomplete because of the insufficiency of income. The six other canons gave unqualified praise to the condition of the house. The bishop enjoined on the prior and canons that they were to furnish him with a sufficient dispensation from the apostolic see for not observing the rule of rising at midnight for mattins, and ordered the canons to observe (entire) silence in cloister and quire on all Fridays.[3]

The next recorded visitation was held by the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon in July, 1520. It was attended by Prior Dale and five canons. The prior was ordered to produce a statement of accounts and an inventory at the Michaelmas synod. The testimony of the canons was unanimous as to the good religious conditions of the house.[4]

The visitation of June, 1526, attended by the same prior and five canons, was entirely satisfactory.[5] Prior Dale and the like number of canons appeared at the last visitation of Bishop Nykke, in June, 1532, when the statements were unanimously good, and the visitor reported that there was nothing to amend.[6]

The Suffolk commissioners appointed to take the inventories of the smaller monasteries visited St. Olave's on 26 August, 1536. In the quire of the church they found a silver pyx, two silver chalices, a copper cross, two candlesticks of latten on the high altar, an alabaster 'table,' and a linen altar-cloth worth £4 2*s.* 10*d.* Other plate included a pair of censers with a ship of silver. There were but few vestments. The furniture of the various chambers, the hall, the parlour, pantry and kitchen was but ordinary.

[1] Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3.
[2] Jessopp, *Visit.* 38–9.
[3] Ibid. 129–31.
[4] Ibid. 177.
[5] Ibid. 216.
[6] Ibid. 284.

The cattle and implements of husbandry were valued at £12 1*s.*, and the corn at £11 13*s.* 4*d.* The total of the inventory only amounted to £27 0*s.* 9*d.*[7]

This house was suppressed among the smaller monasteries on 3 February, 1536–7.[8] On the 8th of the ensuing March a pension of ten marks was granted to William Dale, the last prior;[9] evidently no credence was given to the coarse report made against him by Legh and Leyton in their notorious *comperta* of a few months' earlier date.[10]

The site of the priory and its possessions were assigned to Henry Jernyngham on 1 March, 1537–8.[11]

Priors of Herringfleet

William,[12] occurs 1273
Benedict,[13] occurs 1301
Thomas de Norwich,[14] elected 1308
William Dale,[15] occurs 1309
John de Norwich *alias* Tybenham,[16] elected 1329
Philip de Porynglond,[17] elected 1341
John de Porynglond,[18] died 1354
John de Surlyngham,[19] elected 1354
Roger de Haddiscoe,[20] occurs 1370
William de Holton,[21] resigned 1371
Henry de Brom,[22] elected 1371
John de Hanewell,[23] elected 1391
John Wyloughby,[24] elected 1402
William Dald,[25] occurs 1403
John Welles,[26] elected 1430
Thomas Bagot,[27] elected 1480
William Dale,[28] occurs 1514, last prior

The thirteenth-century seal of this house represents St. Olave, king and martyr, crowned and seated on a throne, with an axe in the right hand and an *orbs mundi* in the left. Legend—

s' . . . MUNE . EC . . . . . AVI . DE . HERLINGEFLE . . . . . RI . . A[29]

[7] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 85–7.
[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 510.
[9] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 49*b*.
[10] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.
[11] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccx, fol. 23*b*.
[12] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 15.
[13] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 417.
[14] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 31.
[15] Add. MS. 19098, fol. 158.
[16] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 29.
[17] Ibid. iii, 45.
[18] Ibid. iv, 155.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Add. MS. 19098, fol. 158.
[21] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 9.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid. vi, 164.
[24] Ibid. vi, 288.
[25] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 203.
[26] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 40.
[27] Ibid. xii, 78.
[28] Jessopp, *Visit.* 130.
[29] B. M. Cast, lxxi, 114.

22. THE PRIORY OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, IPSWICH

The priory of St. Peter and St. Paul was established in the parish of St. Peter, Ipswich, for Austin canons about the end of the reign of Henry II. It is said to have been founded by the ancestors of Thomas Lacy and Alice his wife;[1] but the crown claimed the patronage as early as the reign of Henry III, and continued to issue a *congé d'élire* on vacancies down to its suppression.

Very little is known of its early history.

The gift of Letheringham, early in the thirteenth century, and the establishment of a small cell of this house, is described under Letheringham priory.

From the taxation roll of 1291 we find that it was then in possession of a considerable income. It held the appropriation of the Ipswich churches of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and St. Clement, and also the rectories of Cretingham and Wherstead, and a portion of Swineland; the annual total of the spiritualities was £36 10*s*. The temporalities in lands and rents, chiefly in Ipswich and the suburbs, amounted to £45 17*s*. 5*d*. a year, giving a total income of £82 7*s*. 5*d*.[2]

A grant was made 15 February, 1289, to the sub-prior and convent of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, for a fine of £10, of the custody of their house during voidance. John de Ipswich, a canon of the church, had brought word to Westminster in the previous week of the resignation of William de Secheford, their prior. Licence was obtained for a new election, and the assent of the crown to the election of John de St. Nicholas was forwarded to the bishop on 5 May.[3]

Licence was obtained by the prior in 1303 to enclose, with the assent of Hugh Haraud, a void plot of land, six perches long by three broad, a little distance from the priory, together with an adjoining road, to build on the same for the enlargement of the priory, on condition that a like road was made on their own adjacent ground.[4] The priory obtained licence in 1320 to acquire lands in mortmain to the annual value of £10; in the same year they had benefactions to the annual value of 41*s*. 4*d*. a year.[5] In 1329 the priory obtained further grants, under this licence, of the annual value of 55*s*.[6]

Robert Bishop, at the request of Edward I, had obtained sustenance for life at this priory; and on his death Edward II had made a like grant to Gerard de Cessons of sustenance fit for a man of gentle birth, adding that Nicholaa, Gerard's wife, should receive the same for her life if she survived her husband. Edward III, in 1330, granted to the priory that, after the death of their pensioners Gerard and Nicholaa, the house should not be further burdened by the crown after that fashion.[7]

Thomas de Lacy and Alice his wife obtained licence in 1344 to alienate to this priory land at Duxford, Cambridgeshire, and the advowson of the church of St. John Baptist of that town, for the celebration in that church of masses for their souls and their ancestors; the licence also authorized the appropriation of Duxford church to the priory.[8]

The priory paid in 1392 for licence to accept, from Roger de Wolferston and others, considerable benefactions in lands at Thurlston and other places, to find a canon-regular to celebrate daily in their church for the souls of Thomas Harold and John de Claydon.[9]

Archdeacon Goldwell visited this priory as commissary of his brother the bishop in January, 1493, but no particulars were recorded in the register.[10] The next recorded visitation is that by the vicar-general on behalf of Bishop Nykke, in August, 1514. Prior Godwyn presented his accounts from the time of his appointment, but not as an inventory; he complained that the brethren did not duly rise for mattins. John Laurence, who was serving the church of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, said that the brethren were disobedient in not rising for mattins. Geoffrey Barnes, who served the church of St. Peter, considered that everything was well and laudably done. William Browne complained that the foundation of a chantry within the church of St. Peter was not observed, that the brethren did not have their usual pension and that there was no schoolmaster. There were other complaints as to the absence of a schoolmaster, and as to comparatively small matters, such as no lunch (*jentacula*) in the morning. Nine canons were examined, in addition to the prior. The injunctions of the vicar-general ordered the canons to rise for mattins and to be obedient to the prior, and the prior to provide a chest with three locks for the custody of the seal before Michaelmas, and a teacher in grammar for the canons.[11]

A visitation was held on 2 August, 1520, by the Bishop of Chalcedon and Dr. Cappe, as the diocesan's commissaries, but no particulars are recorded.[12] The next visitation was held by Bishop Nykke in July, 1526. William Brown,

[1] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 752; Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xxviii, 2.

[2] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 115*b*, 117, 119*b*, 124, 129*b*, 133.

[3] Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 21, 20, 18.

[4] Ibid. 31 Edw. I, m. 20.

[5] Ibid. 13 Edw. II, m. 14; 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 4.

[6] Ibid. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.

[7] Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

[8] Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

[9] Ibid. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 32.

[10] Jessopp, *Visit.* 35.

[11] Ibid. 137–8.

[12] Ibid. 181.

the prior, four canons, and two novices were examined, all of whom reported *omnia bene*. The bishop found nothing worthy of reformation, but he enjoined the providing of a preceptor to teach the novices in grammar.[1]

When Wolsey formed his design in 1527 for the establishment of Cardinal's College, Ipswich, this priory was one of the small monasteries marked out for suppression for that purpose. Pope Clement issued a special bull sanctioning the dissolution of this house in May, 1528, in favour of the college. Therein it is described as holding the Ipswich churches of St. Peter and St. Nicholas, St. Clement and St. Mary-at-Quay, and also the parish churches of Wherstead and Cretingham.[2]

On the disgrace of Wolsey, the Cardinal's College came to an end, and the king granted the site of this monastery of six acres, which served as the deanery of the short-lived college, to Thomas Alvard, one of the gentlemen ushers of the king's chamber.[3]

Priors of St. Peter and St. Paul, Ipswich

Gilbert,[4] elected 1225
Nicholas de Ipswich,[5] 1252
William de Secheford,[6] resigned 1289
John de St. Nicholas,[7] elected 1289
Henry de Burstall,[8] elected 1304
Henry de Kurseya,[9] elected 1311
Clement de Ipswich,[10] elected 1343
William de Ipswich,[11] died 1381
John de Monewedon,[11] 1381
John de Ipswich,[12] elected 1419
Geoffrey Stoke,[13] elected 1444
Geoffrey Grene,[14] died 1476
John York,[15] elected 1476–96
Thomas Godewyn,[16] occurs 1514
William Brown,[17] occurs 1526

The late twelfth-century seal of this priory is of much interest. It shows the priory church from the south with central tower and spire, nave, chancel, and south transept; over the roof, each side of the tower, are circular panels containing respectively the half-length figures of St. Peter with key and St. Paul with book. Legend :—

SIGILLUM ECCLE SCOR' PETRI ET PAUL' DE GIPESWIC.[18]

A small oval counterseal, probably the signet of the thirteenth-century prior, has the bust of an emperor with antique crown, from an ancient intaglio gem. Legend :—

MITTENTIS : CAPITI : : CREDIT' SICUTEI.[19]

23. THE PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, IPSWICH

An Ipswich church of the Holy Trinity is named in Domesday Book; but the foundation of Austin canons under that dedication was not established until the time of Henry II. The date of the first building is 1177. 'Normanius Gastrode fil. Egnostri' was the first founder, according to Leland;[20] at any rate Norman is shown by the charter of King John to have been one of the chief benefactors and a canon of the house.[21] This charter shows that the priory held, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Ipswich churches of the Holy Trinity, St. Laurence, St. Mary-le-Towers, St. Mary-at-Elms, St. Michael, and St. Saviour, and the churches of 'Wilangeda,' Henham, Layham, Foxhall, and Preston, and moieties of the churches of Tuddenham and Mendham; and lands in Nacton, Helmingham, Hemingstone, Bramford, Delf, Coddenham, Tunstall, Tuddenham, &c.

At an early date this monastery is said to have suffered from fire; it was rebuilt in 1194 by John de Oxford, bishop of Norwich. He placed there seven canons under a prior, but as endowments increased, the number was at one time raised to twenty. Richard I gave the patronage of the house at the time of its re-opening into the hands of the bishop.[22]

The Taxation Roll of the temporalities of this priory in 1291 shows that its lands and rents, which were chiefly in the town and immediate neighbourhood of Ipswich, produced an annual income of £47 14*s.* 9*d.* The spiritualities reached the much larger annual value of £88 14*s.* 4*d.* It would appear from this return that the canons then held the rectories of St. Laurence, St. Margaret, St. Mary-at-Tower, and St. Mary-at-Elms, Ipswich, and the country

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 221.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 241–2; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4229, 4259 (2).
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 392 (9).
[4] Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 5.
[5] Ibid. 36 Hen. III, m. 11.
[6] Ibid. 17 Edw. I, m. 21.
[7] Ibid. m. 20, 10.
[8] Ibid. 32 Edw. I, m. 15, 9, 5.
[9] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 43; Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 13, 11, 10.
[10] Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 75; Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 25, 31.
[12] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 51.
[13] Ibid. x, 54.
[14] Pat. 16 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 19.
[15] Ibid. m. 15. [16] Jessopp, *Visit.* 137.
[17] Ibid. 221.
[18] Engraved in Wodderspoon's *Ipswich*, App. 303; and in *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* ii, 268. B.M. Cast, D.C., C. 6.
[19] Attached to a charter of 1282, B.M. *Cat. of Seals*, 594.
[20] Leland, *Coll.* i, 62.
[21] Chart. R. 5 John, m. 16, 125.
[22] *Angl. Sacr.* i, 409; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 447; Wodderspoon, *Ipswich*, 200–2.

churches of Tuddenham, Foxhall, Rushmere, Bentley, Caldwell, and Preston, together with considerable proportions of three other rectories.[1] But possibly there was some error in these entries, as it seems scarcely likely that the priory would have lost so many appropriations between this date and the time of Henry VIII, when the Valor of 1535 gave the clear value of the temporalities of the house as £69 14*s.* 8*d.*, but showed the spiritualities reduced to the rectories of Mendham, Rushmere, St. Laurence's Norwich, and Tuddenham, with a portion in Morning Thorpe, of the clear value of £18 12*s.* 1*d.* Thus the total net income was assessed at £82 6*s.* 9*d.*[2]

The prior and convent of the Holy Trinity obtained licence, in 1327, to acquire in mortmain lands or rents to the yearly value of £10. In 1335 a variety of small plots of land and rents were alienated to the canons at Preston, Rushmere, Bentley, and in Ipswich and the suburbs, to the annual value of 16*s.* 2*d.* under cover of the 1327 licence.[3] On payment of £20 the priory obtained leave in 1392 to accept the alienation to them, by Roger de Wolferston and others, of land and meadow in Ipswich and Rushmere; to find five tapers to burn daily at the Lady mass in the conventual church, and one lamp to burn continually day and night in the Lady chapel.[4]

In 1393 the royal pardon was granted to John Bendel, a canon of this house, for causing the death of Godfrey Neketon, cook.[5]

Trinity priory was visited by Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of his brother the bishop, on 22 January, 1493, when Prior Richard and six canons were present. Nothing was found worthy of reformation.[6] The next recorded visitation was held by Bishop Nykke in August, 1514, when eight canons were examined. Almost the only complaint, against which the bishop directed an injunction, was the insolence of some of the servants. The words that two of the servants addressed to certain of the canons are set forth in English: 'Yf soo be that ye medyll with me I shall gyff the such a strippe that thou shallt not recover yt a twelvemonyth after.'[7]

At the visitation held by Bishop Nykke in June, 1526, Prior Thomas Whighte complained of the disobedience of John Carver, but otherwise all was good. Of the four canons examined, two testified *omnia bene*; but Thomas Edgore said that the prior did not render annual accounts, and John Shribbs complained that daily chapters were not held, and there was no correction of excess in the chapter. The latter also stated that the canons confessed to whom they liked, and that they went out of the priory precincts without asking leave of the prior. The bishop's injunction ordered Carver to be obedient to the prior under pain of imprisonment, the holding of a chapter according to rule, the making of an annual account before two of the canons, the appointment of a confessor, the better observance of silence, and the non-departure of the brothers from the precincts save by leave of the superior.[8] The last visitation was in June 1532, when five canons were examined besides Prior Whighte. It was complained that the food and cooking were bad, the cook dirty, and no annual account rendered. The bishop issued injunctions as to each of these defects.[9]

The priory fell with the lesser monasteries which were condemned in 1536. On 24 August of that year the commissioners drew up an inventory of its goods and chattels. The conventual church, which was popular with the townsfolk of Ipswich, was well furnished. The plate included two cruets, a censer with ship, three chalices, and a cross, all of silver-gilt or parcel-gilt; the cross was valued at £5. In the quire were a great and a lesser pair of standards of latten, 'a deske of latten to rede the Gospell at,' and a pair of organs. There were another pair of organs and a small pair of latten standards in the Lady chapel. The supply of vestments in the vestry was ample. In the pantry there was a salt, two standing cups, 'a lytell cruse,' and six spoons all of silver. The furniture of the hall, parlour, and chambers was simple and of little value. The cattle and corn, which were jointly valued at £42 8*s.* 8*d.*, declared at £86 5*s.*[10]

The actual suppression of the house took place on 9 February, 1536–7.[11] On 20 February John Thetford (*alias* Colyn), the last prior, was assigned a pension of £15.[12] The site and lands were shortly afterwards granted to Sir Humphrey Wingfield and Sir Thomas Rushe.[13]

Priors[14] of Holy Trinity, Ipswich

Alan,[15] occurs 1180
William,[16] occurs 1239
William de Colneys,[17] occurs 1248

[1] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 84, 114*b*, 115, 117*b*, 119*b*, 122, 124, 129*b*, 133.
[2] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 423.
[3] Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23; 9 Edw. III, pt. i. m. 10.
[4] Ibid. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, 36.
[5] Ibid. pt. iii, m. 11.
[6] Jessopp, *Visit.* 34. [7] Ibid. 135–6. [8] Ibid. 220–1. [9] Ibid. 293–4.
[10] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 91–4.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 510.
[12] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 48.
[13] Ibid. ccix, fol. 40*b*.
[14] Several of the names of priors assigned to Holy Trinity priory in the lists of Dugdale and Wodderspoon are really priors of St. Peter's, Ipswich; but one or two canons seem to have held in turn the office of superior at each priory.
[15] Wodderspoon, *Ipswich*, 302. [16] Ibid.
[17] Harl. MS. 6957, fol. 98.

Nicholas de Ipswich [1]
William de Secheford [2]
John de St. Nicholas [3]
John de Kentford,[4] 1324
Thomas de Thornham,[5] 1383
John Pyke,[6] 1390
John Gylmyn,[7] 1411
John Mauncer,[8] 1417
John Pyke,[9] 1424
Thomas Hadley,[10] died 1437
John Bestman,[11] 1437
Thomas Gundolf,[12] 1470
Richard Forth,[13] 1479
Robert,[14] occurs 1513
Thomas Whighte,[15] occurs 1526
John Thetford [16] (*alias* Colyn), occurs 1535

The priory of Holy Trinity was sometimes known as Christ Church; it bore this name as early as the days of Richard II.[17] A circular seal of this house shows Our Lord seated, with crucifix nimbus, right hand raised in blessing, left hand resting on a book. The seven candlesticks are shown, four on one side and three on the other. The whole is enclosed in a quatrefoil, outside which are the Evangelistic symbols. Legend :—

SIGILL : CUMMUNE : SCA : XPI
GIPEWICENSIS [18]

24. THE PRIORY OF IXWORTH

The priory of St. Mary, Ixworth, was first founded for Austin canons about the year 1100, by Gilbert Blundus or Blunt. The buildings and chapel, which were erected near the parish church, were ere long destroyed during an outburst of civil war; whereupon William, the son of the founder, rebuilt the priory on a different site.[19]

The exact endowment bestowed on the priory by the founder is not known. In 1228 Ralph de Montchesny gave the advowson of the Norfolk church of Melton Parva to this priory;[20] the advowson of Hunston was given in 1235,[21] and that of Sapiston in 1272.[22]

[1] Harl. MS. 6957, fol. 107.
[2] Ibid. 6958, fol. 88.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 105–6. These are dates of election.
[5] Ibid. vi, 90.
[6] Ibid. vi, 149.
[7] Ibid. vii, 46.
[8] Ibid. viii, 25.
[9] Ibid. viii, 80.
[10] Ibid. x, 12.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. xi, 174.
[13] Ibid. xii, 71.
[14] Wodderspoon, *Ipswich*, 302.
[15] Jessopp, *Visit.* 220.
[16] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).
[17] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 245–7.
[18] Engraved for Wodderspoon's *Ipswich*, opp. p. 300. In the *B. M. Catalogue of Seals* this seal is termed the second seal of St. Peter's priory.
[19] De Fundatione et progenie fundatoris. Kniveton MSS. cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 311.
[20] Feet of F. Norf. 12 Hen. III, 56.
[21] Ibid. Suff. 19 Hen. III, 56.
[22] Ibid. 1 Edw. I, 39.

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the priory was by that date well supplied with appropriated churches. The rectories of Ixworth, Thorp, Walsham, 'Lynterton,' Badwell, 'Bykynhall,' and 'Aysforth' belonged to the priory, and they also held portions of two other churches; the total income from spiritualities was £70 16*s.* The temporalities in twelve different parishes brought in £11 1*s.* 11½*d.*,[23] so that the total annual income was £81 17*s.* 11½*d.*

There was a further accession of endowment in 1362, when half the manor of Ixworth was bestowed on the canons, as well as three messuages and 360 acres in Hunston, Langham, &c.[24] In 1377 the convent obtained the alienation to them, by Richard de Pakenham and others, of a moiety of the manor of Ixworth, for finding two canons, in addition to the established number, to perform divine service in the priory church for the good estate of the king and of his soul after death, and for the soul of the late king, of William Crikecot, and of others.[25] Richard II, in 1384, granted the priory a market and two fairs at Ixworth.[26]

The Valor of 1535 shows that the gross income was £204 9*s.* 5¼*d.*; but there were large deductions, including £20 15*s.* definitely assigned to the poor, so that the net value was brought down to £168 19*s.* 7¾*d.* The temporalities produced £152 7*s.* 3¾*d.* a year. The spiritualities at that time consisted of the rectories of Ixworth, Badwell with Ashfield, Sapiston, Denham, and Melton Parva, with the altarage of Walsham (£6 8*s.* 5*d.*) and portions from three other churches; the total amounted to £52 2*s.* 1½*d.*[27]

A commission was issued in October, 1283, to two justices to inquire into the charge preferred against William, prior of Ixworth, John, the cellarer of Ixworth, and a large number of persons of Ipswich and the district, of assaulting Ralph de Bonevill, the serjeant of Otto de Grandison and Peter de Chaumpvent at Ixworth, and committing depredations on their goods whilst Otto and Peter were with the king in Wales.[28]

Nicholas Goldwell, as commissary for his brother the bishop, visited Ixworth in February, 1492–3, when Prior Godwin Bury and fourteen canons (of whom four were not yet professed) were privately and separately examined, with the result that no reform was needed.[29]

Bishop Nykke visited in June, 1514, when John Gerves, the prior, stated that all the brethren

[23] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 96, 97, 101, 108*b*, 120*b*, 121, 127, 127*b*, 130, 131, 132, 132*b*, 133.
[24] Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18; Inq. p. m. 25 Edw. III.
[25] Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 5.
[26] Chart. R. 7 and 8 Ric. II, No. 14.
[27] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 482–3.
[28] Pat. 2 Edw. I, m. 2.
[29] Jessopp. *Visit.* 44–5.

were obedient and maintained a religious life; that divine worship and the essentials of religion were laudably observed; that there was no debt on the house; that the various manorial buildings were in good repair, save those of Saxton, which had been entirely destroyed by fire in 1510.

He also stated that many buildings within the priory were in ruinous condition, through the fault of his predecessors, being prostrate at the time of his institution. The only complaints of Nicholas Wallington, the sub-prior, were a deficiency in lights and lamps in the church through the fault of the sacrist, and that the clock neither went nor struck. Simon Hirt said that the office of chamberlain was filled by John Bache, a layman, contrary to religion, and that the brethren had no common tailor to make their garments. Adam Ponde also objected to a lay chamberlain, and that the door of the buttery was so placed that the brethren had to stand in the rain when they wished to drink. William Reynberd said that four lights which ought to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin and four other lights before the image of St. John Baptist were not found. In all twelve canons were examined in addition to the prior, five of whom testified *omnia bene*. The bishop ordered the prior to find the accustomed lights at the proper season, so soon as the repairs of the church and the glazing of the windows were finished; to have the clock repaired; and to supply a tailor as in times past.[1]

Ixworth priory was visited by the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and Robert Dikar, as commissaries of the diocesan, in June, 1520. Prior John Gerves and fourteen canons unanimously reported *omnia bene*, and the bishop could find nothing worthy of reformation.[2] The next recorded visitation was held in July, 1526, when sixteen canons were examined, in addition to Prior Gerves. Six said *omnia bene* and the rest had comparatively small complaints to make, such as the absence of a convent tailor, the insolence of the butler, and the letting of farms without the consent of the chapter. The injunctions consequent on this visitation ordered that particular inventories of the goods belonging to each office should be prepared; that no letting of farms or manors should be undertaken without the consent of the majority of the chapter; and that a suitable infirmary should be speedily provided.[3]

At the last visitation, in July, 1532, Prior Gerves and fifteen canons were unanimous in replying *omnia bene*, save that Simon Fisher, master of the novices, said that no convent tailor was provided as was customary. The bishop could find nothing worthy of reformation.[4]

On 22 October, 1534, Prior John Gerves, Sub-prior William Reynberd, and fifteen other canons, signed their acknowledgement of the royal supremacy.[5]

Prior Gerves died a few months before the overthrow of the house. Sir Edward Chamberlain, writing to Cromwell on 13 January, 1535-6, told him of the death, adding that he was founder (i.e. patron) of the priory, and that it appeared from his ancestor's grants that the convent ought to proceed to an election immediately with his consent. He begged Cromwell, as visitor-general of monasteries, to sanction this precedure.[6] The result was the election of William Blome.

The notorious *comperta* of Leyton and Legh, drawn up in this year, state that one of the Ixworth canons acknowledged to a form of incontinence. But the commissioners could wring out very little from these canons, and coolly add: 'there is also suspicion of confederation, for though eighteen in number, they have confessed nothing.'[7]

The net income of this house being under £200 it came within the meshes of the first Suppression Act. On 28 August, 1536, the Suffolk commissioners visited the priory for the purpose of drawing up an inventory. The church and vestry were well furnished with ornaments, plate, and vestments. The most valuable item at the high altar was 'a lectern of latten prayed at xs.' There were tables of alabaster at the various altars, and two pairs of organs, one little and the other great. The plate in the vestry, including three pairs of chalices, a cross, and two cruets, all of silver, was valued at £27 19s. 10d. The furniture of the conventual buildings was simple and of little worth. The cattle were valued at £33 16s. 8d., and the corn growing on the demesnes at £44 5s. The hay was another important item, so that the total came to £117 9s. 8d. The inventory is signed by William Blome, the new prior.[8]

The actual suppression did not take place until February, 1536-7,[9] when Prior Blome obtained a pension of £20 a year,[10] but the rest of the canons had to betake themselves to the larger houses of the order or to go out penniless.

The site of the priory and most of its possessions were granted on 20 July, 1538, to Richard Codington and Elizabeth his wife.[11]

Priors of Ixworth

William de Ixworth,[12] died 1338
Roger de Kyrkested,[13] 1338

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 83–5.
[2] Ibid. 149–50.
[3] Ibid. 240–1.
[4] Ibid. 302.
[5] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 289.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 89.
[7] Ibid. 364.
[8] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 109–12.
[9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii, pt. i, 510.
[10] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 31.
[11] Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 21.
[12] Norw. Epis. Reg. iii, p. 2.
[13] Ibid.

Nicholas de Monesle,[1] 1362
John de Hereford,[2] 1389
John de Welles,[3] 1395
Thomas Lakynghithe,[4] 1430
Reginald Tylney,[5] 1439
William Dense,[6] 1467
John Ive,[7] 1484
Godwin Bury,[8] occurs 1493
Richard Gotts,[9] 1504
John Gerves,[10] occurs 1514, died 1536[11]
William Blome,[12] elected 1536, surrendered same year

The first seal of this priory is a small pointed oval bearing the Blessed Virgin seated on a throne with the Holy Child on the left knee and a sceptre in the right hand. There is hardly any of the lettering remaining in either of the two impressions at the British Museum.[13]

The second (fifteenth-century seal) is very elaborate. It bears the Assumption of the Virgin in a vesica of clouds uplifted by four angels. Above is the Trinity (three half-length crowned persons side by side) in the clouds. On the left of the Virgin is a bishop with mitre and staff, and on the right a saint with nimbus and a long cross. Below are the arms of Montchesny, benefactor, and of Blount, founder. Legend :—

SIGILLŪ : COMMUNE : CŌVE' : BT̄E : MARIE : DE : IXWORTHE[14]

25. THE PRIORY OF KERSEY

Neither the date of the foundation nor the name of the founder of this small priory of Austin canons, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Anthony, is known. The earliest record of it occurs in 1219 in connexion with lands in Semer.[15]

Among the muniments of King's College, Cambridge, are several charters showing that Thomas de Burgh and his wife Nesta were the chief early benefactors of this house. Thomas de Burgh granted them all his patrimony in the town of Lindsey. By another charter, Thomas and Nesta his wife granted three acres of arable land in Groton. His widow Nesta de Cockfield made several considerable grants to the canons of Kersey. By the first she granted them the mother church of Kersey, with all its appurtenances, eight acres adjoining the cemetery on the south, the two and a half acres on which the house was founded, a messuage where the hospital (*domus hospitalis*) stood, &c. By the same charter she granted the tithes of her mills at Cockfield, Lindsey, and Kersey, to sustain the light of this chapel. Nesta took for her second husband John de Beauchamp; they jointly, in 1240, confirmed and increased the grants to the priory of lands and pasture in Lindsey and Kersey, and confirmed to them the church of Kersey. After Nesta was widowed for the second time she gave the canons the church of Lindsey in order that they might better relieve the poor who flocked there once every week. In her last charter she desired that her body might be buried in the conventual church, and gave the canons further lands, with customary service, in Lindsey and Kersey.[16]

The taxation roll of 1291 gives the annual value of the priory as £33 6*s.* 7*d.*; the spiritualities were the rectory of Lindsey £6 13*s.* 3*d.*, and a portion of 2*s.* from Pentlow church, Essex; the remainder was in lands and rents, chiefly at Kersey and Lindsey, and at Benfleet, Essex, with a mill and fisheries at Boxford. The priory only held the advowson of the church of Kersey.[17]

John del Brok obtained licence, under fine of five marks, to alienate in 1338 to the prior and convent property in Kersey and adjoining parishes to find a chaplain to celebrate daily for the souls of his ancestors.[18]

In 1347 the prior of Kersey, out of compassion for the leanness of the priory, whose possessions did not suffice for the support of the prior and canons, was excused his portion of the tenths granted the king by the province of Canterbury for the four terms that had passed and for the coming year.[19]

The advowson or patronage of the priory went with the manor of Kersey, and was granted, in 1331, by the trustees of Edmund, late earl of Kent, to Thomas de Weston to hold for life, being subsequently held, in the same reign, by Thomas de Holand and Joan his wife; in the time of Richard II by Thomas de Holand and Alice his wife; and in the time of Henry IV by Elizabeth, wife of John, late earl of Kent. The next patron was Sir Henry de Grey, Lord Powys, and in 1444 he obtained permission to grant it to the college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (afterwards King's), Cambridge.[20]

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 86.
[2] Ibid. 40.
[3] Ibid. 198.
[4] Ibid. ix, 43.
[5] Ibid. x, 23.
[6] Ibid. xi, 166.
[7] Ibid. xii, 109.
[8] Jessopp, *Visit.* 44.
[9] Norw. Epis. Reg. xiii, 33.
[10] Jessopp, *Visit.* 84.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 89.
[12] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 31.
[13] Harl. Chart. 44 E. 50 and 51.
[14] Engraved, *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* i, p. 86; B. Mus. Cast, lxxii, 3.
[15] Feet of F. Suff. 3 Hen. III, No. 29.
[16] These six charters, from King's Coll. Camb., are cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, pp. 592–3.
[17] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 16*b*, 18*b*, 24*b*, 104*b*, 107*b*, 122, 125, 128*b*, 129*b*, 132*b*, 133.
[18] Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.
[19] Ibid. pt. ii, m. 2.
[20] Copinger, *Hist. of Suff.* iii, 395–7.

PRIORS OF KERSEY

Richard Waleys, died 1331[1]
Robert de Akenham, elected 1331[2]
John Calle, resigned 1387[3]
John de Polstede, elected 1387[4]
John Buche, elected 1394[5]
John Dewche, elected 1411[6]
Nicholas Bungaye, resigned 1422[7]
Richard Fyn, elected 1422[8]
John Duch, elected 1431[9]
William Woodbridge, elected 1432[10]

The twelfth-century seal is a pointed oval, bearing a bust of the Blessed Virgin, crowned, in clouds; below is the head of St. Anthony; between them is a sun and crescent moon. Legend :—

SIGILL' SCE MARIE ET SCI ANTONII DE KERSEIA

26. THE PRIORY OF LETHERINGHAM

There is not much to be learnt about the small priory of Austin canons at Letheringham, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was a cell of the priory of St. Peter's, Ipswich, served by three or four canons, over whom was a prior who was appointed from time to time by the mother house; but the prior held the office for life, the appointment being confirmed by the bishop.

William de Bovile, apparently towards the close of the twelfth century, gave his tithes at Letheringham to the monastery of St. Peter's, Ipswich, whereupon they established here a priory. The Boviles held the manor of Letheringham with the advowson of the priory for many generations until 1348, when the lordship and advowson passed to Sir John de Ufford, in trust, for the use of Margery, daughter and heiress of Sir John Bovile. Margery married for her second husband Thomas Wingfield, and hence the Wingfields held this property until long after the dissolution.[11]

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the total income of this priory was then £12 11s. 0¼d., £8 being the value of the appropriated church of Charsfield, and the greater part of the remaining income from temporalities coming from lands at Letheringham.[12]

A two-days' fair on the vigil and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin was granted to the priory in 1297 to be held at Letheringham.[13]

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 45. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. vi, 126. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. vi, 307.
[6] Ibid. vii, 46. [7] Ibid. viii, 76. [8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. ix, 49. [10] Ibid. 60.
[11] Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xxxi; Page, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 116–17. Leland says the founder was Sir John de Bovile (*Coll.* i, 62).
[12] *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 27*b*, 117, 124, 124*b*, 125*b*, 126, 128, 128*b*.
[13] Chart. 25 Edw. I, No. 19.

John, duke of Norfolk, and Katharine his wife, gave the advowson of the church of Hoo to this priory in 1475, and in 1482 the canons obtained licence to appropriate it.[14]

The Valor of 1535 gives the total clear annual value of this priory as £26 18s. 5d.; the temporalities amounted to £7 16s. 9d., and the spiritualities (including the rectories of Letheringham, Charsfield, and Hoo) to £19 1s. 8d.[15]

The Suffolk commissioners for appraising the value of the goods and chattels of the condemned smaller monasteries visited Letheringham on 24 August, 1536. The whole was valued at £7 2s. 10d.[16]

The actual date of the suppression of the house was 7 February, 1536–7.[17]

William Basse, the prior, was assigned a pension of £5.[18]

On 20 October, 1539, a grant was made to Sir Anthony Wingfield of the site and possessions of the priory, with the rectories of Letheringham, Charsfield, and certain tithes in Asketon.[19]

PRIORS OF LETHERINGHAM

Richard de Hecham,[20] 1307
Richard de Sancto Edmundo,[21] 1316
William de Bhi Thornham (*sic*),[22] 1357
Stephen Capel,[23] resigned 1399
John Bresete,[24] 1399
Thomas de Hadley,[25] 1407
William Woodbridge,[26] 1420
William Keche,[27] resigned, 1443
William Noel,[28] 1443
Robert Kenynghall,[29] 1462
John May,[30] 1473
Henry Wortham,[31] died 1497
Robert Hadley,[32] 1497
William Basse,[33] 1506
William Clopton,[34] 1510
William Basse,[35] occurs 1535

There is a fine fragment of the oval seal of this house attached to a charter of 1495; it bears the Blessed Virgin seated in a carved niche. Legend :—

. . . LL : CŌE : PORIS : ET : CON . . . .[36]

[14] Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xxxi, citing Norw. Epis. Reg. xii.
[15] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 423–4.
[16] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 101.
[17] Gairdner, *Hist. of Church of Engl. in 16th Cent.* 421.
[18] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 58.
[19] Ibid. ccxi, fol. 5*b*.
[20] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 26. Dates of election.
[21] Ibid. i, 65. [22] Ibid. v, 19. [23] Ibid. vi, 245.
[24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. vii, 4. [26] Ibid. viii, 55.
[27] Ibid. x, 48. [28] Ibid. x, 48.
[29] Ibid. xi, 133. [30] Ibid. xii, 1 [31] Ibid. xii, 198.
[32] Ibid. [33] Ibid. xiv, 13.
[34] Tanner, Norw. MSS.
[35] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii.
[36] Add. Chart. 15755.

Herringfleet Priory

Priory of SS. Peter and Paul, Ipswich

Butley Priory

Ixworth Priory

Kersey Priory

Suffolk Monastic Seals, Plate II

27. THE PRIORY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, THETFORD

Thetford was in the hands of Stephen in 1139. Soon after this date the king gave all the lands and advowsons on the Suffolk side of the river, both within and without the borough, to William de Warenne, the third earl of Warenne and Surrey. Immediately after he had received this grant, the earl founded a monastery on that side of Thetford for canons of the order of St. Sepulchre, of the Austin rule, which order had been introduced into England about 1120. By the foundation charter the earl bestowed on the canons the church of St. Sepulchre, with a quadrigate of land in the adjoining fields, together with all the lands, churches, tithes, and manorial rights in Thetford that he had obtained from the king. He further granted them two yearly fairs, namely at the Invention (3 May) and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September). The earl was at this time about to set forth on a crusade, and the concluding sentences of the charter solemnly commend the maintenance of his new foundation to his brother palmers, to the burgesses, and to all his faithful friends. It was witnessed by his brothers Ralph and Reginald.[1]

Hamelin, Earl Warenne, who married Isabel, the founder's daughter and heir, confirmed this grant, and also gave them a third fair on the festival of the Holy Sepulchre, 20*s.* in rent, and the tithes of two mills. He died in 1202. William, Earl Warenne, Hamelin's son, gave the canons sixty acres of lands, and 10*s.* rent out of his mill at Brendmilne. Henry II also gave sixty acres of demesne lands of Thetford to the priory.

Early in the reign of Henry III Sir Geoffrey de Furneaux, lord of Middle Harling, died, and was buried in the priory church by the side of his wife Amy. He gave the canons, for this privilege of sepulture among them, the ninth sheaf of all his demesnes in Bircham (Cambridgeshire) and Middle Harling, together with a messuage and twelve acres of land. About 1250 Alice, wife of Sir Michael Furneaux, a grandson of Sir Geoffrey, was also buried in this church, as well as many subsequent members of the family.

In 1272 William Nunne of Thetford granted to Prior Ralph and the canons a messuage in the town towards procuring habits for the canons, and Thomas de Burgh in 1274 granted the ninth sheaf of his demesne lands in Somerton, Suffolk, and Burgh in Cambridgeshire, in exchange for the advowson of Somerton.

The taxation of 1291 showed that this priory was of the annual value of £20 0*s.* 1½*d.*; it then held possessions in fourteen Norfolk and five Suffolk parishes, in addition to small incomes from the dioceses of Ely and London.

The hospital of God's House, Thetford, was definitely settled on the priory in the year 1347.

In 1331 Edward III licensed the appropriation to the priory of the church of Gresham, the advowson of which had been granted by John, Earl Warenne, in 1281, but the Bishop of Norwich refused his consent. In 1339 the prior and canons appealed to Rome, and Pope Boniface granted them leave to appropriate the revenues on the next vacancy, provided they served it by one of their own canons and paid all episcopal dues. The bishop would not, however, give his consent without the formal ordination of a vicarage.

A survey of this house, taken on 20 December, 1338, shows that the priory held the Thetford churches of SS. Cuthbert, Andrew, Giles, Edmund, Lawrence, and the Holy Trinity, the last two being served by the canons. They also held 293 acres of meadow and arable land in the neighbourhood of Thetford, of the united value of £10 12*s.* 0½*d.* They had liberty of one foldcourse in the field of Westwick, wherein they might feed 500 sheep, and might remove those sheep to Brend for change of pasture when the shepherd pleased and had convenience for washing them; also another foldcourse for 320 sheep, and various other pasturage rights for cattle and swine. The total annual value of the priory at the time of this survey was £62 9*s.*

In 1394 Abbot Cratford, of Bury St. Edmunds, licensed the prior to purchase the tenement called Playforth in Barnham, with its services, rents, foldcourse for 400 sheep, and 133 acres of arable land worth ½*d.* an acre, of Master Walter of Elveden, who held it of the fee of St. Edmund. For this the prior was to pay a yearly rent to the abbey of 22*s.*, and 2*d.* on the election of a new abbot.[2] In 1442 the Earl of Suffolk obtained licence to alienate to the priory 240 acres of arable land, 600 of pasture and heath for foldcourses in Croxton, and a messuage and garden in Thetford, to found a chantry in the conventual church. The prior sued John Legat, rector of Tuddenham, in 1464, for an annual pension of £6 from that church, which he had detained for two years; the prior recovered it by proving that he was always taxed at 12*s.* tenths for the portion.

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up the clear annual income was only £39 6*s.* 8*d.* This was a great falling-off from the total of 1338; several items of revenue were much

[1] There is no known chartulary of this priory. The charter is recited in a confirmation charter of John, Earl Warenne, given in Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 574, 'Ex autogr. in bibl. Deuvesiana, a. 1620.' Martin's *Hist. of Thetford* (1779), 174–95, has a painstaking account of this house; the statements in this sketch are chiefly taken therefrom where no other reference is given.

[2] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 30.

reduced, for instance the pension of £6 a year from Tuddenham church stood only at 40*s.* in the last Valor.

The priory was visited by Archdeacon Goldwell, on behalf of the bishop, on 12 November, 1492. Prior Reginald and seven canons were present; the visitor found that no reform was needed.[1]

Bishop Nykke visited the house on 21 June, 1514. The record of this visit is incomplete. The prior, Thomas Vicar, said that Canon William Brigges, then at Snoring, was an apostate and of evil life. Richard Skete complained that no one had been appointed sacrist, that the beer was of poor quality, that the prior had returned no account since his appointment, that Stephen Horham, the prior's servant in charge of the dairy, had the spending of the profits of seven or eight cows, that Stephen was married, and he had suspicions as to his wife, and that Stephen had laid violent hands on him. Richard Downham made some like complaints, and also spoke of the bad repair of the buildings and nave of the church, and that there were not sufficient vessels in the kitchen, and that spoons and other silver plate had been pledged. William Kingsmill made like complaints, and said that the prior, whom he considered remiss but not criminal in his conduct, had presented no accounts for seven years. The depositions of Robert Barneham and Thomas Herd were to much the same effect.[2]

At Bishop Nykke's visitation of June, 1520, only the prior, John Thetford, and three canons were present. The prior stated that the priory buildings were in sad decay, and that the income was not sufficient for their support. Richard Noris said that Thomas Lowthe, the predecessor of the present prior, had taken with him a breviary belonging to the house.[3]

At the visitation of July, 1526, the prior and five canons were present. Prior Thetford complained of the unpunctuality of the canons at high mass on Sundays and the principal feasts. Nicholas Skete thought the beer was too sweet and weak.[4]

The last visitation was held in July, 1532, when the prior and three canons were severally examined, and all testified *omnia bene* so far as the condition of the house permitted. There were also three novices who were professed by the bishop. The bishop enjoined on the prior to see that the newly professed were instructed in grammar.[5]

Prior John Thetford and six canons subscribed to the royal supremacy in their chapter-house on 26 August, 1534. In that year Prior Thetford, who had been a canon of Butley, gave to the church of that monastery two chalices, one for the chapel of All Saints and the other for the chapel of St. Sigismund; also two relics, with a silver pix for relics, and a comb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He resigned the priory of Thetford about the close of 1534, and became prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich.

Legh and Ap Rice, the notorious visitors of Cromwell, visited this priory towards the end of 1535. According to their *comperta* Prior Clerk confessed incontinency to these men and his desire to marry; they also reported badly of three others.[6]

The county commissioners for suppression of this house in 1536 reported that it was of the clear annual value of £44 12*s.* 10*d.*; that the lead and bells were worth £80, and the movable goods £29 8*s.* 7*d.*; and that the debts owing amounted to £7 1*s.* 7¾*d.* The house was 'very Ruynous ande in Decaye.' They found only one religious person there, 'of slendre Reporte who requirythe to have a dispensacione to goo to the Worlde.' The persons who had their living at the house were sixteen—namely, two priests, two hinds, four children, and eight waiting servants.[7]

Prior Clerk obtained a pension of ten marks.[8]

The house, site, and possessions were granted in 1537 to Sir Richard Fulmerston.

Priors of Thetford

Richard,[9] 1202
Gislebert[10]
William,[11] 1228
Richard,[12] 1242
Roger de Kersey,[13] 1247, died 1273
William,[14] 1274
Peter de Horsage,[15] elected 1315
Richard de Wintringham,[16] elected 1329
John de Shefford,[17] elected 1338
Roger de Kerseye,[18] 1347
Robert de Thetford,[19] 1349
Robert Edwyn,[20] resigned 1351
Adam de Hokewold,[21] elected 1351
William de Haneworth,[22] elected 1358
Adam de Worsted,[23] elected 1378
Robert de Stowe,[24] died 1420
John Paltok,[25] elected 1420
John Grenegras,[26] elected 1432

[1] Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Cam. Soc.), 32.
[2] Ibid. 88–9.
[3] Ibid. 155.
[4] Ibid. 242–3.
[5] Ibid. 303.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.
[7] Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.
[8] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, 35*b*.
[9] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 189–90.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 63.
[16] Ibid. ii, 28.
[17] Ibid. iii, 19.
[18] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 189.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Norw. Epis. Reg. iv. 134.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid. v, 29.
[23] Ibid. vi, 63.
[24] Ibid. viii, 57.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid. ix, 57.

Peter Tryon,[1] elected 1454
Reginald Ilberd,[2] elected 1471
John Burnell, *alias* Burham,[3] 1496
William,[4] 1503
Thomas Vicar or Lowthe,[5] occurs 1512
John Thetford,[6] occurs 1519, 1534
John Clerk,[7] occurs 1535

The thirteenth-century seal of this priory has under a pinnacled canopy Our Lord rising from the sepulchre, at the head of which is an angel, with two sleeping soldiers in base. Legend :—

. . . . . .ECCLESIE . . . . .D' THETFORD. . . .[8]

A fine but imperfect impression of a seal 'ad causas' of this house is attached to a charter of 1457. It bears the risen Saviour standing, the right hand raised in benediction, and the left grasping a long cross. In the field, on the left, are the arms of Warenne, chequy ; and on the right a crescent and a star. Legend :—

. . . . .HEFO. . . .AD CAVS. . . . . .[9]

28. THE PRIORY OF WOODBRIDGE

The small priory of Austin canons at Woodbridge, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, was founded about the year 1193, by Ernald Rufus. It was endowed at the outset with lands at Woodbridge and in the neighbourhood, and with the advowson of Woodbridge church, and to these were soon added the advowsons of Brandeston and St. Gregory, Ipswich.[10]

There were no appropriations to this priory at the time when the taxation roll of 1291 was drawn up, but the temporalities brought in an income of £23 11s. 8½*d*. This amount was chiefly derived from lands and rents in Woodbridge parish, namely, £12 10s. 10*d*., and the next largest item was £6 13s. 4*d*. from lands at Layer de la Hay, Essex.[11]

The Valor of 1535 showed a considerable increase. The prior and canons at that time held the rectory of Woodbridge (£8), whilst a portion of Brandeston Rectory produced £2 13s. 4*d*. The temporalities came chiefly from Woodbridge, Alnesbourn, Lyndeley, and Aspall. The total clear annual value of the priory was £50 3s. 5½*d*.[12]

[1] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 76.
[2] Ibid. xi, 82.
[3] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 190.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 88.
[6] Ibid. 155.
[7] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).
[8] B.M. Cast, lxix, 48 ; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 729 ; Acknowledgement of Supremacy (P.R.O.), 109.
[9] Add. Chart. 17245 ; Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ii, 98.
[10] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 600 ; *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 338.
[11] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 27, 124*b*, 125*b*, 127*b*, 128*b*, 129*b*.
[12] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 422.

The alliance of the small priory of Alnesbourn with that of Woodbridge, in 1466, has been previously described.

Licence was granted by Edward II, in 1318, to the prior and convent of Woodbridge to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of 100*s*. a year.[13] But there was no ready response of benefactors to avail themselves of this licence. It is not until the year 1344 that we find a gift made under shelter of the licence of 1318, and then it was only land and rent, the gift of John de Brewon, clerk, to the value of two out of the hundred shillings that were sanctioned.[14]

Bishop Nykke personally visited Woodbridge priory on 2 August, 1514. The prior and one of the canons stated that all was well, but two other canons said that the prior was remiss in the collecting of rents to the detriment of the house. It was also reported that the manor house of Alnesbourn was in complete ruin, but not through the fault of the then prior. The bishop enjoined on the prior to be more particular and diligent in collecting rents due to the priory.[15]

At the visitation of the same bishop in 1532, William Lucham, sub-prior, deposed that the prior was remiss and a poor administrator ; that the priory gates were not shut at proper times ; that the house was in debt £10 ; and that they had neither corn nor barley in store for the next autumn. Canon Goodall stated that the south porch of the conventual church was in ruins on account of defects in the timber, and that the house was overburdened with the pension to ex-prior Coke. Canon Penderley, the curate of Woodbridge, said that there was not sufficient income to discharge the burdens and to do the repairs of the priory. Canon Pope considered that the prior had incurred too great expense in making a water-mill. Canon Daneby said that the priory suffered from penury and want, and that both house and mill were in bad repair, but that otherwise all was well, and in this Canon Houghton agreed. The bishop admonished the prior to use all diligence in repairing the defects and dilapidations of the priory.[16]

Henry Bassingborne, the prior, and six canons signed their acknowledgement of the royal supremacy on 21 August, 1534.[17]

The house was suppressed in February, 1536–7, and a pension was assigned to Prior Henry.[18] The rest of the canons went out unpensioned.

The site of the priory and its possessions were granted to Sir John Wingfield and Dorothy his wife.

[13] Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 4.
[14] Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2.
[15] Jessopp, *Visit.* 134–5.
[16] Ibid. 292–3.
[17] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 305.
[18] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, fol. 40*b*.

PRIORS OF WODEBRIDGE

Ambrose,[1] occurs 1267
Thomas,[2] occurs 1286
Henry de Ocklee (Eccles),[3] 1305
John de Athelyngstone,[4] 1326
John Brundish, 1342
William Bast, 1345
John de Hadeley,[5] 1349
William Halton, 1349
Henry de Brom,[6] 1371
Thomas de Croston,[7] 1372, died 1394
William de Melton,[8] 1394
Thomas Parham,[9] 1432
Nicholas Foster,[10] occurs 1447–52
Thomas Pakkard,[11] 1467
John Hough *alias* Hadley,[12] 1493
Augustus Rivers,[13] 1507
Richard Bool, 1509
Thomas Cooke,[16] 1516
Henry Bassingborne,[17] 1530

The first seal of the priory, early fourteenth century, bears the crowned Virgin seated on a throne with a footboard, the Holy Child on the left knee, and a sceptre in the right hand. Legend :—

. . OMUNE : CAPITULI : ECC'E : DE : WODEBRE. . . .[18]

The later seal, fifteenth century, represents the Annunciation under a canopied niche. The Blessed Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel have a pot of lilies between them ; a scroll from the latter bears 'Ave gracia ple.' In the base is a Latin cross on a shield. Legend :—

+ SIGILLU : COE : CAP'LI : BTE : MARIE : DE : WODEBREGGE[19]

HOUSES OF AUSTIN NUNS

29. THE PRIORY OF CAMPSEY

The priory of Campsey, or Campsey Ash, was founded about the year 1195, by Theobald de Valoines, who gave all his estate in that parish to his two sisters Joan and Agnes, to the intent they should build a monastery in honour of the Blessed Virgin, for themselves and other religious women. In accordance with his desire the sisters built and established here a house of Austin nuns, of which Joan became the first prioress, Agnes succeeding her. King John confirmed the grant of Theobald in January, 1203–4.[14]

Among the earliest subsequent benefactors were Simon de Brunna and John L'Estrange of Hunstanton, both of whom gave lands in Tottington.[15]

In 1228–9 a dispute arose as to certain tithes between the prioress and convent of Campsey and the prior and convent of Butley, which was in the first instance brought before the abbot of St. Benet of Holme and other papal commissioners. The prioress and convent of Campsey appealed again to Rome against the decision, whereupon the commissioners excommunicated them. Pope Gregory IX referred the appeal to the prior of Anglesey and others ; and the priory of Butley, because these judges refused to admit the execution of the excommunication, obtained papal letters on that point to the prior of Yarmouth and others. Before this last commission, the prioress and convent of Campsey pleaded that as the sentence was issued after the appeal, every excommunicated person being allowed to defend himself, the other judges had acted rightly in refusing to admit the execution. The prior of Yarmouth and his colleagues declined to receive such plea, and the prioress again appealed to the pope. Eventually, in June, 1230, the original papal order against the nuns of Campsey was enforced, whereby the small tithes of the church of Dilham and of the mill of the same place were to be paid to the priory of Butley.[20]

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the temporalities of this priory were by that date widely scattered over Suffolk, with certain lands and rents in Norfolk and Essex ; their total annual value was assessed at £67 3*s*. 3¾*d*. The value of the four churches then appropriated, Allesby (Lincoln), Tottington (Norfolk), and Ludham and Bruisyard, was £40, giving a total of £107 3*s*. 3¾*d*.[21]

The steady way in which the endowments of this house increased during the fourteenth century bears testimony to the good repute of the nuns. Licence was granted in 1319 to the prioress and nuns at the request of Robert de Ufford to acquire lands and tenements to the annual value of £10 ; and in the same year the convent obtained grants in Bruisyard and adjacent parishes, worth £7 17*s*. 8*d*. a year.[22]

[1] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 224.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 17.
[4] Ibid. ii, 2.
[5] Ibid. iv, 91.
[6] Ibid. vi, 9.
[7] Ibid. vi, 197.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. ix, 54.
[10] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 246, 247.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 163.
[12] Ibid. xii, 168.
[13] Ibid. xiv, 77.
[14] Chart. 5 John, m. 15, No. 124.
[15] Stevens, *Contin. of Mon.* i, 523.
[16] Tanner Norw. MSS.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Cott. Chart. xxi, 44.
[19] B.M. Cast, lxxii, 16. Engraved in *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* iv, 224.
[20] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 121–4.
[21] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 27, 29, 58, 67*b*, 83, 95, 97*b*, 102, 103, 112*b*, 116*b*, 119*b*, 124*b*, 131*b*.
[22] Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 15, 30.

John de Framlingham, clerk, obtained licence in 1332, at the request of Queen Philippa, for the alienation to the prioress and nuns of Campsey, of the manor of Carlton-by-Kelsall and the advowson of the church of that town. It was provided that the priory was to grant the manor for life to a chaplain, on condition that he, with two other chaplains, to be found by him, celebrated daily in the church of Carlton for the soul of Alice de Henaud, the Queen's aunt, and for the soul of the grantor after his death. On the death of the chaplain the priory was to resume possession of the manor and regrant it to another chaplain on like conditions.[1] Licence was also granted in 1342, to Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, to alienate to the prioress and convent of Campsey an acre of land in Wickham and the advowson of the church of that town with leave to appropriate it.[2]

The prioress and convent had licence in 1343 to alienate to the dean and chapter of Lincoln a pension of £10 that they had received yearly out of the church of Allsby, to find two chaplains to celebrate daily in the cathedral church of Lincoln, for the soul of Robert de Alford, rector of Anderby.[3]

In 1346 Thomas de Hereford had licence to alienate to this priory the advowson and appropriation of the church of Hargham, to find chaplains to celebrate daily in the priory church for the soul of Ralph Ufford.[4] Later in the same year the church of Burgh, Suffolk, was appropriated to the priory under like conditions.[5] Both these appropriations were made at the request of Maud countess of Ulster. This lady, in 1347, entered the religious life among the nuns of Campsey, taking the habit of a regular, and taking with her as dower the issues of all her lands and rents in England, by crown licence, for a year after her admission. It was also granted that when, at the end of the year, the king or the heir entitled to them, took this property, Henry earl of Lancaster, her brother, and five others, whom she had appointed her attorneys, were to pay for her sustenance and for the relief of the priory, which was very lean, 200 marks yearly for her life.[6] In October of the same year, licence was obtained for Countess Maud to ordain a perpetual chantry of five chaplains (one being the warden) to celebrate daily in the chapel of the Annunciation of our Lady, in the priory church, for the honour of God and His Virgin Mother, and for the saving of the souls of William de Burges, earl of Ulster, her first husband, and of Ralph de Ufford, her second husband (whose body was buried in that chapel), also of Elizabeth de Burges and Maud de Ufford, her daughters by the said husbands, and for the good estate of the countess and of John de Ufford and Thomas de Hereford, knights, and for their souls after death. A messuage in Asshe, and the churches of Burgh and Hargham, lately given to the priory, were to be assigned to the warden of this chantry.[7]

Roger de Boys, knight, and others obtained licence in 1383 to alienate to this priory the manor of Wickham Market and 5 acres of meadow and 5 of pasture in Mellis, of the yearly value of £18 18s. to support an increased number of nuns and chaplains, and to find a wax candle to burn in the quire of their church on the principal festivals,[8] and in 1390 Sir Roger de Boys and others, on payment of £50 to the king, were allowed to alienate to the priory the manor of Horpol, a fourth part of the manor of Dallinghoo, and the manor of Hillington, in aid of the maintenance of five chaplains to celebrate daily in the priory, and of two nuns there serving God.[9] This remarkable foundation is fully described in a small chartulary at the Public Record Office.[10] It is the only instance of which we are aware where a small college of secular priests was actually established within the precincts of a nunnery.

The various particulars set forth in the ordination of this chantry by the Bishop of Norwich, under date 3 October, 1390, provide that the gifts of lands in Bruisyard, Swefling, Peasenhall, Badingham, Cranford, and Parham, by Sir Roger Boys and others were to be used towards the adding of three chaplains to the two chantry chaplains already provided by the foundation of 1383; that they were especially to pray for the souls of William de Ufford and Robert de Ufford and their wives, and for all the faithful, in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, within the convent precincts; that the convent was to build for them a suitable manse with chambers and common rooms within the close near to the chapel; that one of the five secular priests was to be warden or master; that they were to have a common dormitory and refectory; that the priory was to pay the master 13 marks a year and the other four chaplains 10 marks each; that the priory was to provide lights, wax, wine, and vestments for the chapel of St. Thomas, and also to keep the buildings in proper repair; that the chaplains were to be allowed free ingress and egress through the convent at all suitable hours; that the master and chaplains were strictly to abstain from entering the cloister or other buildings of the nuns; and that the master was to celebrate high mass in the conventual church on

[1] Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.
[2] Ibid. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18, 13.
[3] Ibid. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35.
[4] Ibid. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26; pt. iii, m. 25.
[5] Ibid. pt. iii, m. 24.
[6] Ibid. 21 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 37.
[7] Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 5.
[8] Ibid. 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 39.
[9] Ibid. 13 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 27.
[10] Exch. L. T. R. Misc. Bks. No. 112.

the great feasts and on principal doubles. The chartulary also contains a copy of the assent of Mary the prioress and the nuns to this ordinance, sealed in their chapter-house on 5 October; and of that of the dean and chapter of Norwich, sealed on 7 October. The surplus of this endowment, after paying the stipend of the master and chaplains, was to go to the common fund of the priory, and to be used towards the sustenance of two additional nuns.

Licence was obtained by the priory for 50 marks in 1392 for the alienation by Robert Ashfield and others of 12*s.* 4*d.* rent in Tottington, Norfolk, and of the reversion of that manor after the deaths of John de Bokenham senior and John de Bokenham junior, to find three tapers to burn daily before the high altar at high mass in the conventual church.[1]

Licence for £40 was granted in 1400 to the prioress and nuns of Campsey for Robert Ashfield and others to assign to them the manor called Blomvyle by Perham, together with considerable lands in Wickham Market and adjacent places, and the advowson of Pettistree, with leave to appropriate.[2]

In 1416 an important return was made of the appropriated churches of the diocese of Norwich, with the dates of the appropriation. The following are those entered as pertaining to the priory of Campsey:—

Ludham, 1259; Bredfield, 1259; Tottington, 1302; Wickham Market, 1343; Tunstead, 1350; and Pettistree, 1413.[3]

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of this priory as £182 9*s.* 5*d.* The temporalities consisted of the manors, with members, of Campsey, Wickham Market, Overhall and Netherhall Denham, Tottington-cum-Stanford, and Swefling, of the clear value of £158 19*s.* 5½*d.* The spiritualities, then consisting of the rectories of Wickham and Pettistree (Suffolk) and Tunstead and Tottington (Norfolk) were valued at £23 9*s.* 11½*d.*[4] The wealthy chantry of Ufford foundation, within the conventual church, was worth £35 6*s.* 8*d.*, and was most certainly part of the priory's property, as the surplus, after paying the chantry priests' stipends, went to the common fund of the nunnery. To exclude this from the sum total of the priory's income was a mere piece of trickery to bring this house within those that were to be suppressed in 1536, and which were bound to have a less income than £200.

Archdeacon Goldwell visited Campsey on 24 January, 1492, as commissary of his brother the bishop. The visitation was attended by Katharine the prioress, Katharine Babington, the sub-prioress, and eighteen other nuns. Each was examined severally and separately, but nothing was found that demanded reformation.[5]

Bishop Nykke personally visited Campsey in 1514. The prioress, Elizabeth Everard, gave a good account of everything pertaining to the house, and in this she was supported by Petronilla Fulmerston, the sub-prioress, and eighteen other nuns, none of whom had any complaint to make.[6]

A prioress and the full number of twenty nuns were found here at the visitation of 1520, when everything was again found to be satisfactory.[7] The like number attended the visitation of 1526, when Elizabeth Buttry was prioress. Each of these ladies bore testimony to the good estate of the house in slightly varied phraseology. The only shadow of a complaint was from Margaret Harman, the precentrix, who, after stating that for the past thirty-five years she had never known anything worthy of correction or reformation, added that the office books in choir needed some repair.[8]

The prioress Elizabeth Buttry had only just been appointed when the last-named highly favourable visitation was held. Judging from the last visitation of 25 June, 1532, her rule over this happy, peaceful nunnery was unsatisfactory. Only six out of the eighteen nuns examined made an *omnia bene* report. The remainder all complained of the too great strictness and austerity, and more particularly of the parsimonious and stingy character of the prioress. Even Margaret Harman, who was then sacrist, and who had been a nun of this house for forty-one years, said that the food was sometimes not wholesome. Others complained much more bitterly of the food and of the unhealthy character of the meat. Katharine Grome, the precentrix, said that within the last month they had had to eat a bullock that would have died of disease if it had not been killed. Another sister complained of the unpunctuality of the cook; their dinner hour was supposed to be six, but sometimes it was eight o'clock before they had finished the meal. There was, however, no kind of moral delinquency alleged of anyone; and the bishop, after enjoining the prioress to provide a more liberal and wholesome diet, and the cook to be more punctual, gave his blessing, and dissolved the visitation.[9]

The exact date of the suppression of this house is not known, but it was some time in the year 1536.

An inventory of the goods and chattels was drawn up on 28 August of that year by the Suffolk commissioners. The high altar of the conventual church was well furnished with a white silk frontal, a carved wooden reredos, four great candlesticks of latten, a lamp of latten, and

[1] Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 34.
[2] Ibid. 1 Hen. IV, pt. v, m. 4.
[3] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 128.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 415–17.
[5] Jessopp, *Visit.* 35–6.
[6] Ibid. 133–4.
[7] Ibid. 179–80.
[8] Ibid. 219.
[9] Ibid. 290–2.

a pix of silver gilt weighing 9 oz., &c. The chapel of our Lady had an alabaster reredos. In the vestry was a good supply of vestments, altar cloths, frontals, and silk curtains, as well as a silver cross worth £5, a silver censer £4 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a silver-gilt chalice £2 7*s.* 8*d.* The household furniture was simple. The cattle and stores brought up the inventory to the good sum of £56 13*s.*[1]

PRIORESSES OF CAMPSEY

Joan de Valoines,[2] occurs 1195 and 1228–9
Agnes de Valoines,[3] occurs 1234
Basilia,[4] occurs 1258
Margery,[5] occurs 1318
Maria de Wingfield,[6] 1334
Maria de Felton,[7] died 1394
Margaret de Bruisyard,[8] 1394
Alice Corbet,[9] 1411
Katharine Ancel,[10] 1416
Margery Rendlesham,[11] 1446
Margaret Hengham,[12] 1477
Katharine,[13] 1492
Anna,[14] 1502
Elizabeth Everard,[15] 1513
Elizabeth Blennerhasset,[16] 1518
Elizabeth (or Ellen) Buttry,[17] 1526

The fourteenth-century pointed oval seal of this priory bears the Blessed Virgin, crowned and seated on a throne, the Holy Child standing on the right knee, within a triple arched canopied niche. In base between two flowering branches, a shield bearing per pale a cross lozengy, diapered, a chief dancetty. Legend :—

S.' : PRIOUSSE : ET : CONVENTUS : . . .
MARIE : DE CAMPISSEY [18]

30. THE PRIORY OF FLIXTON [19]

An Austin nunnery was founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Katharine at Flixton, in the year 1258, by Margery, daughter of Geoffrey de Hanes and relict of Bartholomew de Crek, to whom Robert de Tatesale, son of Robert de Tatesale, knt., in 1256, granted licence to found a home of religion upon the fee which she held of him in Flixton, wheresoever she would in that town. He also granted her the fee, which she held of him there on nominal service, to appropriate to the said house. She endowed it with the manor of Flixton, and subsequently with her moiety of the advowson of Flixton, the advowson and appropriation of Dunston and Fundenhall, Norfolk.[20]

The same Robert de Tatesale subsequently granted to Beatrice, the first prioress, and the convent, the tenement that Margery de Crek held of him at Flixton, in pure alms, and Robert son of Bartholomew and Margery de Crek released to the prioress and the nuns all his right in the manor of Flixton (formerly his mother's) with the advowson of the moiety of the church.

Particulars as to this nunnery do not appear in the taxation roll of Pope Nicholas, 1291, but a survey of the priory lands and possessions in the following year supplies many interesting particulars. We there learn that the number of the nuns was limited by the founders to eighteen, in addition to a prioress, and that everyone received yearly 5*s.* for garments. The manor and part of the church at Flixton was worth 40*s.* a year, and the moiety of Flixton church, £4 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the church of Dunston, £5; various lands, rents, and services brought the annual value up to £43 18*s.* 2¼*d.*[21]

A general return of the appropriated churches of the diocese, with the date of vicarage ordinations made in the year 1416, names only two under Flixton priory: Fundenhall 1347, and Flixton 1349. The advowson of Dunston is named as given to the priory in 1274, but not appropriated.[22]

At the instance of Master Robert de Cisterna, the king's leech, licence was granted in 1311 to the prioress and nuns of Flixton, on account of their income being insufficient for their sustenance, to acquire lands and tenements to the value of £10 a year.[23]

In 1321 the Bishop of Norwich effected an exchange with this priory of a moiety of the advowson (with permission to appropriate) of the church of Flixton for the advowson of the church

[1] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 113–16.
[2] Add. MS. 1909*b*, fol. 66*b*.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Tanner MSS. Norw.
[5] Add. MS. 1909*b*, fol. 66*b*.
[6] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 65.
[7] Ibid. vi, 195.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. vii, 43.
[10] Tanner MSS. Norw.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 1.
[12] Ibid. xii, 59.
[13] Ibid. xii, 112.
[14] Ibid. xiii, 21, 36.
[15] Tanner MSS. Norw.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Jessopp, *Visit.* 219. She died in 1543, and was buried in St. Stephen's Church, Norwich.
[18] B.M. Cast, lxxi, 101.
[19] Stowe MS. (B.M.), 1083, is a miscellaneous volume of extracts and abstracts, with a few original documents. Nos. 56 to 84 are abstracts of a number of Flixton priory evidences. Those bearing the names of successive prioresses seem to have been selected for citation. The writing of these abstracts is in a hand of about the middle of the sixteenth century. Nos. 79, 80, and 81 are undated abstracts of charters *temp.* Edw. I, all giving the name of Prioress Beatrice. The originals of these charters are in the hands of the Earl of Ashburnham. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, pt. ii, 27.
[20] Lansd. MS. 477, &c., cited in Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 190.
[21] Jermyn MSS. cited in Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 191.
[22] Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, fol. 125.
[23] Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 24.

of Helmingham, held by the nuns of the gift of Cicely, widow of Robert de Ufford.[1]

At the time of the Black Death (1349) the value of this house greatly deteriorated, and it dwindled to half its former income, a position from which it never recovered. The Valor of 1535 gave the total clear annual value, including the appropriations of the churches of Flixton, Fundenhall, and Dunston, as £23 4s. 0½d. Among the considerable outgoings the largest item was £8 3s. 4d., distributed to the poor on the anniversary of Margery the foundress.[2]

Among the rolls at the Bodleian is one of 1370, of articles, and depositions relative to a dispute pending in the Roman court between the parishioners of Fundenhall, Norfolk, and the prioress and convent of Flixton, concerning the repairs of Fundenhall church.[3]

Katharine Pilly, the prioress, who had laudably ruled this house for eighteen years, resigned in 1432, on account of old age and blindness. In the following year the bishop as visitor made careful provision for her sustenance. The ex-prioress was to have suitable rooms for herself and maid; each week she and her maid were to be provided with two white loaves, eight loaves of 'hool' bread (whole bread), and eight gallons of convent beer; with a dish for both, daily from the kitchen, the same as for two nuns in the refectory; and with 200 faggots and 100 logs, and eight pounds of candles a year. Another kindly provision was that Cecilia Creyke, one of the nuns, was to read divine service to her daily, and to sit with her at meals, having her portion from the refectory.[4]

Towards the close of the life of this house, the average number of the nuns was about eight, instead of the eighteen named by the founders. No evil was brought to light at the visitations of Bishops Goldwell and Nykke.

Bishop Goldwell personally visited this priory on 20 June, 1493. Elizabeth Vyrly, the prioress, Margaret Causten, the sub-prioress, and four other nuns were severally examined, and nothing was found worthy of reformation. The nuns were attending mass at the parish church because their chaplain had broken his arm and was unable to celebrate.[5]

Bishop Nykke made his first visitation to this priory on 11 August, 1514. Various complaints were made as to the caprice and severity of the prioress, the laxity of discipline and administration, and of the frequent access of John Wells, a relative, to the prioress. The bishop ordered that John Wells (who seems to have been the chaplain) should leave the house and town, before All Saints' day, and adjourned the visitation to the following Easter.[6]

The visitation of 14 August, 1520, was held by the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and other commissaries. Alice (Elizabeth) Wright, prioress, complained of the disobedience of Margaret Punder, her predecessor, but gave a good report of everything in the house. The late prioress complained of non-receipt of her proper pension, board, and winter fuel. The sub-prioress stated that no annual account was presented. Isabel Asshe said that when she and her sisters were unwell, the prioress compelled them to rise for mattins, in which complaint three other nuns agreed. The visitation was adjourned, and the prioress was ordered to present the accounts and inventory before Christmas.[7]

The visitation was resumed on 20 August by Nicholas Carr, the chancellor of the diocese, and another commissary, when each inmate was again severally examined. The prioress pleaded that no accounts had been presented, as she was not accustomed to figures and had not written down what she had expended. Margaret Punder, the ex-prioress, repeated her complaint of niggardly treatment, adding that she was unwilling to yield obedience to the prioress as contrary to the rules of religion. Five other sisters testified *omnia bene*, save the non-presentment of accounts. The chancellor enjoined on the prioress that all dogs were to be removed from the priory within a month, save one; that the prioress was to have a sister with her if she slept outside the dormitory; that she was to render a yearly account before the senior sisters of the state of the houses and of all receipts and expenses, under pain of deprivation; and that she was to discharge Richard Carr from the priory's service.[8]

At the visitation of August, 1526, the prioress, ex-prioress, and four other sisters all testified *omnia bene*, save that the sub-prioress complained of the defective roofs of the cloister and refectory which the prioress was ordered to repair as quickly as possible.[9] The visitation was equally satisfactory in every respect in 1532, when the same prioress and ex-prioress and six other sisters were all examined.[10]

Flixton Priory was among those numerous small houses of East Anglia, &c., that were authorized to be suppressed in 1527–8 by bulls of Pope Clement VII, to enable Cardinal Wolsey to found great colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. Wolsey's fall, however, prevented the accomplishment of this plan, so that Flixton was included in the general suppression of the smaller houses by the legislation of 1536. The Suffolk commissioners visited this nunnery on 21 August, 1536, when they drew up an elaborate inventory of the goods and chattels of the house. 'In the Chiste wt. in the quire' were a great array of vestments, but many of them very old;

[1] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.
[2] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 446.
[3] Bodl. Rolls, Suff. 13.
[4] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 87.
[5] Jessopp, *Visit.* 47–8.
[6] Ibid. 144.
[7] Ibid. 185–6.
[8] Ibid. 190–1.
[9] Ibid. 261.
[10] Ibid. 318–19.

'Seynt Kateryn's cote of clothe of gold lyttle worth att iiiii*d*.' The chambers were well supplied with bedding. The pewter in the buttery, the table linen in the refectory, and the utensils in the kitchen were much battered and worn, and of small value. The church plate was valued at £5 15*s*. 4*d*., the most valuable item being 'a crosse cette with Glasse of Sylvar and parcell gilt with Mary and John, pond, xx oz. att iiis. iiii*d*. the oz. lxvis. viii*d*.' The conventual or table plate was valued at £8 7*s*.; it included a maser with a silver foot, and two other masers with silver bands. The cattle, hay, and corn were worth upwards of £10, and the whole inventory amounted to £20 9*s*. 5*d*.[1]

Elizabeth Wright, the prioress, surrendered the house on 4 February, 1536–7.[2]

The priory and its possessions were granted by the crown on 10 July, 1537, to Richard Warton.[3]

Prioresses of Flixton

Eleanor,[4] occurs 1258
Beatrice de Ratlesden,[5] occurs 1263, &c.
Emma de Welholm,[6] 1301–28
Margery de Stonham,[7] died 1345
Isabel Weltham,[10] elected 1345
Joan de Hemynhall,[11] occurs 1357
Joan Marshall,[12] occurs 1371
Margery Howel,[13] elected 1375
Katharine Hereward,[14] elected 1392
Elizabeth Moor,[15] died 1414
Katharine Pilly,[16] elected 1414
Maud Rycher,[17] elected 1432
Mary Dalangehoo (Delanio),[18] died 1446
Cecilia Creyk,[19] elected 1446
Helen,[20] resigned 1466
Margery Arteys,[21] elected 1466
Isabel,[22] occurs 1483
Elizabeth Vyrly,[23] occurs 1493
Margaret Punder,[24] occurs 1510–16
Elizabeth Wright,[25] occurs 1520, surrendered 1537[26]

Impressions of the seal, lozenge-shaped, with a semicircular lobe on each of the four sides, are affixed to several Flixton charters of the Stowe collection of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[27]

It bears our Lord on the Cross between St. Mary and St. John, with sun and moon; in the base, under an arch, the Agnus Dei; in each of the lobes one of the symbols of the evangelists.

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

31. THE ABBEY OF LEISTON

The abbey of Leiston was founded for the white canons of the Premonstratensian Order, in the year 1182, by Ranulph de Glanville, who was also the founder of Butley priory. By the foundation charter, this abbey, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, was endowed with the manor of Leiston, and with the advowsons of the churches of St. Margaret, Leiston, and St. Andrew, Aldringham. These churches, as stated in the charter, Glanville had first granted to the Austin canons of Butley, but they had been by them resigned. The founder stated that he made these gifts for the good estate of King Henry, and for his own soul's sake, and for that of his wife Bertha, and their ancestors and successors.[8]

The next benefactions were the church of St. Mary, Middleton,[9] by Roger de Glanville, confirmed by Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, and the church of St. Botolph, Culpho,[28] by William de Valoines, confirmed by William de Verdun. Pope Honorius III, in 1224, confirmed to the abbey the four churches of Leiston, Aldringham, Middleton, and Culpho,[29] and on 26 February, 1280, John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, who was staying at the abbey, confirmed to the canons the appropriation of the same four[30] churches.

The taxation roll of 1291 gave the annual value of the priory as £130 15*s*. 7¾*d*. Of this sum £56 13*s*. 4*d*. came from the appropriated rectories, by far the largest amount (£34 13*s*. 4*d*.) coming from the wide-spread parish of Leiston.[31]

[1] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 89–90.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 510.
[3] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccix, fol. 114.
[4] Tanner MSS.
[5] Stowe MS. 1083.
[6] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 7.
[7] Ibid. iv, 52.
[8] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xiv, fol. 34*b*. This MS. is a small quarto chartulary of the abbey, covering 83 fols.; it begins with papal and archiepiscopal confirmations of privileges, and includes confirmation charters of Henry II, Richard I, and John.
[9] Ibid. fol. 4*a*.
[10] Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 52.
[11] Stowe MS. 1082, No. 62.
[12] Ibid. No. 83.
[13] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 43.
[14] Ibid. vi, 170.
[15] Ibid. vii, 84.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid. ix, 58.
[18] Ibid. xi, 3.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid. 155.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Stowe MS. No. 74.
[23] Jessopp, *Visit.* 48.
[24] Ibid. 105.
[25] Ibid. 190.
[26] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 510.
[27] Nos. 44, 47, 50, 64, 70, and 72.
[28] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xiv, fol. 45, 69*b*.
[29] Add. MS. 8171, fol. 62–3.
[30] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 226.
[31] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 116, 117*b*, 118, 118*b*, 124, 124*b*, 125*b*, 126, 126*b*, 127, 127*b*, 128, 128*b*, 129, 129*b*.

John Underwood of Theberton and Matthew Broun of Knoddishall obtained licence in 1342 to alienate to the abbey of Leiston a messuage towards the sustenance of a canon to celebrate once a week in the abbey church for their souls, and for the souls of the faithful departed.[1]

The abbey obtained licence in 1344 to acquire lands or rents to the value of £20 yearly, in consequence of their impoverished state through the frequent inundations of the sea over their lands.[2] Lands and rents in Leiston and neighbouring parishes to the value of 55*s.* yearly were granted under this licence to the abbey in the following year.[3]

In 1347 the royal sanction was obtained for the appropriation to the abbey of the church of St. Peter, Kirkley.[4] On 1 May, 1380, Henry, bishop of Norwich, and Nicholas, prior of Norwich, gave their assent to the appropriation of the church of Theberton to the abbey and convent of Leiston,[5] and in the following year an agreement was sealed securing to Norwich priory a pension of 4*s.* from Theberton church,[6] but in 1382 Margaret countess of Norfolk effected an exchange with the abbey, giving the canons the advowson of Kirkley, and taking Theberton.[7]

John the abbot and the convent of Leiston indemnified the Bishop of Norwich and the cathedral priory in 1367, by reason of the appropriation of the parochial church of Corton, of their patronage, for first fruits, &c.[8] A notarial instrument at the Bodleian concerning the appropriation of this church is dated 27 November, 11 Pope Urban VI (1389).[9]

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the abbey as £181 17*s.* 1¾*d.* The temporalities of the manor of Leiston and its members produced £124 11*s.*, and lands and rents at Culpho, Laxfield, Clavering, and Pettaugh added about £24. The spiritualities from the four churches of Leiston, Middleton, Aldringham, and Corton, realized a clear income of £37 0*s.* 5*d.*

In 1350 the advowson or patronage of this abbey, which had escheated to the crown by the death of Guy de Ferre without issue, was granted to Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk. A few years later the new patron became the munificent refounder of the abbey; for the first abbey church and the buildings, which were placed inconveniently near the sea, becoming too small, Robert earl of Suffolk, in 1363, erected new and larger buildings about a mile eastward, in a better and somewhat higher situation. This new abbey was unhappily, ere long, almost destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt on the same site on a finer scale in 1308-9.[10]

The old abbey near the sea was never quite abandoned, but treated as a small cell. Legacies were left to our Lady of the old abbey in 1511 and 1516,[11] and John Green, the penultimate abbot, relinquishing his office by choice, was consecrated anchorite at the chapel of St. Mary in the old monastery near the sea.[12]

Richard II, in 1388, granted to the abbey an ample charter of confirmation, adding the privilege of electing their superior on a vacancy, without seeking licence of the crown or any other patron, and that during such vacancy no one should seize their temporalities or in any way whatsoever meddle with them. It was further provided that no abbot of the house should ever henceforth be compelled to grant any corrody or pension.[13] At this time the Uffords had become extinct, and Michael de la Pole, the new earl of Suffolk, is named in the patent as the patron of the abbey, which was, however, at that time a purely nominal and honorary office.

During the reigns of Edwards II and III the insisting on the support of royal pensioners by the abbey had been a severe tax. In 1309, Simon de St. Giles, a servant of the late king, was sent to Leiston Abbey to be provided for life with food and clothing and a suitable chamber. In 1314 the great burden was laid on this convent of supporting for life Thomas de Varlay in food, clothing, shoe-leather, and all necessaries, together with suitable maintenance for two horses and two grooms.[14] In 1334 William de Banbury was sent by the crown to receive maintenance;[15] and in 1343 John de Lech, one of the king's mariners, was sent on a like errand.[16]

The houses of the white canons were all exempt from diocesan visitation, but they were always rigidly and regularly visited by commissaries from the parent house of Prémontré. When Bishop Redman held the office of visitor he proved himself to be a singularly painstaking and somewhat stern official. His visits to Leiston, according to his register at the Bodleian, were almost entirely satisfactory.

The abbey was visited by Bishop Redman in 1478, when Richard Dunmow was abbot and Robert Colvyll prior and cellarer. Fourteen other canons were present. It was stated that the five churches appropriated to the abbey were served by the canons, and that their appointments were not perpetual.[17]

[1] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 4.
[2] Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 21.
[3] Ibid. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24.
[4] Ibid. 21 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22.
[5] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 227.
[6] Ibid. 221, 224.
[7] Ashm. MS. 804.
[8] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 222.
[9] Ibid. 196; see also 223
[10] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 433–4.
[11] Ibid. 444.
[12] Add. MS. 19081, fol. 162.
[13] Pat. 12 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 19.
[14] Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 7 *d.*
[15] Ibid, 7 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12 *d.*
[16] Close, 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23 *d.*
[17] Ashmole MS. 1519 (Bodl. Lib.).

The next visit of the bishop was on 22 August, 1482, when high praise was given to the abbot for his administration. The debt on the house, which was £140 in 1478, was reduced to £80, and there was abundance of grain and other necessaries.[1]

At the visitation of 1488 sixteen canons were present, exclusive of Abbot Thomas Doget (Doket). The visitor enjoined a day's punishment on Robert Colvyll and three others for breaking silence, and complained about the tonsures; otherwise he gave the house the highest praise.[2]

The visit paid to the abbey on 30 September, 1491, found everything satisfactory; there was a superabundance of all necessaries.[3] The next visitation was in 1494; there were twelve priests besides the abbot and six novices, and the report was entirely favourable.[4]

The return for this abbey in 1497, when the abbot, fifteen priests, a deacon, and sub-deacon were present at the visitation, pronounced everything to be excellent.[5]

The visitation report on 13 October, 1500, was somewhat longer; Abbot Thomas Doket and fourteen other canons were present. The bishop enjoined that there was to be a little window to each cell or chamber of the dormitory. No canon, either within or without the house, was to use hoods with either white or black tails,[6] but simple cowls. Thomas March, an apostate, was condemned to twenty days of penance, but sentence was remitted at the prayer of the convent. Everything else was excellent.[7]

This abbey came within the number of the smaller houses suppressed by the Act of 1536. The Suffolk commissioners came here on 21 August, 1536, and drew up a full inventory. The conventual church was fairly well supplied with ornaments and vestments. Details are given of the high altar, and those in the Lady chapel, St. Margaret's chapel, and the chapel of the Crucifix. The last three altars were supplied with alabaster tables, and there was another small alabaster sculpture on the south side of the quire door. The censers and candlesticks were of latten, but there were three pairs of chalices (that is chalices and pattens) of silver gilt. The vestments in the vestry were fairly numerous, but chiefly old and of small value. 'A lyttell pair of old organs' in the quire was valued at 10*s*. The furniture and utensils of the chambers, cloister, buttery, kitchen, were of an ordinary character, and of very little value. The only large items of the inventory were the cattle of the home-farm £22 3*s*. 4*d*., and the corn £10 8*s*. 8*d*. The total of the whole inventory only reached £42 16*s*. 3*d*.[8]

[1] Ashmole MS. 1519 (Bodl. Lib.), 35.
[2] Ibid. 74. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.
[6] 'Liripiis nigris aut albis.' [7] Ibid.
[8] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 102–4.

George Carleton, the last abbot, received a pension of £20,[9] but his fellow canons were turned out penniless, the Act only providing pensions for the superiors of the suppressed houses.

The abbey and its possessions formed a part of the vast monastic grants made by the crown to Charles, duke of Suffolk; they were granted to him on 7 April, 1537.[10]

Abbots of Leiston

Robert,[11] occurs 1182, 1190
Philip,[12] occurs 1190, 1235
Gilbert,[13] *c.* 1240
Matthew,[14] occurs 1250
Robert,[15] occurs 1253
William,[16] *c.* 1280
Gregory,[17] occurs 1285
Nicholas,[18] occurs 1293
John de Glenham,[19] occurs 1308
Alan,[20] occurs 1310
Robert,[21] occurs 1312
Simon,[22] occurs 1316
Robert,[23] occurs 1326
John,[24] occurs 1344
John,[25] occurs 1390, 1399
Thomas de Huntingfield,[26] occurs 1403, 1412
Clement Bliburgh,[27] occurs 1437, 1445
John of Sprotling,[28] occurs 1456, 1459
Richard Dunmow,[29] occurs 1475, 1482
Thomas Doget,[30] occurs 1488, 1500
Thomas Waite,[31] occurs 1504
John Green,[32] occurs 1527
George Carleton,[33] last abbot, 1531

The seal of Abbot Philip, *c.* 1200, shows the abbot standing on a corbel, with crozier in right hand, and book in the left. Legend:

. . .HILIPPI : ABBATIS : DE : LEESTONA [34]

The conventual seal, attached to a charter [35] of 1383, also shows an abbot on a corbel, with a crozier and book. Legend:

+ SIG' : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENT : DE : LEESTONA

[9] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxxxii, 31.
[10] Pat. 28 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, No. 8.
[11] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xiv, 10, 39.
[12] Harl. MS. 441, 24; Vesp. E. xiv, 10*b*, 38, &c.
[13] Addy, *Beauchief*, 25.
[14] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 431.
[15] *Cal. Chart. R.* I. 426.
[16] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 226. [17] Add. Chart. 10274.
[18] Add. MS. 8171, fol. 82*b*.
[19] Pat. 1 Edw. II. [20] Pre. Reg. No. 3.
[21] Addy, *Beauchief*, 47. [22] Close, 10 Edw. I.
[23] Pat. 19 Edw. II. [24] Close, 18 Edw. III.
[25] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*
[26] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v, 620; Add. Chart. 12651.
[27] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*
[28] Pre. Reg. No. 80. [29] Ibid. Nos. 496, 500.
[30] Ibid. Nos. 501, 507.
[31] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 402. [32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid. [34] B.M. Cast, lxxii, 6.
[35] Harl. Chart. 54 I, 4.

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

32. THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS OF DUNWICH

There was a house or preceptory of the Knights Templars at Dunwich at an early date, for King John, in the first year of his reign, confirmed to them their lands and other liberties at Richdon in this town.[1] This confirmation was strengthened by Henry III in 1227.[2]

In 1252 the *bona Templiariorum de Donewico* were valued at 11*s.* a year. In early wills their house was styled *Templum beate Marie et Johannis*, and it once occurs as *Hospitale beate Marie et S. Johannis vocat Le Tempil*.[3]

On the suppression of the order of the Templars in 1312, their Dunwich property was transferred to the Knights Hospitallers. In 1313 John de Eggemere, who had been appointed *ad interim* keeper of the Templars' manor of Dunwich, was ordered by the crown to pay to the Bishop of Norwich the arrears of the wages assigned to Robert de Spaunton and John Coffyn, Templars assigned to him to put in certain monasteries to do penance, to wit 4*d.* a day for each, and to continue to pay the same.[8] There can be no doubt from this entry on the close rolls that Spaunton and Coffyn were two of the Templars who had been attached to the Dunwich preceptory.

Weever, writing in 1631, describes the church of this establishment as having been a fine building, with a vaulted nave and lead-covered aisles. The church held various indulgences and was a place of much resort. It stood in Middlegate Street, and about 55 rods from All Saints'. The establishment possessed various houses, tenements, and lands in the town and neighbourhood, and their manor extended into Middleton and Westledon. The court of the lordship, called Dunwich Temple Court, was held on All Saints' Day. The church, styled in wills 'the Temple of Our Lady in Dunwich,' remained in use until the dissolution of the order of the Hospitallers in 1540, when the revenues of the Temple manor fell to the crown, and were granted to Thomas Andrews in 1562, as parcel of the possessions of the Preceptory of Battisford.[9]

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

33. THE PRECEPTORY OF BATTISFORD

There was a preceptory or hospital of the Knights of St. John at Battisford at least as early as the reign of Henry II, for that king gave lands at Bergholt to the Hospitallers of Battisford.[4] Henry III, in 1271, granted these knights a market, a fair, and free warren on their lands at Battisford.[5] William de Batesford gave them, in 1275, 40 acres of land and 6 of wood; at the same time they had a grant from Henry Kede of Battisford of a certain messuage with the customary service pertaining thereto.[6]

Brother John de Accoumbe, preceptor of the house of the hospital of Battisford, together with two other brothers who were being sent by the grand prior to Scotland on business of the order, in April, 1321, obtained a safe-conduct for two years.[7]

That remarkable source of information as to the knights hospitallers in England in the reign of Edward II, namely the report of Prior Philip de Thame, in 1338, to the Grand Master of the whole order, is very explicit with regard to the Suffolk preceptory.[10]

The bailiwick or preceptory of Battisford had two members or 'camerae' attached to it, namely those of Coddenham and Mellis. The total receipts for the year 1338 amounted to £93 10*s.* 7*d.* Half the church of Battisford was appropriated to the hospitallers, and was worth 10 marks a year, whilst the rectory of Badley produced £10 a year.

By far the largest source of income was '*de Fraria*[11] *ad voluntatem contribuentium*,' which produced that year the large round sum of £50.

There were messuages (houses) with gardens at both Coddenham and Mellis, in each case valued at 3*s.*, with arable and other lands and rents, and in the case of Coddenham a windmill; the total receipts of the former were £10 5*s.* 8*d.* and of the latter £4 3*s.* 1*d.*

[1] Chart. R. 1 John, pt. i, m. 34.
[2] Ibid. 2 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 29.
[3] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 279.
[4] Dugdale, *Mon.* (1st edition), ii, 552.
[5] Chart. R. 56 Hen. III, m. 4.
[6] *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 193.
[7] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 16.
[8] Close, 7 Edw. II, m. 15.
[9] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 719; Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 54.
[10] Edited by Mr. Larking for the Camden Society in 1857. The details as to Battisford occur on pp. 84–6.
[11] The 'Confraria,' 'Fraria,' or 'Collecta' was the regular annual collection for the needs of the order made throughout the particular district assigned to a preceptory (in this case, as in most, a whole county) by authorized clerks.

The expenses enable us at once to see that the chief local charges on the income were those of maintenance and hospitality. Following the general rule, it is found that there was (1) a preceptor or master of the house, Richard de Bachesworth, who acted as receiver and who was himself a knight; (2) a confrater or brother, William de Conesgrave, also a knight; (3) a salaried chaplain at 20*s.*; and (4) a corrodian, one Simon Paviner, who in return for certain benefactions had board and lodging at the house. In addition to these there were of the household a chamberlain, a steward, a cook, a baker, each receiving 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, two youths at 5*s.* each, and a page at 3*s.*

The board for all these, in addition to the hospitality they were bound to extend to visitors, particularly the poor, caused an expenditure of £7 4*s.* in wheat and oats for bread; £3 4*s.* for barley for brewing; and £7 16*s.* at the rate of 3*s.* a week, for fish, flesh, and other necessaries for the kitchen. The robes, mantles, and other necessaries for preceptor and brother cost £3 9*s.* 4*d.* The three days' visit of the prior of Clerkenwell, the mother-house of the order in England, caused an expenditure of 60*s.* The total outlay for the year was £33 3*s.* 10*d.*, leaving the handsome balance of £60 0*s.* 10*d.* to be handed over to the general treasury. There were two other small sources of income for the Hospitallers from this county, in 1338, which were paid direct to Clerkenwell, namely 10 marks from Dunwich, of which the particulars are given elsewhere, and 5*s.* from Gislingham, being the yearly rent of a life lease of much waste property in that parish. In both cases these estates had originally pertained to the Templars.[3] The value of the property of this bailiwick deteriorated after the Black Death. The Valor of 1538 gave its clear income as £52 16*s.* 2*d.*[4]

After the dissolution of the order, Henry VIII granted this preceptory in July, 1543, to Andrew Judde, alderman of London.[5] In the following September he obtained licence to alienate it,[6] and on 18 April, 1544, it was granted to Sir Richard Gresham.[7]

PRECEPTORS OF BATTISFORD

John de Accoumbe,[8] occurs 1321
Richard de Bachesworth,[9] occurs 1328
Henry Haler,[10] died 1480
Giles Russel,[11] *c.* 1530

FRIARIES

34. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF DUNWICH

The Dominican priory of Dunwich was founded about the middle of the thirteenth century by Sir Roger de Holish. It was situated in the old parish of St. John, and was but 120 rods distant from the house of the Franciscans.[1] The exact time of their settlement cannot now be determined, but at all events considerable progress was being made with substantial building prior to 1256. On 9 April that year Henry III gave these friars of Dunwich seven oaks for timber out of any of the royal forests of Essex.[2]

After the house had been founded, difficulties arose between the Black Friars of Norwich and those of Dunwich as to the bounds which the two houses were to traverse for spiritual and eleemosynary purposes. Two friars of each convent were elected to confer. Those chosen for Dunwich were brothers, Geoffey de Walsingham and William of St. Martin. The four met at the Austin house of St. Olave, Herringfleet, on 10 January, 1259, when they chose a fifth friar to act as arbitrator. The decision was to the effect that the river which divides Norfolk from Suffolk was to be the bound between the two houses, save that two parishes, Rushmere and Mendham, that were in both counties, were to be assigned in their entirety to Dunwich.[12]

When Edward I visited Ipswich in 1227 he sent 16*s.* to the Friars Preachers of Dunwich for two days' food. This house benefited to the extent of 100*s.* in 1291, under the will of Eleanor of Castile.[13]

In 1349 a considerable addition was made to the homestead of these friars; on 12 October the king licensed John de Wengefeld to assign 5 acres to them for the enlargement of their site.[14]

[1] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich* (1754).
[2] Close, 40 Hen. III, m. 12.
[3] Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 167.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 403; the return is not quite perfect. Speed gives the value as £53 10*s.*
[5] Pat. 35 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 4.
[6] Ibid. pt. vi, m. 27. [7] Ibid. pt. xv, m. 24.
[8] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 16.
[9] Larking, *Knights Hospitallers*, 85.
[10] Killed at the siege of Rhodes, 1480. Porter, *Knights of Malta*, ii, 321.
[11] Porter, *Knights of Malta*, ii, 291. Giles Russel, joint preceptor of Battisford and Dinghley (Northants), was nominated lieutenant-turcopolier about 1535, and turcopolier in 1543.
Turcopolier was the title peculiar to the chief knight of the English language. He was commander of the turcopoles or light cavalry, and had also the care of the coast defences of Rhodes and afterwards of Malta.
[12] Palmer, *Reliquary*, xxvi, 209. [13] Ibid.
[14] Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 20.

Thomas Hopman, a friar of this house, got into trouble in 1355 for leaving the realm without licence. It is supposed that he was acting as an agent at the Roman court on behalf of the Bishop of Ely in the serious dispute between the king and that prelate. A writ was issued in August for his arrest when he returned, and for his deliverance to the prior of the Friars Preachers of Dunwich, there to be kept in safe custody.

Licence was obtained in 1384 by Robert de Swillington, at the supplication of the Friars Preachers of Dunwich, whose house was imperilled by the incursion of the sea, which had already destroyed the greater part of Dunwich, to alienate to them land at Blythburgh for building thereon a new house; with licence to the friars to transfer their house thither, selling their old site to any who would buy it.[2]

This translation to a site four miles distant never, however, took place; the friars continued in their old house.

Here the priory remained till its dissolution. A letter written to Cromwell in November, 1538, by the ex-prior, who had been promoted to be suffragan bishop of Dover, informed him that he had suppressed twenty houses of friars, among them being 'the Black and Grey in Dunwich.'

He further reported that the lead from the roofs of these despoiled houses lay near the water, and was therefore meet to be carried to London or elsewhere.[3]

The possessions of these Black Friars then consisted of the site of the convent with its buildings, gardens, and orchard, and of two adjacent tenements of the yearly value of £1 3*s.* 4*d.* The site was at once let by the crown at 10*s.* a year, and the tenements at 6*s.* 8*d.* each.[4]

The whole property was granted in 1544–5 to John Eyre, an auditor of the Court of Augmentation.[5]

Amongst the distinguished persons who obtained interment in the church of the Black Friars, Dunwich, were the founder, Sir Roger de Holish, Sir Ralph de Ufford and Joan his wife, Sir Henry Laxfield, Dame Joan de Harmile, Dame Ada Craven, Dame Joan Weyland, sister of the Earl of Suffolk, John Weyland and his wife Joan, Thomas son of Robert Brews, knt., Dame Alice, wife of Sir Walter Hardishall, Sir Walklyn Hardesfield, Austin Valeyns, Sir Ralph Wingfield, Richard Bokyll of Leiston and his two wives, and Sir Henry Harnold, knight and friar, 'whose bones with the church and edifice now lie,' as Gardner wrote in 1754, 'under the insulting waves of the sea.'[6]

[1] Pat. 29 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6*a*.
[2] Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 9; pt. ii, m. 33.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 1021, 1023.
[4] Mins. Accts. 30–31 Hen. VIII, 139.
[5] Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, m. 38 (12).
[6] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 720; Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 61.

35. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF IPSWICH

The Dominican friars were established at Ipswich by Henry III in 1263. For their accommodation the king purchased a messuage of Hugh, son of Gerard de Langeston,[7] and two years later, at the instance of his confessor, John de Darlington, the king granted them an adjacent messuage, purchased of the same Hugh, for the augmentation of their site.[8]

Their church and house, dedicated to St. Mary, soon began to flourish. Robert de Kilwardby, provincial of their order, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury, took a particular interest in this foundation; in 1269 he purchased a further messuage to add to their site.[9]

The crown issued a commission in May, 1275, to John de Lovetot, to inquire whether it would be to the injury of the king or town to grant licence to the Friars Preachers of Ipswich to build an external chamber extending from their dormitory to the town dyke.[10] Further enlargement of their homestead was authorized in 1308 and in 1334.[11]

Pardon was granted to the Friars Preachers of Ipswich for having acquired without licence from John Harneys, for the enlargement of their manse, a void place and a dyke 100 ft. square; licence was at the same time granted them to retain the lot without fine, providing the burgesses and townsmen had full ingress to repair the walls of the town for defence in time of war, and whenever necessary.[12]

In February, 1348, the bailiffs and commonalty of Ipswich unanimously granted the Black Friars a plot of land south of their curtilage, which was 103 ft. in length. For this the friars were to pay 6*d.* a year rent and to keep up the town wall opposite the plot, and also the two great gates, one on the north and the other on the south of their court; and through these gates the commonalty were to be allowed to pass whenever any mishap fell on the town, or other necessity required.[13]

By an inquisition of March, 1350–1, it was adjudged that Henry de Monescele and two others might assign three messuages to the Dominicans for the extension of the site.[14]

These various grants gave to the Friars Preachers a large site in the parish of St. Mary at Quay, reaching in length from north to south, from St. Margaret's Church to the church

[7] Close, 47 Hen. III, m. 2.
[8] Pat. 50 Hen. III, 113.
[9] Feet of F. Suff. 53 Hen. III, 30.
[10] Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 27*d*.
[11] Pat. 1 Edw. II, ii. m. 24; 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 19.
[12] Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.
[13] Add. Chart. 10130.
[14] Inq. a.q.d. 24 Edw. III, 79; Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30.

of St. Mary at Quay (Star Lane), and in width from east to west, from Foundation Street to the town wall, parallel with the Lower Wash.

The convent accommodated, in the thirteenth century, over fifty religious, as can be gathered from the amount of the food grants made by royalty. When Edward I was at Ipswich in April, 1277, he gave the Dominicans an alms of 14*s.* 10*d.* for two days' sustenance. In December, 1296, the king gave four marks for the food of four days, and in the following January one mark for a single day's food.[1]

Father Palmer has set out a large number of bequests to the Ipswich Dominicans of small sums of money for masses, from the townsfolk and others, from 1378 to the very eve of their suppression.[2]

The following burials in this church are recorded by Weever:—Dame Maud Burell, Edmund Saxham, esquire, John Fastolph and Agnes his wife, Gilbert Roulage, Jone Chamber, and Edmund Charlton, esquire. He also adds the following, whose names are on the martyrology register of the Black Friars' benefaction:—The Lord Roger Bigot, earl-marshal, Sir John Sutton, knight, Lady Margaret Plays, Sir Richard Plays, and Sir Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk, who died in 1369.[3]

The name of one fourteenth-century prior of this house is known. In June, 1397, the master-general of the order declared that Brother John de Stanton was the true prior here, and not Brother William.[4]

In 1535–6 Edmund, the prior of the Dominicans of Ipswich, leased a garden next one of the gates of their house to Henry Toley, merchant, of Ipswich, and Alice his wife.[5]

Towards the end of 1537 the prior and convent leased for ninety years a dwelling-house and garden to Sir John Willoughby, knt., and other dwelling-houses, including a building called 'le Fraytof,' to different persons.[6]

This action points to a considerable diminution in the number of the friars, and also to an expectancy of dissolution.

The suffragan Bishop of Dover (an ex-friar) suppressed this house, as royal visitor, in November, 1538.[7]

On the expulsion of the community, William Aubyn, one of the king's serjeants-at-arms, became tenant of the site and buildings, worth 50*s.* 2*d.* a year; and the whole was sold to him in 1541 for £24.[8]

The matrix of the thirteenth-century seal of this priory is in the Bodleian Library. It bears a half-length of the Blessed Virgin, with the Holy Child in her arms, and in an arch below the figure of a kneeling friar. Legend:—

S' : CO'VENT : FR'M : PREDICATORUM : GIPPESWICI [9]

36. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF SUDBURY

The Friars Preachers were established at Sudbury by Baldwin de Shipling and Chabil his wife, who were afterwards interred in the quire of the conventual church, which was dedicated to our Saviour.[10] They were settled here before 1247, for in that year Henry III gave them six marks towards their support.[11]

Their first site was about 5 acres in extent, and there is record of its being twice enlarged. In 1299 Robert de Pettemer, chaplain, was allowed, after inquisition, to give the friars a strip of adjacent land, 134 ft. by 40 ft.;[12] and in 1352 a far more considerable enlargement was sanctioned, whereby Nigel Theobald (father of Archbishop Simon) gave them 4½ acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, and 1 acre 1 rood in Sudbury, adjoining their original homestead.[13]

In August, 1380, Archbishop Simon and his brother John Chertsey obtained licence for the alienation to the Friars Preachers of Sudbury of a piece of land in 'Babyngdonhall' 20 ft. square containing a spring, and for the making by the latter of an aqueduct thence to their house.[14] The archbishop and his brother paid a half mark for this permission, and made the grant; but so much opposition was offered by landowners to the making of the conduit that it was delayed for nearly five years. At length the friars obtained from the king royal protection for themselves, their servants, and labourers engaged in this work, and all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c., were charged to defend the friars and prevent any molestation or violence in the matter.[15]

The records of the royal alms bestowed on this house are scanty as compared with many friaries. Edward I in 1299 gave the friars of Sudbury three days' food; the executors of Queen Eleanor in 1291 gave 100*s.*, and Edward I in 1296, when at Waddington, near this town, gave 30*s.* to the thirty black friars of Sudbury for three days' food.[16]

[1] Rot. Gard. de oblat. et eleemos. reg. 5 Edw. I. 25 Edw. I.
[2] *Reliquary* (new ser.), i, 72–5.
[3] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 750–2.
[4] Reg. Mag. gen. ord., at Rome, cited by Father Palmer.
[5] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 236.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 1021.
[8] Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 7.
[9] Engraved in Wodderspoon, *Ipswich*, opp. 305.
[10] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 743.
[11] Lib. R. 32 Hen. III, m. 10.
[12] Inq. p.m. 27 Edw. I, No. 87; Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 14.
[13] Inq. p.m. 26 Edw. III, 2*d.* 406, No. 32; Pat. 26 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 3.
[14] Pat. 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 27.
[15] Ibid. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 28.
[16] *Reliquary*, xxiv, 82.

Father Palmer collected a large number of small bequests made to these friars by will, between 1355 and 1506.[1]

The provincial chapter of the Dominicans was held at Sudbury in 1316. The king gave £15 for the food of the friars on this occasion, being £5 for himself and £5 for his queen, and £5 for his son Edward. On 24 August the 'de orando pro rege et regina,' &c., was issued to the assembly. The province met here again in 1368, when Edward III made a like donation.[2]

This priory was suppressed some time before October, 1539, for in that month Thomas Eden, clerk of the king's council, and Griselda his wife obtained a grant of the site and appurtenances in as full manner as John Cotton, the last prior, held the same.[3]

Weever has a long list of distinguished burials in this church, which includes, in addition to the founders, many members of the families of Gifford, Cressenon, Walgrave, and St. Quintyn.[4]

The most noteworthy member of this community was John Hodgkin, who took a prominent part in the Reformation movement immediately preceding the dispersion of the friars. He was a D.D. of Cambridge and taught theology in the convent of Sudbury. In 1527 he was appointed provincial by the English Dominicans. In February, 1529–30, Godfrey Jullys, prior of Sudbury, and the brethren granted him the use of a house to the west of their church, with garden and stabling, at a yearly rental of 15*s*., so long as he was provincial. On the establishment of the royal supremacy in 1534 Hodgkin was regarded with some suspicion, and court influence procured his deposition and the appointment of John Hilsey as provincial in his place. Hodgkin endeavoured to get reinstated, and he wrote a sycophantic and meanly submissive letter to Cromwell, declaring that he would be 'ever ready to do in the most lowly manner such service as he shall be commanded.' Towards the end of 1536 he was restored to the office of provincial; and the priory of Sudbury, 'considering the help and comfort they had by the presence of Master Doctor Hodgkin provincial,' renewed the lease of his lodging at the reduced rental of 13*s*. 4*d*. On 3 December, 1537, he was appointed by the king one of the suffragan bishops, and was consecrated at St. Paul's on 9 December under the title of bishop of Bedford. On the suppression of the friary of Sudbury, Hodgkin had his lease registered in the Court of Augmentation, and continued to reside there till February, 1541. At that date he obtained the vicarage of Walden, Essex, and afterwards other preferment. He did active work as suffragan and married in the reign of Edward VI. When Mary came to the throne he was deprived of his preferments, but repudiating his wife and expressing penitence obtained a dispensation and preferment from Cardinal Pole. On the accession of Elizabeth Hodgkin was quite ready to conform yet again, and took part in several consecrations of bishops. He died in 1560.[5]

[1] *Reliquary*, xxiv, 82–4.
[2] Ibid. 84.
[3] Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 38.
[4] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 743, 778.

37. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS

In the year 1238 both the Dominicans and the Franciscan friars endeavoured to establish themselves at Bury; but the legate Otho was then at the great monastery, and being discouraged by him the Dominicans desisted from their attempts.[6]

The Franciscans, however, persisted in their efforts, and at last they obtained a bull in their favour from Alexander IV. Relying on this, they entered Bury on 22 June, 1257, and hastily established themselves in a farm at the north end of the town. The officials of the abbey remonstrated with them, but in vain, and at last the monks, in spite of the papal bull, expelled them with ignominy, though without personal violence. The friars appealed to Rome, and the pope wrote severely to the convent, enjoining the primate and the dean of Lincoln to induct them into another homestead which had been granted them on the west side of the town. Accordingly the treasurer of Hereford cathedral, as the commissary of the archbishop, and the dean of Lincoln in person arrived at Bury, gave their judgement in the parish church of St. Mary, and invested the friars in their new premises. The monks, however, in their indignation, drove out both friars and delegates from the town.

The next step of the Franciscans was to lay their grievance at the foot of the throne, when Henry III, specially urged by his queen, espoused the side of the mendicants, and caused the friars, backed by the civil power, to be established on the western site in April, 1258. Here they rapidly raised buildings and remained for between five and six years. After the death of Alexander IV, the monks laid their case before his successor, Urban IV, with the result that the new pope ordered the friars to pull down their buildings and abandon the ground. The friars obeyed, and reconciliation was effected between them and the monks on 19 November, 1262. On leaving the town itself the monks granted the friars a site beyond the north gate, just outside the town jurisdiction, called Babwell, and here they continued till the dissolution.

There was some delay on the part of the friars in carrying out their promise, but they finally quitted the town in November, 1263. Their

[5] *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 162–5.
[6] Arnold, *Memorials* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 30.

minister or warden was at that time Peter de Brigstowe, and the names of five other friars are set forth.[1]

In 1300, when the king was at Bury, he granted 44*s.* for *putura* or dietary payment for the convent of the Franciscans for three days. A day's food for a friar was always reckoned in these gifts at 4*d.*, so that there must have been about forty in the household.[2]

During the riots of 1327, at the time when the town had got the upper hand and the prior of St. Edmunds and his brethren were locked up in the Guildhall, six of the senior friars sought leave to re-establish themselves in the town. The whole convent of the Franciscans, together with the town chaplains, made at this time solemn procession through Bury, a thing which they had never done before, as though to encourage the populace in their violence against the monks. Moreover, according to the monkish historian, the friars subsequently helped the ring-leaders to escape.[3]

In February, 1328, the warden and Friars Minor of Babwell obtained the royal protection for two years, and this was changed in the following April to protection 'during pleasure.'[4]

There was apparently peace between the monks and friars at the beginning of the fifteenth century, for in 1412, when the general chapter of the Grey Friars was held at Bury, the great abbey made a donation of £10 towards their expenses.[5]

The popularity of the Babwell friars is proved by the frequency of bequests to them.[6]

Robert, bishop of Emly, by his will of 1411, left his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Minor of Babwell; he also left to that convent six silver spoons, a silver cup, and his lesser maser.[7] Among other burials in this church, Weever mentions Sir Walter Trumpington and Dame Anne his wife, Nicholas Drury and Jane his wife, and Margaret Peyton.[8]

John Hilsey, the ex-Dominican friar, Cromwell's agent, who was then bishop of Rochester, wrote to his master on 27 September, 1538, saying he had been at Babwell talking with the warden; he had been reported for some treasonable utterances, but expressed his sorrow, and said he was ready to surrender if the king or Cromwell wished it. Hilsey offered to take the surrender on his return from Lynn. There was a bed-ridden friar at Babwell, and he should be used as Cromwell commanded.[9]

[1] Reg. Werketon (Harl. MS. 638), *passim.* Cited and annotated in Arnold, *Memorials*, ii, 263–85.
[2] Lib. Gard. R. 28 Edw. I, 46.
[3] Arnold, *Memorials*, ii, 335, 349, 352; iii, 294.
[4] Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 29.
[5] Reg. Croftis (Harl. MS. 27), fol. 109.
[6] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 2, 5, 6, 35, 50, 55, 73, 79, 80, 83, 92, 94, 95, 115, 117.
[7] Ibid. 2.
[8] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 760.
[9] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 437.

The actual surrender was, however, made in the following December to another ex-Dominican and special tool of Cromwell in dealing with the friars, Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover.[10]

The house of the Grey Friars, Babwell, with its appurtenances, was granted in May, 1541, to Anthony Harvey, at a rental of 10*s.*[11]

Wardens of the Franciscan Friars of Bury St. Edmunds

Peter de Brigstowe, 1263
Adam Ewell,[12] 1418

38. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF DUNWICH

According to Weever, quoting from the 'painfull collections of William le Neve,' the house of the Grey Friars of Dunwich was founded 'first by Richard FitzJohn and Alice his wife, and after by King Henry the third.'[13]

Its original site was changed and moved further inland (where the ruins and precinct walls still remain) by gift of the burgesses of the town in 1289. An inquisition *ad quod damnum* of that year returned that it would not be injurious to the king to allow the corporation of Dunwich to grant these friars a plot of land for their convent, containing about seven acres of ground, situated between the king's highway on the west and the house of Richard Kilbeck on the north.[14] Accordingly a grant was made in mortmain by the king in August, 1290, to the Friars Minor of Dunwich of the king's dyke adjoining a plot given to them by the commonalty of the town to build upon and inhabit, with licence to enclose the same.[15]

Licence was granted to the Friars Minor of Dunwich in 1328 to enclose and hold the vacant plot there which they used to inhabit, and which was taken into the king's hands when they removed to another place in the town, because it would be indecent that a plot of land dedicated for some time to divine worship, and where Christian bodies were buried, should be converted to secular uses.[16]

Further precautions were taken for the preserving of the old site in the year 1415.[17]

The conventual church seems to have been under repair or re-construction shortly before its dissolution, for Katharine Read, by will of 16 June, 1514, left 3*s.* 4*d.* to Friar Nicholas

[10] Ibid. 1021.
[11] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 5.
[12] *Reliquary*, xxiv, 85.
[13] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 721.
[14] Inq. p. m. 18 Edw. I, 92.
[15] Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 11.
[16] Ibid. 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 19.
[17] Ibid. 16 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 33.

Wicet, or to those that shall rebuild the church of the Friars Minor.[1]

The only record of the suppression of these friars is the communication made to Cromwell in 1538 by the suffragan Bishop of Dover, which has already been cited under the Black Friars.

Within their church were interred the bodies of Sir Robert Valence, Dame Ida of Ilketshall, Sir Peter Mellis and Dame Anne his wife, Dame Dunne his mother, John Francans and Margaret his wife, Dame Bertha of Furnival . . . Austin of Cales and Joan his wife, John Falleys and Beatrice his wife, Augustine his son, Sir Hubert Dernford, Katharine wife of William Phellip, Margaret wife of Richard Phellip, Peter Codum, and the heart of Dame Hawise-Ponyngs.[2]

The site of this convent was granted in 1545 to John Eyre, of the Augmentation Office, who was so large a holder of monastic lands in the eastern counties.[3]

Wardens[4] of the Franciscan Friars of Dunwich

John Lacey (predecessor of Bokenham)
Nicholas Bokenham, 1482
George Muse, 1505

The pointed oval fifteenth-century seal of this convent bears St. John Baptist under a canopied arch, with nimbus, clothed in a camel skin, its head hanging at his feet; holding in the left hand the Agnus Dei on a plaque, and pointing to it with the right hand. By the side of the Baptist is a kneeling friar, with scroll, S. : JOH : ORA : P' : ME : Legend :—

SIGILLU : GARDIANI : FRATRUM : MINOR : DONEWYCY[5]

Gardner gives a reproduction of another remarkable seal of this friary, representing a ship with large mainsail; at the bow is seated a crowned king, and at the stern a mitred bishop with crozier in left hand. Legend :—

SIGILLU' : FR'M : MINOR : DONEWIC[6]

39. THE GREY FRIARS OF IPSWICH

On the west side of Ipswich, in the parish of St. Nicholas, a convent of Franciscan or Grey Friars was founded early in the reign of Edward I. The founders were Sir Robert Tiptot, of Nettlestead, and Una his wife; Sir Robert died in 1298.[7]

There are but few record entries relative to this house. In September, 1328, Edward III granted protection, during pleasure, to the warden and Friars Minor of Ipswich,[8] and this protection was renewed in February, 1331.[9]

In January, 1332, licence was granted, after inquisition, to these friars to accept the alienation to them by Nicholas Frunceyes, knight, of a messuage and toft for the enlargement of their dwelling-house. At the same time they received a pardon for having acquired without due licence a toft from Geoffrey Poper, and land 50 perches in length and 7 ft. in breadth from Sir William de Cleydon, knight.[10]

On 1 April, 1538, Lord Wentworth, of Nettlestead, wrote to Cromwell as to this friary, stating that the warden and brethren lived there in great necessity, for the inhabitants were extending their charity to the poor and impotent instead of to 'such an idle nest of drones.' He complained that they were selling the jewels of their house, and as he was 'their founder in blood' he sent for the warden, who stated that they had been compelled to sell something, for during a twelvemonth they had only gathered £5, and could not continue in that house three months longer. There were no lands, only the bare site, with a garden or two enclosed. Lord Wentworth, hereditary patron of this friary, called to mind (for Cromwell's edification) how this order was 'neither stock nor griffe which the Heavenly Father had planted, but only a hypocritical weed planted by that sturdy Nembrot, the Bishop of Rome,' and begged for the grant of the house.[11]

As a consequence of this letter, Ingworth, the special visitor of the king for the friaries, attended at the Grey Friars, Ipswich, on 7 April, and drew up an inventory of their goods. In the quire were five candlesticks, two hanging lamps, a holy-water stoop, with latten sprinkler, twenty books good and ill, and a wooden lectern; in the vestry were various old vestments and other matters of little value; whilst the other contents of the house were all commonplace and mostly old. Bishop Ingworth removed all of this stuff to the house of the Black Friars, locking it up in 'a close house.' The visitor tracked out the plate which had been sold or pledged. He recovered from Archdeacon Thomas Sillesdon a censer, two chalices, a cross with a crystal in it, twelve spoons, &c., and various vestments which he had craftily purchased, as well as plate from Lord Wentworth which had been pledged to him. The total plate recovered amounted to 259¾ ounces.

The visitor left behind him certain utensils for the use of the friars still remaining there,

[1] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 61.
[2] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 721.
[3] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* ix, App. ii, 207.
[4] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 61.
[5] B. M. Cast, lxxi, 106. There is a lithograph of this seal in Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, opp. 292.
[6] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, pl. opp. 43.
[7] Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii, 39; Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 751.
[8] Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 21.
[9] Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31.
[10] Ibid. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25, 26.
[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 651.

Woodbridge Priory

Campsey Priory

Philip, Abbot of Leiston, 1190–1235

Leiston Abbey

Franciscan Friars of Dunwich

Suffolk Monastic Seals, Plate III

'till my lord privy seal's pleasure be further known.'[1]

Among the corporation records of Ipswich are two wills of interest with regard to this friary. Robert of Fornham, who died in 1319, left the tenement that he had purchased of Claricia Strike, and the tenement he had purchased of Leman Le Bakestere to the Grey Friars; but John Strike and Geoffrey the cook, on coming before the bailiffs and coroner of the court of Ipswich as executors of Robert of Fornham, could only produce an unsigned and unwitnessed will.

Probate, however, was granted on the testimony of two of the Grey Friars (although their house was to benefit), who 'on the peril of their souls' certified that the deceased had made this will when of sound mind.[2]

Weever mentions the following distinguished persons who sought and obtained burial in the conventual church of the Grey Friars.

Sir Robert Tiptot and Una his wife, the founders; the heart of Sir Robert Vere the elder; Margaret, countess of Oxford, wife of Sir Robert Vere, the younger; Dame Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Ufford, and daughter of the Earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Tiptot, the younger; Margaret, wife of Sir John Tiptot; Robert Tiptot, esquire; Elizabeth Ufford; Elizabeth Lady Spenser, wife of Sir Philip Spenser and daughter of Robert Tiptot, with Philip, George, and Elizabeth their children; Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Spenser; Sir Robert Warlesham and Joan his wife; John son of William Cleydon; Sir Thomas Hardell, knight; Elizabeth, wife of Sir Walter Clopton, of Hadley; Sir William Lancham; Sir Hugh Peach and Sir John Lovelock, knights; the heart of Dame Petronilla Ufford; Dame Beatrice Botiler; Dame Aveline Quatefeld; Dame Margery, aunt of Sir Thomas Ufford; and Dame Alice, widow of Sir John Holbrook.[3]

To these may be added Sir Robert Curson, at whose great house in Ipswich Henry VIII had visited in 1522; the hearse-cloth over the hearse above his tomb is named in the 1536 inventory.

40. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF CLARE

Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was the first to introduce the Friars Heremites of St. Austin to this country, and it is generally assumed that the first establishment of the Austin Friars was at Clare, and that they were brought here in the year 1248.[4]

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 699; xiii (2), App. 16. The whole inventory is set forth at length in Wodderspoon, *Mem. of Ipswich*, 315–19.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 225.

[3] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 751.

[4] Their next house was founded at Woodhouse, Salop, in 1250, and their third at Oxford, in 1252.

The Austin Friars, like the rest of the mendicant orders, were not permitted by their rules to hold other property save the site of their house; but in this instance the rule was interpreted in a somewhat liberal sense. Houses of friars, owing to their freedom from the cares of property, appear to have seldom possessed anything of the nature of a chartulary; but in the case of Clare there is a fairly long chartulary extant, containing transcripts of nearly two hundred separate deeds.[5] The high position of the founder and his posterity, coupled with the fact that Clare was the parent house of the order in England, placed this friary in a somewhat exceptional position, particularly as Clare was a favourite residence for royalty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The majority of the numerous grants in the chartulary were for quite small plots of meadow land, or of adjoining small lots of buildings, which were added to the site for enlargement, and would have been lawful for any friary. Other charters are mere evidences of the title to small properties on the part of benefactors. Others again are the recital of indulgences and various privileges, or the record of particular events. But a few of them are undoubtedly in direct antagonism to the usual mendicant rule, and involve grants that would not have been accepted save by the consent of the provincial and of the general chapter of the province. Thus in 1349, John, prior of this house, accepted the gift of the manor house of Bourehall from Michael de Bures.[6]

The most noteworthy record of abnormal gifts is the first entry of the chartulary, headed *Carta mortificationis*, which recites the licence of Edward III, in 1364, for the alienation in mortmain, to the prior and brothers of the Austin House at Clare, of Ashen and Belchamp St. Paul, for their benefit and for the enlargement of their manse.[7]

Many of the small grants of adjoining property were from Maud, countess of Gloucester and Hereford, for the repose of the soul of the founder, her husband, who died in 1262.

In 1278 William bishop of Norwich granted a licence for any bishop of the Catholic Church to consecrate the cemetery round the friars' church.[8] In the following year Anianus, bishop of Bangor, when on a visit to Clare, granted a forty days' indulgence from enjoined penance to penitents contributing to the enclosure of the cemetery, or the construction and repair of the

[5] Harl. MS. 4835. It is a quarto of paper in a 15th-century hand, entitled 'Registrum Chartarum Monasterii Heremitarum S. Augustini de Clare.' Among the Jermyn MSS. (Add. MS. 8188, fol. 55–84), is a full transcript of this chartulary. The subsequent references to these charters give their numbers in the transcript.

[6] Chartul. No. 102.

[7] Ibid. No. 1.

[8] Ibid. No. 166.

buildings of the priory. In the same year William archbishop of Edessa granted a like indulgence.[1] The bishop of Bangor also granted an indulgence, at the same time, for all who should say an Our Father and a Hail Mary there for the repose of the soul of Richard de Christeshale, whose body was buried in the friary church.[2]

On 10 May, 1305, died Joan of Acre, and was buried in the conventual church of the friars of Clare, in the presence of Edward II and most of the nobility of England. Joan was the second daughter of Edward I and Queen Eleanor, and took her name from the eastern town where she was born in the first year of her father's reign, when he was fighting the Saracens. She was married at the age of eighteen to Gilbert, earl of Clare and Gloucester, grandson of the founder of the priory, to which she was a benefactor, building the chapel of St. Vincent as an adjunct to the conventual church. She outlived the earl, and took for her second husband, Ralph Mortimer. Her daughter Elizabeth, by her first husband, who became the wife of Sir John de Burgh, built a new chapter-house, dormitory, and refectory for the friars, about 1310–14. Ralph, bishop of London, in 1307, granted a forty days' indulgence to all penitents saying here an Our Father and a Hail Mary for the soul of Joan of Acre.[3] Thomas, bishop of Worcester, when at Clare in the first year of his consecration (1318), granted a like indulgence;[4] and so also did Stephen bishop of London in 1319,[5] Benedict, bishop of 'Cardic,' in 1338,[6] and John, bishop of Llandaff, in 1347.[7]

In 1324 Bishop Rowland, formerly archbishop of Ordmoc, granted an indulgence to all penitents contributing to the fabric and ornaments of the church.[8] Benedict, bishop of Cardic and suffragan and commissary for the Bishop of Norwich, granted in 1338, forty days' indulgence to penitents visiting this church and contributing to the fabric fund on the solemn dedication day.[9] The same bishop in 1340 granted a like indulgence to those saying an Our Father or a Hail Mary for the soul of Brother John of St. Edmunds, D.D., of good memory, whose body was buried in this church.[10]

Prior Robert of this house, on 3 August, 1361, formally assigned in the chapter-house to Brother John Bachelor, for use at the altar in the newly-built chapel of the Annunciation, a great missal, a silver chalice weighing twenty-seven shillings with a silver spoon weighing six pennies, a green velvet chasuble and set of vestments with gold orphreys and apparels, various cushions, a green carpet four ells long, two necklaces set with precious stones and a silver necklace, nine gold rings, a small chest containing four silk veils, &c.[11]

Edward Mortimer, son of Joan of Acre by her second husband, was buried in this church by the side of his mother. Further celebrity was given to the friars' church by the burial, before the high altar, after long delay, of the body of Lionel, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, son of Edward III. He died at Alba Pompeia, Piedmont, in 1368, and was first buried at Pavia. Eventually the body was exhumed and re-interred in this chancel. The sum of ten marks was paid to the prior and brethren, in the chapter-house, on 12 September, 1377, for their share in the funeral expenses.[12]

In 1373, a dispute that had arisen between the Austin Friars of Clare and of Orford, as to the seeking alms in the Isle of Mersea and other places, was settled at the provincial chapter held in August at Newcastle-on-Tyne; the upper gate of Colchester was to be a bound between the two houses.[13] A similar difference between the Austin Friars of Clare and Thetford was settled in 1388, when a list of the parishes where they might severally visit and seek for alms was drawn up.[14]

On St. Agatha's Day (5 February), 1380, William, bishop of Pismon, suffragan of the bishop of Norwich, dedicated the new cemetery without the walls of the church, extending from the west gate to the footbridge to the castle, together with the re-built cloister and chapter-house.[15] William, bishop of Norwich in 1381, granted twenty days' indulgence from enjoined penance to those contributing to the fabric.[16]

Robert, bishop of London, in a communication to the prior of the Austins of Clare, withdrew the excommunication of Sir Thomas Mortimer, knt., who with his assistants had dragged out from the friary church one John de Quinton, who had escaped there for a certain theft, thus violating sanctuary; provided that Sir Thomas, on the first Sunday in Lent, after evensong, came to the church bareheaded and barefooted, carrying a taper, and presented both the taper and a silk cloth valued at £3, at the altar.[17]

Weever printed in 1631 a curious rhymed descent of the lords of Clare, in both Latin and English, from a roll which was then in the

[1] Chartul. Nos. 171–2.
[2] Ibid. No. 170.
[3] Ibid. No. 160.
[4] Ibid. No. 159.
[5] Ibid. No. 173.
[6] Ibid. No. 162. Benedict Cardicensis (Sardis), prior of the Austin Friars of Norwich, was suffragan of Norwich from 1333 to 1346.
[7] Ibid. No. 163.
[8] Ibid. No. 169.
[9] Ibid. No. 164.
[10] Ibid. No. 165.
[11] Ibid. No. 165.
[12] Ibid. No. 120.
[13] Ibid. No. 138.
[14] Ibid. Nos. 176, 177.
[15] Ibid. No. 158.
[16] Ibid. No. 174.
[17] Ibid. No. 161.

possession of his friend the Windsor herald.[1] A drawing at the head of the roll shows a table tomb, on the one side an Austin friar and on the other a civilian, engaged in conversation. The heading to this rhymed descent is :—

This Dialogue betwix a Secular as asking, and a Frere answerying at the grave of Dame Johan of Acres shewith a lyneal descent of the lordis of the honoure of Clare, fro the tyme of the fundation of the Freeris in the same honoure, the yere of our Lord MCCXLVIII unto the first day of May the year MCCCLVI.

A MS. of Robert Aske's, *temp.* Henry VIII, gives :

The names of the nobles buried in the Frere Augustyn's of Clare. Sir Richard Erle of Clare ; Lionell Duke of Clarence ; Dame Joan of Acres ; Sir Edmond Montbermer, son of the said Joane ; John Weyburgh ; Dame Alice Spencer ; Willm. Goldryche ; Sir John Beauchamp, knight ; John Newbury, esquire ; Willm. Capel and Elianor his wyfe ; Kempe, esquire ; Robert Butterwyke, Esquire ; the Lady Margarete Scrope, daughter of Westmoreland ; Joan Candyssle, daughter of Clofton ; Dame Alianor Wynkeferry, Sir Edmund, last of the Mortimers, Erle of Marche, Sir Thomas Gily and his furste wyfe ; Lucy, wife of Walter Clofton ; Sir Thomas Clofton and Ada his wyfe.[2]

There is but little information with respect to these friars during the fifteenth century. The details as to their suppression in 1538 were in the hands of Richard Ingworth, then suffragan bishop of Dover. Writing to Cromwell on 29 November of that year, Ingworth said that he had received at Clare the Lord Privy Seal's letter instructing him to deliver that house and its 'implements' to Richard Frende, which had been done. The implements did not suffice to pay the debts and at the same time save the lead and plate for the king. The jewels were pledged for £33 2*s.* 6*d.* and he had redeemed them for the king with other money. He had left the house and its contents in Frende's custody under indenture. The lands besides the orchards were thirty-eight acres, only worth at clear annual value 48*s.* 10½*d.* There were fifteen or sixteen fother of lead (on the church), and the house, which was tiled, was in much decay.[3]

In August, 1539, Richard Frende obtained grant in fee from the crown of the site, soil, circuit, and precinct of the late priory of Austin Friars of Clare, which lay in the parishes of Clare, Ashen, and Belchamp St. Pauls (of the annual value of £3), to hold at a rent of 2*d.* a year, in as full a manner as John Halybud, the late prior, and the brethren thereof held the same.[4]

[1] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 734–42. This roll has been accurately reproduced, with the drawing and the arms, in the large edition of Dugdale's *Mon.* vi, 1600–1602.

[2] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vi, 80–1.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 935.

[4] Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 24.

PRIORS OF THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF CLARE

Adam de la Hyde, occurs 1299 [5]
John, occurs 1349 [6]
Robert, occurs 1361, &c.[7]
John Halybud, occurs 1538 [8]

41. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF GORLESTON

This friary was founded towards the end of the reign of Edward I, by William Woderove, and Margaret his wife.[9] On 28 June, 1311, Roger Woderove, son of the founder, obtained licence to grant to the prior and Augustine Friars of Little Yarmouth a plot of land adjacent to their dwelling,[10] and in 1338 a further enlargement of their house was made on a plot of land 240 ft. by 70 ft., the gift of William Man, of Blundeston.[11]

In the large and handsome church many distinguished persons were buried. Weever names the founder and his wife ; Richard earl of Clare ; Roger FitzOsbert and Katharine his wife ; Sir Henry Bacon, 1335, and many of his family ; Joan countess of Gloucester ; Dame Alice Lunston 1341 ; Dame Eleanor, wife of Sir Thomas Gerbrigge, 1353 ; Dame Joan Caxton 1364 ; William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, 1382 ; Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk ; Sir Thomas Hengrove ; Dame Sibyl Mortimer, 1385 ; Sir John Laune, and Mary his wife ; Alexander Falstolfe ; William March, esq., 1412, and John Pulman, 1481.[12]

Lambarde, writing of this house, which he mistakenly terms an abbey, says : 'Here was of late years a librarie of most rare and precious workes, gathered together by the industrie of one John Brome, a monk of the same house, which died in the reign of King Henry the Sixte.'[13] John Brome was prior of the house and died in 1449. His collection of books was famous and said to include several of which there were no other copies in England ; he was himself the author of chronicles and sermons.[14]

The historian of Yarmouth says that these Austin Friars had a cell across the water in Yarmouth proper, the remains of which are to be seen in Howards Street ; the adjoining row is still called Austin Row ; though popularly corrupted into Ostend Row.[15]

[5] Chartul. No. 122.
[6] Ibid. No. 102.
[7] Ibid. Nos. 116, 139, 140.
[8] Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 24.
[9] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 863.
[10] Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 3.
[11] Ibid. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 15.
[12] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 863.
[13] Lambarde, *Topog. Dict.* (1730), 136.
[14] Stevens, *Contin. of Mon.* ii, 176.
[15] Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 428

The house was suppressed, with the other Yarmouth friaries, by Richard Ingworth towards the end of 1538,[1] and the site was granted in 1544 to John Eyre, rightly styled by Weever 'a great dealer in that kind of property.'

42. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF ORFORD

A priory of Austin Friars was founded at Orford in the reign of Edward I. Robert de Hewell, in 1295, gave them a plot of ground in Orford, sixteen perches square, whereon to build.[2]

The Austin Friars of Orford obtained pardon in 1314 for having acquired, without licence, a small plot of land from John Engaye for the enlargement of their site.[3]

They had licence in the following year to add another small plot, 30 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, to their area.[4]

A further plot of land, to enlarge their dwelling, was granted to these friars in 1337, by Walter de Hewell of Orford.[5]

Helen Holder, of Orford, bequeathed, in 1526, to the Friars Austin of Orford 10*s.* to sing a 'trentall of Massis for my soule, the mony to be parted among them that be priests.'[6]

43. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF IPSWICH

The Carmelite or White Friars seem to have been established at Ipswich in 1278, for their settlement here was contemporary with that at Winchester, which took place at that date. In that year a provincial chapter of the Carmelites was held at Norwich, and there seems good reason to believe that the founding of a house in the second great town of East Anglia was determined at that chapter, and the members of the new community chosen from those of Norwich.[7]

They were established on land that eventually extended from St. Stephen's Lane to Queen Street on the south side of the Butter Market. The first record of the extension of the site occurs in 1297, when licence was granted for the Carmelite friars of Ipswich to enclose a lane called 'Erodesland,' 26 perches long and 8 ft. broad, for the enlargement of their dwelling-place.[8]

Pardon was granted to the Carmelites of Ipswich in December, 1344, for having acquired in fee, without licence from Edward I, various small plots of land adjoining their area for enlarging the conventual buildings and church,[9] and in 1321 a further extension of their buildings was begun, for in that year the prior obtained licence to acquire twelve small plots of adjacent land for that purpose.[10] Thomas le Coteler was licensed in 1333 to alienate to the priory of Mount Carmel an adjacent messuage for the enlargement of their house,[11] and Thomas de Lowdham gave a further small plot of adjoining land in 1377.[12]

The last-known enlargement of their premises occurred in 1396, when John Reppes, the prior, purchased two messuages from John Warton and Margaret his wife for the sum of 100 marks.[13]

Ipswich was often chosen for the meetings of the provincial chapters of the White Friars, so that it may be fairly assumed that the house was of sufficient size soon after its foundation to accommodate a large number of visitors. At the chapter held at Ipswich in 1300, William Ludlyngton, then prior of the Ipswich House, was elected provincial. In 1312 the provincial chapter elected John Berkhamstead, prior of Ipswich, provincial. Several other friars of this house attained, from time to time, to the honour of provincial; among them were John Polsted in 1335, and John Kynyngham in 1393.

The conventual church was rebuilt in the latter part of the fifteenth century. It was consecrated by Friar Thomas Bradleyce (*alias* Scrope), bishop of Dromore, a man noted for his special sanctity, in 1477.

This friary was celebrated for the number of learned men who were its members. Thomas Yllea, a preacher and writer of merit, entered religion at the time when his father was prior; he was for some time in Flanders, but died at Ipswich in 1390. John Polsted studied at Oxford, and was provincial from 1335 till his death in 1341; he wrote more than twenty works, and was buried at York. Friar John of Bury St. Edmunds rendered this house celebrated by his erudition, eloquence, and piety; he chiefly wrote commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and died at Ipswich in 1350. John Paschall, of Suffolk, graduated at Cambridge from this house in 1333; he was consecrated bishop of Scutari in 1344 as suffragan bishop of Norwich diocese, but in 1347 was translated to Llandaff. He was a voluminous writer, and several volumes of his sermons are extant.

Friar Richard Lavingham is said to have written ninety volumes, and Bale considers his literary activity almost miraculous; he died at

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 1021.
[2] Inq. a. q. d. 23 Edw. I, No. 120.
[3] Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 24.
[4] Ibid. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 30.
[5] Ibid. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 32.
[6] Add. MS. 19101, fol. 111.
[7] 'The White Friars at Ipswich,' by Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* x, 196–204.
[8] Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 16.
[9] Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10.
[10] Ibid. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 24.
[11] Ibid. 6 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3.
[12] Inq. a.q.d. 50 Edw. III, No. 21.
[13] 'The Carmelites of Ipswich,' by V. B. Redstone, *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* x, 192.

Bristol in 1383. John Kynyngham, provincial from 1393 till his death in 1399, did credit to the Ipswich friary as a writer of many works. Prior John Barmyngham, who died in 1449, Doctor of both Oxford and Paris, was considered one of the most enlightened scholars of each of those universities. Nicholas Kenton, provincial from 1444 to 1456, 'shone so as a historian, poet, philosopher, theologian, and orator,' that he was appointed chancellor of the university (Cambridge) in 1445.

John Bale, elected prior of Ipswich in 1533, joined the order at Norwich when only twelve years of age. It is generally said that he broke his vows and married in 1534; but his marriage must have been some years later, for he was writing as prior of this monastery in 1536. He held the bishopric of Ossory from 1553 until his death in 1563. In all his virulent and coarse writings against his former co-religionists, Bale had the grace to deal gently with his former order of the Carmelites, and evidently esteemed the learning that characterized various members of the house over which he was for a short time prior.[1]

The Carmelites of Ipswich were suppressed by the ex-friar Richard Ingworth, then suffragan bishop of Dover, in November, 1538, as is known from his letter about various friaries addressed to Cromwell.[2] Earlier in the year, 'the petition of the Carmelyttes of Ipsewich supplicacion to the Lorde Cromwell moste piteously lamenting' set forth, on behalf of the prior and his co-brethren of their 'poore religious house,' that Dr. Ingworth, as Cromwell's deputy-visitor, had confiscated the sum of £28 13*s.* 4*d.*, owing to them for tenements in Ipswich, which they had been compelled to sell through extreme poverty. They desired, in their simplicity, Cromwell's assistance.[4] About the same date Cromwell received a strongly-worded begging appeal from one Sir John Raynsforth, asking for the gift of the house of the Ipswich White Friars.[5]

The site was granted to Charles Lambard, of Ipswich, in October, 1539.[6]

Weever mentions the following among the more important burials in this church:—Sir Thomas de Lowdham and his son Sir Thomas, both knights, and John de Loudham, esquire; Margaret Coldvyle, and Gilbert Denham, esquire, and Margaret his wife, who was a daughter of Edward Hastings. Also the following of this order:—John Wilbe, 1335; John Hawle, papal chaplain, 1433; John Barmyngham, 1448–9; Richard Hadley, 1461; and John Balsham, bishop of Argyle, 1425.[7]

PRIORS OF THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF IPSWICH

Richard de Yllea, *c.* 1280
William Ludlyngton, occurs 1300, &c.
John Berkhamstead, occurs 1312
John Reppes, occurs 1396
John Barmyngham, *c.* 1440–8–9
John Ball, 1533

HOUSE OF MINORESSES

44. THE ABBEY OF BRUISYARD

A brief account is given under the nunnery of Campsey of the founding by Maud countess of Ulster, in 1346, of a perpetual chantry of four chaplains and a warden in the chapel of the Annunciation, within the conventual church of Campsey.[3] Eight years later this chantry or college was removed from the nunnery to the manor place of Rokehall, in Bruisyard parish, where a chapel of the Annunciation was built and rooms provided for the warden and four priests. The sound reasons alleged for the change were that the residence for these five chaplains was in the village of Ashe, some distance from the priory church of Campsey, and that this going backwards and forwards for the various divine offices in wintry and rainy weather was unduly onerous for the older chaplains; moreover it was thought more expedient that their chapel should be in some other place, 'ubi non est conversatio mulierum.'[8]

This chantry or collegiate church at Bruisyard had, however, but a brief life; for in 1364, on some complaints, at the instance of Lionel duke of Clarence and with the consent of king and bishop, it was agreed that this establishment should be surrendered for the use of an abbess and sisters belonging to the order of Nuns Minoresses or Sisters of St. Clare.[9] The actual surrender to the nuns was not accomplished until 4 October, 1366.

[1] Stevens' Cont. of Dugdale's *Mon.* ii. *Writers of the Order of the Carmelites*, Nos. 25, 34, 41, 55, 70, 104, 116, 124; 'The White Friars of Ipswich,' by the Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* x, 196–204.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, 1021

[3] Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 5.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, App. 17.

[5] Ibid. 1262.

[6] Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccxii, fol. 16.

[7] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 750. The date of the death of John Balsham is erroneously stated by Weever to be 1530; Friar Balsham resigned the bishopric of Argyle in 1420, and was buried at Ipswich five years later.

[8] Pat. 30 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 5, *per inspex.* where the statutes for the rule of this collegiate church of Bruisyard are set forth.

[9] Ibid. 38 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 44.

Sir Nicholas Gernoun, knight, in his old age and infirmity, was allowed to dwell at the house of the Nuns Minoresses of Bruisyard *ex devocione*, and he obtained leave from the crown in 1383 to continue to hold his rents and farm from Drogheda to the amount of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, which had been forfeited for the defence of Ireland by virtue of the statute of 3 Richard II touching non-residence.[1]

Licence was granted in May, 1385, to the executors of the Earl of Suffolk to alienate to the abbey the manor of Benges, Suffolk.[2] In the following February the abbess and convent of Bruisyard were licensed to alienate this manor of Benges to the prioress and convent of Campsey, in exchange for the manor and advowson of Bruisyard, together with leave to appropriate the church.[3] In 1390 the abbey acquired various plots of land in Bruisyard and adjacent parishes, and in Hargham, Norfolk, as well as the advowson of the church of Sutton, Suffolk.[4]

The Valor of 1535 shows that the abbey then possessed temporalities of the clear annual value of £43 15*s.*, namely the manors with members of Bruisyard, Winston, Alderton, South Repps, Hargham, and Badburgham (Camb.). The clear value of the spiritualities, comprising the churches of Bruisyard, Sutton, and Bulmer, amounted to £12 7*s.* 1*d.*, leaving a full total of £56 2*s.* 1*d.*[5]

This house seems to have been exempt from episcopal supervision; at all events it does not appear in the visitation registers of Bishops Goldwell and Nykke.

In 1535, when dissolution was in the air, some complaint was made to the Lord Privy Seal as royal visitor-general, with regard to the action of this abbey, whereupon the abbess and convent wrote to Cromwell:—

> We your oratrices and humble subjects, thank you for your worshipful letter, whereby you have comforted us desolate persons. We assure you we have not alienated the goods of our house, or listened to any but discreet counsel. We have not wasted our woods beyond the usage of our predecessors in times of necessity. We beg you to intercede for us with the King, our founder, that we may continue his bedewomen, and pray for him, the queen, and the princess.[6]

The Suffolk commissioners for the suppression of the smaller religious houses visited Bruisyard Abbey on 22 August, 1536, and drew up an inventory. The ornaments of the church included a variety of vestments and altar cloths, a table of alabaster, two great candlesticks of latten, and 'a payor of lytell orgaynes very olde, att xs.' The parlour, several chambers, buttery, kitchen, bakehouse, and brewhouse were but poorly furnished. The church plate was valued at £28 12*s.* 4*d.*; it included six chalices, two paxes, and a pair of cruets. The total inventory, signed by Mary Page, abbess, reached the sum of £40 13*s.* 4*d.*[7]

The abbey, on payment of the sum of £60 to the king, was able to stave off the evil day, being specially exempted from suppression, and Mary Page confirmed as abbess by patent of 4 July, 1537.[8]

On 17 February, 1539, came the final surrender of the house and all its possessions, signed by Mary Page, abbess, in the presence of Dr. Francis Cove.[9]

The site and precinct of the abbey, with the whole of its possessions, was assigned by the crown to Nicholas Hare and Katharine his wife, on 9 March, 1539, at a rental of £6 4*s.* 1*d.*[10]

Abbesses of Bruisyard

Emma Beauchamp,[11] occurs 1369 and 1390
Agnes,[12] occurs 1413
Ellen Bedingfield,[13] occurs 1421 and 1425
Katharine,[14] 1444
Elizabeth Crane,[15] occurs on 29 August, 1481
Alice Clere,[16] 1489
Margaret Calthorpe,[17] 1497
Mary Page,[18] 1537

HOSPITALS

45. THE HOSPITAL OF BECCLES

There was a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, on the south side of the town of Beccles, on a site now known as St. Mary's Hill. It was probably of early foundation, as was the case with almost all hospitals for this special affliction, but no record of it is found earlier than the year 1362, when Sir Richard Walkfare, kt., and others gave to the hospital 20*s.*, annual rent issuing out of the manors of Barsham and Hirst.[19]

Tradition relates that one Ramp, who was very much afflicted with leprosy, was perfectly cured of his

[1] Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 26.
[2] Ibid. 9 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.
[3] Ibid. 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 26.
[4] Ibid. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 5.
[5] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 442–3.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 1094.
[7] Ibid. xi, 347.
[8] Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. v, m. 6.
[9] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 629.
[10] Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 33.
[11] Tanner MS. Norw.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. 138.
[17] Ibid. 202.
[18] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 628.
[19] Pat. 36 Edw. III, pt. i, m, 34.

disorder by accidentally bathing in a spring of water near this plot, where he soon after created a hospital for the benefit of persons so afflicted.[1]

It was under the rule of a master, and possessed a chapel. Various wills of the locality include bequests to this house. In 1503 Thomas Leke of Beccles left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the repair of the lepers' chapel, and in 1506 John Rudham of Beccles bequeathed 12*d.* for a like purpose. John Bridges, a brother of the hospital, by will of 1567, left 20*s.* to Humphrey Trame, master, to be equally divided between the brethren and sisters.[2]

This hospital escaped suppression by either Henry VIII or Edward VI, as there seems to have been no kind of chantry endowment connected with it, it being, like many other leper hospitals, chiefly maintained by voluntary gifts. Edward VI in 1550 granted licence to Edward Lydgate, a brother of the hospital, to beg daily for the lazars' house of Beccles.[3]

By a deed dated 18 May, 1575,

between Humphreye Trame, master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdelin at Beccles, and the bretherne and systern of the said hospital on the one part, and Margaret Hury of Yoxford on the other part, it is witnessed, that the said Humfry and the brethren and systern, of their godly love and intent have not only takyn the sayd Margaret into the said hospytall beinge a sore diseased person wythe an horyble syckness, but also have admytted and made the seyd Margaret a syster of the same house during her naturall lyfe, accordinge to the auncyent custom and order of the same; trustynge in our Lord God, wythe the helpe and devocon of good dysposed people, to prepare for the same Margaret, mete, drink, clothinge, washinge, chamberinge, and lodginge, good and holsome, duringe the naturall lyff of the said Margaret, mete for such a person.

Humphrey Trame, by his will of 1596, gave to the hospital

one bible, one service-book, and ye desk to them belonging, to go and remain for ever with the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, to the intent that the sick, then and there abiding, for the comfort of their souls may have continual recourse unto the same.[4]

46. THE HOSPITAL OF DOMUS DEI, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

The hospital of St. John, more usually known as the 'Domus Dei' or God's House, was founded by Abbot Edmund 1248–56.

There is a chartulary in the British Museum, drawn up about 1425, when Thomas Wyger was warden, pertaining to the Domus Dei, 'gallice Maysondieu'; described as being outside the south gate of the town of St. Edmunds, and under the governorship of the prior of the monastery.[5]

It was established by Abbot Edmund, when Richard was prior, for supplying hospitality and refreshment to Christ's poor without any fraud or diminution. If any of the poor in the hospital fell into any grave sickness and were not able to depart, they were to tarry till strong enough to go on their way. No brother or sister was to be admitted except they were approved by two wise and discreet wardens who were to act under the guidance of the almoner. Mass was not to be celebrated in the house, nor any altar erected, but a room was to be provided for private prayer.[6]

A revised ordination of this house by Abbot Simon and the convent shows that the original house had proved inconvenient, so that a new and much enlarged house was built. In this enlarged Domus Dei a chapel and altar were provided for the inmates, and there was also a graveyard attached for the burial of any who might die within the walls.[7]

Several masters or chaplains of this house are named in the chartulary. They were instituted by the prior of the abbey. Thus in 1394 Prior John Gifford inducted Reginald Sexter, and in 1416 Prior Robert Iklynham inducted Richard Sudbury.[8]

Richard II in 1392 licensed Robert Stabler chaplain, William Say chaplain, John Redgrave chaplain, and two others, to alienate to this hospital property in Bury and Westhill, in aid of sustaining a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of Domus Dei; the charter recites the consent of the abbot and convent in 1379 to the founding of a chantry in this hospital for the souls of John Kokerel and Clare his wife, Stephen Kokerel and Agnes his wife, and several others. The stipend for this chantry priest was to be 33*s.* 4*d.* to be paid by the master; in addition to board and lodging and fire.[9]

William Place, priest, master of the hospital of St. John Evangelist, by will of 21 July, 1504, proved on 1 December, 1504, bequeathed small sums to the church of St. Mary, Bury, and to various friars at Lynn, and particular gifts to the abbey of Bury. He made no mention of the hospital of which he had charge, but possibly it benefited, for he left the residue of his goods to his executors to do other good deeds as they should think best to the pleasure of God.[10]

[1] Jermyn MSS., cited in Suckling's *Hist. of Suff.* i, 22.
[2] Add. MS. 19112, fol. 58.
[3] Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iv, m. 3.
[4] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 22–4, where the later history of the hospital is recorded.
[5] Arundel MS. i. This chartulary consists of thirty-nine folios, the last nine of which are on paper.
[6] Ibid. fol. 1.
[7] Ibid. 1*b*, 2; Harl. MS. 638, fol. 138*b*, 139.
[8] Arundel MS. i, 16*a*, 17*a*.
[9] Harl. MS. 638, fol. 24,192; Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.
[10] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 105–6.

WARDENS OF DOMUS DEI, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

Adam,[1] *temp.* Hen. III
Simon de Sermingham,[2] 1332, 1337
John de Serton,[3] 1371
Reginald Sexter,[4] 1394
Richard Sudbury,[5] 1416
Thomas Wyger,[6] *c.* 1425
William Place,[7] died 1504

47. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

The hospital of St. Nicholas stood a short distance without the east gate. The establishment consisted of a master, a chaplain, and several brethren. It was founded by an abbot of Bury St. Edmunds; but the exact date and the particular abbot are unknown.

The earliest known dated reference to it is of the year 1224, when Henry III granted a fair to the master of the hospital of St. Nicholas, to be held on the feast and vigil of the Translation of St. Nicholas.[8]

The oldest of several charters at the Bodleian relative to this hospital is perhaps of a little earlier date, *c.* 1215; it is a grant from Richard de la Care, the prior, and the brethren of the hospital of St. Nicholas without the east gate of St. Edmunds to the hospital of St. Peter of all their right in land called 'Holdefader Acre,' lying at 'Dristnapes'; for this grant the brethren of St. Peter gave 6*s.* of silver.[9] Other undated deeds of a slightly later date refer to further transfers between the two hospitals.[10]

In 1325 Edward II granted pardon to the brethren of St Nicholas for acquiring from Hervey de Staunton, the king's clerk, land and rent in the town of St. Edmunds, in aid of the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate daily in the hospital for the king and his children and for the souls of Abbot John and the faithful departed.[11]

The master and brethren of the hospital of St. Nicholas obtained licence in 1392 for the alienation to them, by Thomas Ewelle and others, of land and meadows in Bury, Langham, and Great Barton.[12]

The chantry of Henry Staunton's founding in the chapel of this hospital seems to have been usually held by one of the obedientiaries of the great abbey. In 1351 it was held by John de Sneylewell, the sacrist, and at another time by Edmund de Brundish, the prior.[13]

The Valor of 1535 names John Keall as chaplain of the chapel of St. Nicholas without the east gate. At that time the mastership and the chaplaincy were apparently combined. The clear value is given as £6 19*s.* 1*d.* a year.[14]

Master Henry Rudde, doctor of Bury, by will of 1506, bequeathed to the hospital of St. Nicholas 'a vestement of whyte satyn and bordrid with Seynt Nicholas arms, to the value of V mark,'[15] and Anne Buckenham, of Bury, by will of 1534, left 'to the chapell of Sainte Nicholas, of whom I holde my house, a litle chalis.'[16]

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

Richard de la Care,[17] *c.* 1215
William Maymond,[18] 1343
John Gerrard,[19] 1396
William Stowe,[20] 1459
John Keall,[21] 1535

48. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. PETER, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

St. Peter's Hospital stood without the Risby gate, but within the abbey jurisdiction. It was founded by Abbot Anselm towards the close of the reign of Henry I, for the maintenance of infirm, leprous, or invalided priests, or in their absence of other aged and sick persons.

The earliest deeds in the muniment room of the Guildhall, Bury St. Edmunds, are a parcel chiefly of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, concerning the possessions of the hospital of St. Peter, which are now attached to the Grammar School. There is one, however, of the reign of Henry II which recites the gift to this hospital by Simon de Whepstede of 12*d.* rent for the lights before the altar of St. Mary within the hospital church.

Scientia, widow of Gilbert de la Gaye, gave 10*s.* annual rent from a building in St. Edmunds, in return for which Robert de Baketone, clerk, then prior of the hospital, granted her a weekly mass for her soul and the souls of her ancestors and the souls of brethren dying in the hospital. What was left of the rent, after paying for the masses, was to be expended in shoes for the brethren.[22] There are also at the Bodleian a variety of other undated deeds, *temp.* Henry III, of small grants to this hospital,[23] and several grants

[1] Arundel MS. i, fol. 8.
[2] Ibid. 14. [3] Ibid. 15*a*. [4] Ibid. 16*a*.
[5] Ibid. 17*a*. [6] Ibid. *passim*.
[7] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 105.
[8] Close, 8 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 8.
[9] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 33.
[10] Ibid. 28, 30, 83.
[11] Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 10. [12] Ibid.
[13] Add. MS. 19103, fol. 160.
[14] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 466.
[15] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 107. [16] Ibid. 138.
[17] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 33. [18] Ibid. 105.
[19] Harl. MS. 638, fol. 145*b*.
[20] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 123.
[21] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 466.
[22] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 155–6.
[23] Ibid. 29, 31–3, 40, 47, 61, 62, 65, &c.

of rents in the reign of Edward I,[1] and in 1324 an annual rental of 12*d.* from a messuage in St. Edmunds, in Scolehallestrete, was granted to Thomas de Swanstone, warden of St. Peter's.[2]

The last pre-Reformation master, Christopher Lant, occurs in a deed of 1538, whereby the master and brethren appointed Edmund Hurste, their proctor, to ask and collect in their name, throughout England, alms and charity for the leprous of the hospital of St. Peter.[3]

Though not originally founded exclusively for lepers, this hospital gradually become confined to such cases. It was ordained by the abbot and convent in 1301 that when any priests of the charnel were disabled by any incurable disease, they were to be maintained at St. Saviour's Hospital; but if they were infected with any contagious disorder, they were to be sent to the hospitals of St. Peter or St. Nicholas.[4]

There is a reference in another of the abbey registers to the *Leprosi extra Risby Gate*.[5] In its later history, the hospital of St. Peter was always referred to as a lazar-house. The Valor of 1535 gives the gross income of the chapel of St. Peter of the foundation of the abbot of St. Edmunds, of which Christopher Lant, clerk, was then master, as £20 16*s.* 8½*d.*, and the net income as £10 18*s.* 10½*d.* Out of the gross, £4 is entered as paid in alms 'pauperibus le Lazares House extra Rysbygate de Bury.'[6]

It is rather singular that the income of this hospital was specially assessed in 1535; for in 1528 a bull was obtained from Pope Clement authorizing the annexing of this hospital, together with St. Saviour's, to the abbey, the income being specially appropriated for hospitality at the abbot's table; in the case of St. Peter's, however, this project does not seem to have been carried out.[7]

In the first instance, St. Peter's hospital was under the immediate control of the abbey almoner;[8] but in the time of Henry III and onwards it was ruled by a master who was a secular priest appointed by the almoner. This hospital continued after the dissolution of the great majority of kindred institutions, for in 1551 protection (or licence to beg) was granted to the lazars of the hospital of St. Peter nigh St. Edmunds Bury, for one year; and George Hodgson, 'guide' of the house, was appointed their proctor.[9]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 72, 78, 90, 91.
[2] Ibid. 100. [3] Ibid. 151.
[4] Reg. Sacr. fol. 86.
[5] Reg. Kansyk, fol. 94.
[6] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 465.
[7] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 244–5.
[8] Reg. Nigrum, fol. 185.
[9] Strype, *Eccl. Mem. Edw. VI*, ii, 249.

Masters or Priors of the Hospital of St. Peter, Bury St. Edmunds

Alan,[10] *c.* 1225
Gilbert de Pollekot,[11] *c.* 1240
Robert de Baketone,[12] *c.* 1260
William son of Bartholomew *alias* Livermore,[13] *c.* 1275
Robert,[14] occurs 1280
William,[15] *c.* 1300
Thomas de Swanstone,[16] occurs 1324
Walter Burton,[17] occurs 1439
Christopher Lant,[18] occurs 1538
George Hodgson,[19] occurs 1551

49. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. PETRONILLA, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

Near to the hospital of St. John, or 'Domus Dei,' out of the south gate, stood the hospital of St. Petronilla, or St. Parnel, for leprous persons.[20] It is ignored both by Dugdale and Tanner, but was clearly a separate foundation apart from the Domus Dei, and founded by one of the early abbots.

Edward Steward was the master in 1535, when the clear annual value was declared to be £10 17*s.* 1½*d.* The income was derived from temporalities in Bury, Whepstead, and Rushbrooke, and from a portion of the rectory of Mildenhall. £4 11*s.* 8*d.*, apparently apart from the just cited income, was paid to the poor of the house of St. Petronilla.[21]

The hospital is referred to in various documents as to land transfers of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth, wherein it is diversely described as the hospital of St. Petronilla, St. Peternelda, St. Pernell, and St. Parnell.[22]

50. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. SAVIOUR, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

The hospital of St. Saviour, without the north gate, was begun by Abbot Samson about the year 1184, but it was not finished nor fully endowed until the time of King John. It was originally founded for a warden, twelve chaplain priests, six clerks, twelve poor men, and twelve poor women.[23]

Abbot Samson and the convent granted to the hospital the place upon which the buildings

[10] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 28, 83.
[11] Ibid. 66. [12] Ibid. 76. [13] Ibid. 77.
[14] Ibid. 70, 84, 87. [15] Ibid. 1386.
[16] Ibid. 100. [17] Ibid. 113. [18] Ibid. 151.
[19] Strype, *Eccl. Mem. Edw. VI*, ii, 249.
[20] There were considerable remains of it as late as 1780.
[21] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 461, 465.
[22] Add. MS. 19103, fol. 164.
[23] Liber Niger, fol. 24, 30.

stood ; £13 in silver of their village of Icklingham ; two portions of their church of Melford ; portions of certain tithes ; eight acres of corn in Cockfield ; and their houses at 'Telefort,' saving to the monastery an annual service of 2*s.*, and to the canons 12*d.* This grant was confirmed on 16 July, 1206, by John de Gray, bishop of Norwich.[1]

The annual value of this hospital in 1291 is set down at the round sum of £10.[2]

A charter of Abbot John, 1292, relative to this hospital, lays down that the inmates henceforth must be poor ; that 6*s.* 8*d.* was to be allowed to clerks and laymen, and 5*s.* to sisters ; and that the warden was to be a man of prudence and discretion. The endowment was at the same time augmented by 10 acres of land and two of meadow near the south gate, and by 22*d.* rent in the town.[3]

In the time of Edward I, there were only seven chaplains, and it was decided to dismiss the poor sisters and in their place to receive and maintain old and infirm priests.[4]

In 1336 the abbey successfully resisted the crown's custom of imposing pensioners on the hospital funds ; securing a grant that after the death of John de Broughton the hospital should not again be called upon to provide corrodies out of its revenues.[5]

In 1390 William the abbot, with the consent of Adam de la Kyndneth, guest-master, granted to Edward Mersh of Ickworth a corrody in this hospital for his life. In the following year Robert Rymer was granted a corrody by the same abbot in St. Saviour's, through the vacancy caused by the death of Edward Mersh.[6] In the year 1392 John Reve, of Pakenham, was admitted an inmate on the following terms : he was to have board and lodging in the hospital for life, and to receive annually a gown, a pair of stockings, and a pair of shoes. It is added in a memorandum that John Reve in consideration of this grant was to pay to the master of the hospital, towards the new fabric of the hospital, the large sum of 26 marks by the hand of Robert Ashfield. The hospital was also used from time to time as a refuge for worn-out priests. Abbot John of Northwold, when founding the charnel house, laid down that its two chaplains, when they became infirm, were to be admitted to St. Saviour's Hospital, save if they were suffering from any contagious disease, when they were to be sent to the hospital of St. Peter or that of St. Nicholas.[7]

Among the town muniments are five rolls of accounts of this hospital for the years 1353–4, 1374–5, 1385–6, 1386–7, and 1438–9. Mention is made in the accounts for 1386–7 (when the receipts were £106 2*s.* 9½*d.* and the expenses £234 3*s.* 6¾*d.*), among the ornaments of the chapel of St. Thomas in the infirmary church, of 12*s.* for a silver box placed beneath the feet of an image, and a base (corbel stone) bought of Simon, the abbey mason, at 5*s.*, for the image to stand on at the right corner of the altar. Also three books with the services of the passion and translation of St. Thomas, 13*s.* 4*d.* Sixpence was paid to a messenger going to Clare to get a doctor in theology to preach on St. Thomas's Day, and then on to Sudbury for tiles for the pavement of St. Thomas's Chapel. A suffragan bishop received a gift this year, as well as his chaplain and servant ; he probably attended to consecrate the chapel or altar of St. Thomas.[8]

St. Saviour's Hospital was by far the largest and most important institution of its kind in the town. It suffered much at the hands of the rioters of 1327, both in stock and goods ; the loss was valued at £21 9*s.* 6*d.*, including horses, cows, and pigs, as well as smaller articles, such as six silver spoons worth 7*s.* 6*d.*, and a maser worth a mark.[9]

The accounts of this hospital are not entered separately from those of the abbey in the Valor of 1535. There are eight entries of dues payable to the hospital from certain abbey properties, amounting to £6 2*s.* 3*d.*[10] This intermingling of the accounts of the hospital with those of the abbey arose from the fact that in 1528 Pope Clement issued a bull whereby the profits of this hospital were annexed to the abbey and specially assigned for the exercise of hospitality at the abbot's table.[11]

The hospital site and buildings (save the lead) were granted on its suppression by Henry VIII to Sir John Williams and Anthony Stringer in February, 1542–3, but they almost immediately received licence to alienate to Nicholas Bacon and Henry Ashfield.[12]

Wardens of the Hospital of St. Saviour, Bury St. Edmunds

Peter de Shenedon,[13] occurs 1318
Nicholas Snytterton,[14] occurs 1374
Walter de Totyngtone,[15] occurs 1385
John Power,[16] occurs 1390
Adam de Lakyngheth,[17] 1406

[1] Bodl. Chart. Suff. ii.
[2] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 133.
[3] Harl. MS. 638, fol. 138.
[4] Liber Niger, fol. 30.
[5] Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.
[6] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 61*b*.
[7] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vi, 297.
[8] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. viii, 128–30
[9] Arnold, *Mem.* ii, 346.
[10] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 451, 453, 461–4.
[11] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 244–5.
[12] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pt. i, 131, 133.
[13] Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 27.
[14] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, pt. 8, 128.
[15] Ibid. 129.
[16] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17.
[17] Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 103*b*.

51. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, DUNWICH

A leper hospital dedicated in honour of St. James, consisting of a master, with several leprous brothers and sisters, existed at Dunwich at least as early as the reign of Richard I. Walter de Riboff was one of the chief benefactors, and by some considered the founder. By his charter, apparently early in the reign of John, he granted to the church of St. James and the house of lepers of Dunwich, and to Hubert the chaplain who ministered there and to all successive chaplains, for the soul of Henry de Cressie and his own good estate, 40 acres of land at Brandeston, various plots in other places, together with eight bushels of wheat at Michaelmas, two loaves of bread (daily) from his oven, and a sextary (pint and a half) of ale from his brewhouse wherever his residence might be, and the tithes of his mills. To the chaplain he also assigned an annual pension of 5*s.*, and a comb of corn yearly at Michaelmas, to be divided between two leprous brethren, one of the chaplain's nomination and one of the nomination of himself and his heirs; any of the household of the hospital who were healthy (not lepers) were to receive the sacraments and make their offerings at the church of Brandeston on festivals. The dead were to be buried in the graveyard of the mother church.[1]

Pope Gregory IX, in 1233, granted licence confirmatory of letters by Pope Lucius to the lepers of St. James, Dunwich, to receive legacies and trusts left for their use.[2]

Protection was granted by Edward II, in 1312, with authority to seek alms for one year, to the master and brethren of St. James, Dunwich, as they had not sufficient wherewith to live unless they obtained succour from others.[3] This licence was renewed for another twelvemonth in each of the three following years, for the same reason.[4] This annual sanction for collecting alms was also maintained from 1320 to 1323.[5] In 1330 it was renewed, and in 1331 the same was granted for two years to the master, brethren, and their attorneys collecting alms in the churches; the king's bailiffs were to prevent any unauthorized persons collecting in their name.[6]

Weever, writing in 1631, says of this hospital:—

> The church is a great one, and a faire large one after the old fashion, and divers tenements, houses, and land to the same belonging, to the use of the poor, sicke, and impotent people there. But now lately, greatly decaied and hindred by evil Masters of the said Hospital, and other evilly disposed covetous persons, which did sell away divers lands and rents from the said Hospitall, to the great hinderance of the poor people of the said Hospital, as is plainly to be proved.[7]

Gardner says (1754) that the former great income had dwindled to £21 19*s.* 8*d.*, of which 48*s.* went to the master, and the residue to maintain three or four indigent people 'who reside in one poor old house, being all the remains of the buildings, except the shells of the church and chapel.'[8]

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, DUNWICH

Hubert,[9] *c.* 1200
William Coterell,[10] 1389
John Peyntneye,[11] 1392
Hugh Blythe,[12] 1393
Edmund Lyster,[13] occurs 1401
Adam Reyner,[14] occurs 1499

The thirteenth-century seal of this hospital shows a full-length figure of St. James with nimbus, having the right hand raised in benediction, and a crutch or cross-tau in the left. On each side is an eschallop shell. Legend:—

SIGILL'. SACTI. IACOBI. I. . . . . .
DON . . . . .[15]

52. THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, DUNWICH

A hospital dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but more often mentioned as the Domus Dei, Maison Dieu, or God's House of Dunwich, was founded at an early date, though no records of it have been found before the reign of Henry III. It was then and afterwards in the patronage of the king, and consisted of a master and six brethren and certain sisters.

In October, 1304, Edward I granted simple protection to the master, brethren, and sisters of the hospital of the Domus Dei, Dunwich.[16] In the following March Robert de Sefeld, and at the same time two other benefactors, were licensed to alienate to the hospital land in Dunwich and Westleton.[17] Royal protection authorizing the collection of alms was renewed by Edward I in 1306,[18] and Edward II granted a year's protec-

[1] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 196; Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 62–5.
[2] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 137.
[3] Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21.
[4] Ibid. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 12; 8 Edw. II, pt i, m. 7; 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29.
[5] Ibid. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.
[6] Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 33.
[7] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 719.
[8] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 63.
[9] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 196.
[10] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19.
[11] Ibid. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17.
[12] Ibid. 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 22.
[13] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 197.
[14] Ibid. 189–90.
[15] B. M. Cast, lxxi, 105.
[16] Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 2.
[17] Ibid. 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 13.
[18] Ibid. 34 Edw. I, m. 21.

tion in 1311, which was renewed in 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, and again in 1323, when it was stated that the house had fallen into debt.[1]

In 1330 Edward III granted protection for three years to the master, brethren, sisters, and envoys of the Maison Dieu of Dunwich, as they were compelled by their poverty to seek alms elsewhere,[2] and in 1337 protection was renewed for a year.[3]

The arm of the civil law was invoked by the brethren and sisters of this house in 1306, to recover from the abbot of St. Osyth, Essex, a certain cross which he had taken away, and to which very many people used to resort from divers parts, bringing with them considerable offerings (*non modicas largitiones*). The abbot was ordered to deposit the cross in Chancery, and eventually on the sworn evidence of good men of Dunwich that this was the actual cross that had been taken from God's House of their town, the abbot was compelled, in the presence of the chancellor, to restore the cross into the hands of Adam de Bram, master of the hospital.[4]

On 24 October, 1378, Richard II revoked the letters patent of the late king granting to John Wodecot the custody of the Maison Dieu of Dunwich; for it had been granted on the false suggestion that it was void by the death of Roger de Elyngton, king's clerk, appointed in February, 1365, on the resignation of John de Tamworth. Restitution was to be made to Roger.[5]

In 1455 Sibyl Francis made a bequest to the fabric of the church of 'le Mesyndieu'; Robert Sharparew left 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1512 to the reparation of the 'Mezendew'; and in 1527 there was a legacy towards the paving of the church.

In Weever's time (1631) the church had been pulled down. He describes the hospital as decayed, like that of St. James, through evil masters and other covetous persons, but still possessing divers tenements, lands, and rents for the poor of the hospital.[6]

Gardner (1754) states that in his days the income, through 'ill-disposed rules,' was reduced to £11 17*s*. The master drew £2 as salary, and the rest was divided

among a few Poor who live in the Masters and another old decrepid House, being all that is left of the Buildings, except a small portion of the South Wall of the Church.[7]

[1] Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22, &c.
[2] Ibid. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.
[3] Ibid. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 5.
[4] Prynne, *Antiq. Const Regni Angliae*, 1137–8.
[5] Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 25.
[6] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 719. He adds, 'I would to God these injuries and wrongs don to these two poore Hospitals might be restored, and reformed again to their former estate. For, surely, whosoever shall doe it, shall doe a good worke before God; I pray God bring it to passe, Amen.'
[7] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, 66.

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, DUNWICH

Robert Falconis,[8] died 1290
Robert de Sefeld,[9] appointed 1290, removed 1305
Adam de Bram,[10] appointed 1306
John de Langeton,[11] appointed 1319
John de Tamworth,[12] resigned 1365
Roger de Elyngton,[13] appointed 1365
John Elyngton,[14] resigned 1386
John Hereford,[15] appointed 1386
William Coterell,[16] appointed 1389
Adam de Elyngton,[17] appointed 1390
John Lucas,[18] appointed 1390
John Hopton,[19] appointed 1466

The common seal of this house is a large oval, bearing in the centre the three lions of Henry III surmounted by a triple cross, on the lowest limb of which are two *fleurs-de-lis*. Legend :—

SIGILLUM. FRATRUM. DOMUS. DEI. DE. DONEWICO.[20]

53. THE HOSPITAL OF EYE

There was a leper hospital outside the town of Eye which was probably of early foundation, but no record has been found concerning it earlier than the reign of Edward III.

Protection was granted in 1329 to Adam Fraunceis, master, and the brethren of the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen without the town of Eye, and for their messengers collecting alms about the realm, as they had nothing of their own whereon to live,[21] and in 1337 similar protection was granted for two years.[22]

Tanner says that it continued till the Dissolution, and was under the government of the bailiff and burgesses of the town.[23]

54. THE LEPER HOUSE OF GORLESTON

Not much is known of the lazar-house of Gorleston. It was probably one of those leper houses of early establishment of which records are so few, as they were supported almost entirely

[8] Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 42.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid. 34 Edw. I, m. 21.
[11] Ibid. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 6.
[12] Ibid. 2 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 25.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid. 10 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19, 17.
[17] Ibid. pt. iii, m. 4.
[18] Ibid. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40.
[19] Ibid. 6 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 19.
[20] Gardner, *Hist. of Dunwich*, pl. opp. p. 43.
[21] Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.
[22] Ibid. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.
[23] Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xx, 2.

by the alms of those entering or leaving the town on whose outskirts they were planted.

Protection was granted by Edward III for two years, in June, 1331, to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (*sic*), Gorleston, and their messengers collecting alms, as the house had not sufficient means of subsistence.[1]

The house is mentioned in a will of 1372, and again in 1379, when Simon Atte Gap, of Great Yarmouth, bequeathed a legacy of 6*s*. 8*d*. towards its maintenance.[2]

Part of its small possessions were held of the manor of Gapton by the tenure of a yearly pair of gloves. In the receipts of Gapton Hall court roll for 1643 is entered :—

> Received of Humphrey Prince, gent, for one acre called Glove Acre, a payer of gloves, of him for the house, late the hospital of St. James (*sic*) in Southtowne, Geth by the way of Yarmouth viii*d*.[3]

Some of its lands are now in possession of Magdalen College, Oxford ; they were known as 'Spytelyng in Gorleston.'[4]

55 AND 56. THE LEPER HOSPITALS OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN AND ST. JAMES, IPSWICH

The first known mention of the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Ipswich, occurs in 1199, when King John granted it a fair on the feast of St. James the Apostle.[5] This grant was confirmed and extended by Henry VI in 1430, when the fair was authorized to be held on the land of this house, on both the day and the morrow of St. James's festival.[6]

There was also a leper hospital of St. James in this town, which was united to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen in the fourteenth century, and held by a common master. The joint mastership of the two hospitals was in the gift of the bishop, and to it was usually annexed the church of St. Helen with the chapel of St. Edmund. There are many collations to this joint benefice in the diocesan registers.

In October, 1324, the custody of the administration of the goods of the leper hospital of St. James, then vacant, was committed to the custody of the (rural) dean of Carlford, according to ancient custom, so that he might answer for the time being for the receipts and expenditure of the house.[7]

[1] Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34.
[2] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i, 37.
[3] Gapton Ct. R. cited by Suckling, ibid.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, 461, 463.
[5] Chart. R. 1 John, pt. ii, No. 91.
[6] Add. Chart. 10104.
[7] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 117. The dates are those of appointment.

MASTERS OF THE LEPER HOSPITALS OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN AND ST. JAMES, IPSWICH

Alexander,[8] 1336
William Olde de Debenham,[9] 1351
John May de Multon,[10] 1361
Thomas de Claxtone,[11] 1367
John de Blakenham,[12] 1369
Stephen Ingram,[13] 1385, reappointed 1390[14]
William de Cotsmore,[15] 1399
William Tanner,[16] 1409
Robert Markys,[17] resigned 1464
Robert Lang,[18] 1464
Thomas Bullok,[19] 1468
Thomas Eyton,[20] 1472

57. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, IPSWICH

There was a third leper hospital of early foundation at Ipswich—that of St. Leonard, in the parish of St. Peter, near the old church of St. Augustine,[21] probably but slenderly endowed, and relying chiefly on the alms of travellers. A commission appointed in 1520 to define the bounds of the town of Ipswich began its report in these terms :—

> 'From the bull stake on the Cornhill in the said burgh of Yepiswiche unto the close of the hospitall of Seynt Leonard, & from thens . . .'[22]

It escaped suppression under Henry VIII and Edward VI. In 1583 Henry Bury was appointed 'Master of the hospital and Sick House of St. Leonard,' vacant by the death of Philip Apprice. At the same time Henry Lawrey, beadle of the hospital, had £1 6*s*. 8*d*. added to his salary for his great pains.

In 1606 'the preaching place' in the hospital was ordered to be restored and the head of the pulpit ceiled.[23]

58 AND 59. THE HOSPITALS OF ORFORD

There seem to have been two hospitals at Orford in honour respectively of St. Leonard and St. John Baptist, the former in all probability for lepers. We have only met with a single record reference to each.

The master and brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard, Orford, obtained the royal licence to seek alms in October, 1320.[24]

[8] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 88.
[9] Ibid. iv, 134.
[10] Ibid. v, 53.
[11] Ibid. v, 76.
[12] Ibid. v, 86.
[13] Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.
[14] Ibid. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40.
[15] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 252.
[16] Ibid. vii, 23.
[17] Ibid. xi, 145.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. xi, 170.
[20] Ibid. xi, 184.
[21] Taylor, *Index Mon.* 116.
[22] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 232.
[23] Add. MS. 19094, fol. 144.
[24] Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16.

In 1390 Richard II granted to his servant William Coterell, for life, the wardenship of the hospital of St. John, Orford, in conjunction with the hospital of Holy Trinity and St. James, Dunwich.[1]

A chapel of St. John Baptist was standing in 1500 on the north side of the river.[2]

60. THE HOSPITAL OF DOMUS DEI, THETFORD

God's House, or Domus Dei, was a house of early foundation. Blomefield believed that it dated back to the days when William Rufus removed the episcopal see from Thetford to Norwich,[3] but Martin could find no sufficient proof of this.[4] It was situated on the Suffolk side of the borough; the river washed its walls on the north, and the east side fronted the street.

It was at any rate well established before the reign of Edward II, as it was found, in 1319, that John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, held the advowson of the God's Hospital, Thetford.[5] In that year a considerable store of cattle and goods is described as having been acquired by the prudence and frugality of William de Norton, the late master, and left under the care of the bishop; his successor was enjoined not to dispose by sale or donation of any of the particulars of the inventory without leaving to the house an equivalent.[6]

The new master does not, however, appear to have followed the good example of William Norton; for he is soon found to be holding other preferment, and was probably non-resident. In 1326 William Harding, master of God's House, Thetford, and rector of Cerncote, Salisbury diocese, acknowledged a debt of eleven marks due to one Stephen de Kettleburgh.[7] In the same year he was also warden of the hospital of St. Julian, Thetford.

In 1335, John de Warenne obtained the royal licence to transfer the hospital of God's House with all its revenues and possessions to the prior provincial of the Friars Preachers; but speedily changing his mind obtained another licence for transferring it to the prior and canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Thetford.[8] By this arrangement it was covenanted that the priory should find two chaplains to sing mass for the soul of the founder of the hospital, and to find sustenance and entertainment for three poor men.

In 1347 Henry, duke of Lancaster, as patron, confirmed to the prior and canons the gift of the lands, tenements, and rents lately belonging to the hospital of God's House, but excepted the actual site of the hospital, which he conferred upon the Friars Preachers. Two of the canons were to sing daily mass in the conventual church for the souls of the founders of the hospital. The priory was also to find a house yearly for three poor people from 9 November to 29 April, giving to each of them nightly a loaf of good rye bread, and a herring or two eggs. They were also to provide three beds, and hot water for washing their feet. This charter received royal confirmation the following year.[9]

61. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN, THETFORD

There was a leper hospital dedicated in honour of St. John on the Suffolk side of the town. Martin gives references to it under the reigns of Edward I, II, and III. In 1387 John of Gaunt, as already detailed in the account of the friary, gave the old parochial church of St. John to the friars, which then became the chapel of the hospital. At the time of the dissolution it was demolished as part of the friars' property, and the site was granted to Sir Richard Fulmerston.[10]

62. THE HOSPITAL OF SIBTON

There was a hospital near the gate of Sibton Abbey. Though there is but little to put on record about it, it is given separate mention, as it had an income independent of the abbey.

Simon bishop of Norwich appropriated to it the church of Cransford for the better support of the inmates in the year 1264.[11]

There are slight remains on the site.

63. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, SUDBURY

Most of our leper houses were of early foundation, whilst the crusades were in progress, but one was founded, about a mile outside Sudbury, as late as 1272, by John Colneys or Colness, its first governor or warden. Colneys applied to Simon of Sudbury, then bishop of

[1] Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19, 17.
[2] Add MS. 19101, fol. 106.
[3] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 79.
[4] Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 92.
[5] Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 9.
[6] Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 77.
[7] Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 9.
[8] Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.
[9] Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.
[10] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 71–2; Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 97–8. There is a certain amount of confusion as to two leper hospitals, one of St. John, and the other of St. John Baptist; but the house had possibly a double dedication.
[11] Reg. Prior. Norw. vii, fol. 80, cited in Tanner, *Notitia*, Suff. xxxviii, 2.

London, to draw up certain ordinances for its rule. The bishop assented, and from his ordinance, dated 1 May, 1372, we learn that the bishop's parents, Nigel and Sara Theobald, were also concerned in this charitable foundation. It was laid down that there were to be for ever three lepers, and after the death of John Colneys one to be chosen governor whom the other two were to obey; that when a leper died or resigned or was expelled, a third was to be chosen by the survivors within six months, but if any difficulty arose they were to inform the mayor of Sudbury, and the spiritual father of the church of St. Gregory was to put in another; that the profits of the hospital of St. Leonard were to be divided into five parts, whereof the governor was to have two parts, his two leper brethren other two parts, and the fifth part to be used in the repair of the premises; that there was to be a common chest in some church or safe place in Sudbury wherein the fifth part and the writings of the house were to be kept; and that the governor was to have one key of the chest, and the other was to be in the hands of some person deputed by the mayor of Sudbury. It was also provided that if the statutes should not be duly kept after the founder's decease, the hospital revenues should be divided between the church of St. Gregory and the chapel of St. Anne annexed to the same in equal proportions, for the souls of Colneys the founder, and of Nigel and Sara Theobald, and all the faithful departed.[1]

The estates of the hospital were vested in feoffees by deed of 16 January, 1445–6. In the later corporation books of Sudbury there are several references to the 'hospital called Colnes' and lands adjoining. In 1619–20 'the little house at the Colnes' was rebuilt. In 1657 John Rider was appointed governor of the hospital in the place of Edward Stafford; he had to find 40*s.* to be of good behaviour. The last person who bore the name of governor or master was a man called Loveday; he died in 1813.

The following was the form of oath taken by members of the hospital, on admittance:—

> You shall swear that you will well and truly observe all the ancient rules and orders of this house (as governor or fellow of the same) so long as you shall continue therein, according to the utmost of your skill and knowledge; you shall be obedient to the members thereof as your state does require in all things lawfull; you shall quietly submit to all such deprivation and expulsion as by competent authority shall be inflicted on you, for such crimes and misdemeanours as they shall judge worthy of the same; and all other rules and orders which shall hereafter be made by sufficient authority for the due governance and regulation of the said hospital you peaceably acquiesce in—So help you God.

The oath, doubtless adapted from the original one, was thus used in 1770, when Edmund Andrews was governor, and Joseph Andrews and George Gilbert fellows.[2]

By a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 1867 the net income of Colneys' charity is applied towards the support of St. Leonard's Cottage Hospital. This is one of the extraordinarily rare instances of a medical hospital escaping confiscation under Henry VIII and Edward VI. It was probably spared as there was no ground for supposing that any of the slender income was used for 'chantry' purposes.[3]

COLLEGES

64. THE COLLEGE OF JESUS, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

A college was founded at Bury in 1480 by John Smyth, esquire, a wealthy burgess, as a residence for certain chantry priests presided over by a warden or master; they were to say divine service in the church of St. Mary and to pray for the souls of the founder, of his wife Anne, his parents John and Avice, and his daughter Rose.

By his will dated 12 September, 1480, John Smyth left 20*d.* to every priest of the college present 'at myne dirige,' and he further provided that whensoever the college of priests became incorporate and had royal licence to purchase or hold property, then he desired his feoffees of the manor of Hepworth, upon due request to them by the master or president and fellowship (*phelaschep*) of the same, to deliver the said manor with its appurtenances to them for the sustentation of the said chantry priests; he also made a like provision with regard to his manor of 'Swyftys.'[4]

Six days after drafting his will, the founder executed a deed conveying the manor of Swifts to trustees, who were to assign all the profits to the master or president of the college of priests 'newe builded within the town of Bury, to be wholly applied to the building and sustention and repair of the college,' reserving, however, to himself for his life a yearly sum of 10 marks.[5]

The royal licence was obtained in the following year, founding a chantry and perpetual gild of 'the sweet name of Jesus,' consisting of a warden and society of six chaplains or priests, who were to live together in a common man-

[1] Add. MS. 19078, fol. 376.

[2] Add. MS. 19078, fol. 377.

[3] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vii, 268–74.

[4] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 56, 58.

[5] Ibid. 64–8.

sion, to pray daily for the souls of John Smyth (the deceased) and others, as well as for the brethren and sisters of the gild, and to do other works of piety.[1]

The college received various small bequests by wills of Bury townsmen. William Honyborn, of Bury, dyer, in 1493, left 12*d.* 'to the gilde of the holy name of Jesu, holden at the college.' John Coote, by will of 1502, left 3*s.* 4*d.* to the gild of St. Nicholas held in the college, and also provided that 'at my thyrty day the priests of the colage to have a dyner among themseffes in the colage, after the discression of myne executors and supervisor.' Edmund Lee of Bury, esquire, in 1535, left 6*s.* 8*d.* 'to the company of the Jesus College in Bury, towards their stoke for salte fyshe and lynge.' Thomas Neche, master of the college, was one of the witnesses of this will.[2]

This college was suppressed by Edward VI. The Chantry and College Commissioners of 2 Edward VI made the following report of this establishment :—

The messuage called the Colledge wythe vj small tenements in Burye. In feoffamente by oone William Coote clerke to contynnewe for ever to the intente that in the seid Capytall Messuage nowe called the Colledge, all the priestes of the paryssh churches of Seynte Jaymes and Seynte Maryes in Bury should contynually kepe & have their lodgings. And in iiij of the seide small tenementes iiij poore mene should have other dwellynges free for ever. And thother two tenementes to be letten yearly, and with the money that shoulde growe of the farme, the seid vj houses shoulde mayntayne the seid vj houses in reparation. The whiche capytall messuage and ij tenements bene at this daye and at all tymes sythe decayse commytted to thuse aforeseide and noother. And oone Thomas Neche clerke of thage of lxiii yeres having *cs.* yerely in the name of a pencian owte of the parsonage of Founcham All Seyntes, and hath the parsonage of Trayton of the close yerely valew of vj *li*, and xl*s* of a prebente in Staffordshyre. A manne beinge indifferently welle learned.'

The college is described as being distant two furlongs from the parish church, and of the annual value of 40*s.* The goods and household stuff were valued at 77*s.* 2*d.*, and a bell weighing 20 lb. at 3*s.* 4*d.*

Separate entry is made of a chantry endowment of £6 8*s.* 4*d.* yearly value, for the master or president of the college to say mass for the soul of William Coote in the parish church of St. Mary's, which was also held by Thomas Neche.

Also of another chantry founded by John Smyth for a chaplain of the college to say mass in St. Mary's Church, of the value of £12. The chantry priest was John Stacye, and the surplus was to be used for the repairs of the college.[3]

[1] Pat. 21 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 5.
[2] Tymms, *Bury Wills*, 81, 92, 125, 127.
[3] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 44.

65. THE COLLEGE OF DENSTON

Edward IV, on 1 March, 1475, licensed Sir John Howard, knight, and John Broughton the younger, esquire, to found a perpetual chantry or college of a warden and society of chaplains to celebrate divine service daily at Denston, and to do other works of piety according to their ordinance, to be called 'Denston Chauntry.' They were also licensed to grant in mortmain to the warden and society possessions not held in chief, to the value of £40 yearly.[4]

It was endowed with the manor of Beaumonde in Denston parish, and with lands in Lilsey, Monks Eleigh, Groton, and Badley Parva.[5]

The Valor of 1535 mentions Peter Calcott as then master of the college of Denston, of the foundation of John Denston. The rectory of Denston pertained to the college, but was then in the hands of the king, and its value is not given. The temporalities of the college were valued at £25 9*s.* 2½*d.*, but various outgoings, including 40*s.* given to the poor on the anniversary of John Denston brought down the clear annual value to £22 8*s.* 7*d.*[6]

In 1548 Denston is entered as a small college consisting of a warden or master and two priests or co-brethren. Richard Baldry, the master, had a stipend of £10 and the two priests, Richard Marshall and Robert Fisher, £5 each. They served the parish church and had a mansion house adjoining. The gross income was there set down as £27 9*s.* 2½*d.* and the net income as £22 17*s.* 1½*d.*[7] After suppression the college property was assigned in 1548 to Thomas and John Smith.[8]

66. THE CARDINAL'S COLLEGE, IPSWICH

A college of secular canons at Ipswich to which was attached a school was one of the two considerable educational schemes projected by Cardinal Wolsey. The college at Oxford came eventually to a successful issue, but the college at Ipswich perished ere it had come to maturity.

This college was erected on the site of the dissolved priory of St. Peter and St. Paul. On 14 May, 1528, the king confirmed the bull of Pope Clement for the suppression of this monastery and the founding of the college at Ipswich.[9] To help to find funds for this considerable project, the pope also sanctioned the appropriation to it of the Ipswich churches of St. Peter, St.

[4] Pat. 14 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 5.
[5] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1468.
[6] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 471.
[7] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 25.
[8] *Proc. Arch. Inst.* vi, 46.
[9] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 241.

Nicholas, St.-Mary-at-Quay, St. Clement, and St. Matthew, and the small monasteries of Snape, Dodnash, Wikes, Tiptree, Horkesley, Rumburgh, Felixstowe, Bromhill, Blythburgh, and Mountjoy, together with the various churches pertaining to them.[1]

The actual date of the laying of the foundation stone is known from the inscription with which it was at that time incised. The stone was found in two pieces built up into a common piece of walling in Woulfoun's Lane, in 1789, and given to Christ Church, Oxford. It is inserted in the wall at the entrance to the Chapter House, on the right-hand side. It bears the following inscription: 'Anno Christi 1528, et regni Henrici Octavi Regis Angliae 20 mensis vero Junii 15, positum per Johannem Episcopum Lidensem.' John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was also employed by the Cardinal to lay the first stone of his college at Oxford.[2]

The royal licence for the founding of this college in Ipswich, the cardinal's birthplace, granted in the same month as the laying of the foundation stone, set forth that it was to consist of one dean or master, twelve priests (*sacerdotes*), eight clerks, eight singing boys and poor scholars, and thirteen poor men, to pray for the good estate of the king and cardinal, and for the souls of the cardinal's parents, and also of one undermaster (*hipodidasculus*) in grammar for the said poor scholars and others coming to the college from any part of the realm. This licence also included a grant of incorporation for the foundation, bearing the name of the Cardinal's College of St. Mary in Ipswich, with mortmain licence to endow it to the annual value of £100 for the erection of chantries and appointment of anniversaries, etc.[3]

Dr. William Capon, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, was appointed dean, and on 3 July, 1528, a commission was nominated consisting of Dr. Capon, Dr. Higden, dean of Cardinal's College, Oxford, Dr. Stephen Gardiner and others, to amend and reform the statutes of the two colleges. On the same day the notarial attestation of the foundation charter of Ipswich College was made in the south gallery of Hampton Court.[4]

The exemption of the college from diocesan jurisdiction was granted by a bull of Pope Clement VII, which was confirmed by the king on 20 August, 1528.[5]

A letter from the cardinal to the younger countess of Oxford was written on 3 September, asking her to send 'two bucks next Lady Day' (Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary, 8 September), to the college at Ipswich, for the entertainment of Drs. Stevyns and Lee, whom he is sending thither for the induction of certain priests, clerks, and children, for the maintenance of God's service there. Various presents for a great dinner on this occasion also reached the college on 7 September, from the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Philip Booth, and others.[6]

The newly appointed dean wrote at length to Wolsey on 26 September, acknowledging the receipt on 6 September of parcels of vestments and plate, hangings, &c. Cromwell and Lee and Stevyns, who brought the parcels, remained in the college four days, and Cromwell was at great pains in preparing the hangings and benches for the hall, which was then well trimmed. On Our Lady's Even, the dean, subdean, six priests, eight clerks, nine choristers, and all their servants, after evensong in the college church (St. Peter's), repaired to Our Lady's Chapel and sang evensong there. They were accompanied by the bailiffs of the town, the portmen, the prior of Christ Church (Holy Trinity), and others. On 8 September it rained so continuously that the procession through the town had to be abandoned, but they made as solemn a procession as they could in the college church, all the honourable gentlemen of the shire were there as well as the town officials, the Bishop of Norwich, and the priors of Christ Church and Butley. They all dined together in the college. The dean considered the singing men well chosen, but some of them said that they had got better wages where they came from. One man was not sufficient to keep the church vestry clean, ring the bells, prepare the altar lights, etc., therefore he had put in another man and called him sexton. There were but five priests under the sub-dean, too few to keep three masses a day, and the sub-dean could not attend as he was required to superintend the buildings. Mr. Lentall was of much zeal with the quire both for mattins and masses: 'there shall be no better children in any place in England than we shall have here shortly.' He had made fifteen albs of the new cloth, but there were many more to be made. Nine bucks arrived for the Lady's Day, which were distributed with money to make merry withal to the chamberlains and head men of the town, to the bailiffs and portmen's wives, and to the curates. They also received coneys, pheasants, quails, and a fat crane. One hundred and twenty one tons of Caen stone had arrived, and he expected a hundred more after Michaelmas, and there was promise of a thousand tons more before Easter.[7]

With regard to the school attached to the college, there is an interesting letter extant of

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. ii, 4229, 4259, 4297, 4307, 4424, 5076.
[2] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vi, 334–5.
[3] Pat. 20 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 32.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. ii, 4460, 4461.
[5] Ibid. 4652.
[6] Ibid. 4696, 4706.
[7] Ibid. 4778. This letter is set forth at length in Ellis, *Orig. Let.* (1st ser.), i, 185.

William Goldwin, the schoolmaster, dated 10 January, 1528–9, to Cardinal Wolsey. He expressed his gratitude and that of the people of Ipswich, and sent specimens of the handwriting of some of the boys, who, he hopes, will soon be able to speak Italian; the number is increasing, so that the school-house is becoming too small.[1]

A letter from William Brabazon to Cromwell on 24 July, 1529, mentions that my lord's college at Ipswich is going on prosperously, and 'much of it above the ground, which is very curious work.' The sub-dean, Mr. Ellis, takes the oversight of it; he has stone and all other necessaries, and they are working day and night.[2]

In the following year came the fall of Wolsey, and with his fall this unfinished college came to an end. On the disgrace of its founder, the king claimed all the founder's property.

On 14 November, 1530, the commissioners made an inventory of all the plate and goods. They seized a vast amount of church and domestic plate, and after stripping the buildings of everything of value, they charged Dean Capon with having £1,000 of the cardinal's treasures in his possession. Not believing his denial the commissioners, with six yeomen of the guard and eighteen other persons, waited five days on the premises ere they left. On Sunday 21 November, members of the Duke of Norfolk's council took possession of the buildings, and on the morrow the dean left for London.[3]

In 1531 the actual site of the college, formerly the priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, was granted to Thomas Alvard, one of the gentlemen ushers of the king's chamber, together with all the Ipswich property pertaining to 'the late Cardynelles College.'[4] Other property of the college was granted by patent to the provost and college of Eton,[5] and yet more to the abbot and convent of Waltham.[6] 'The very site,' says Mr. Wodderspoon, 'of the Cardinal's College becomes in a brief space of time a spot for depositing of the refuse and filth of the town.'

67. THE COLLEGE OF METTINGHAM[7]

The college of Raveningham was founded on 24 July, 1350, by Sir John de Norwich, eldest son of Sir Walter de Norwich and Catherine his wife. It consisted of a master and eight secular priests or canons who were to officiate in the parish church of Raveningham for the weal of the souls of the founder and Margaret his wife, in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin, St. Andrew the Apostle, and all saints. The church was dedicated to the honour of St. Andrew, but the collegiate house, according to the foundation charter, was to be named after the Blessed Virgin.[8]

The college was well endowed by the founder and his heirs with the manors of Lyng, Howe, Blackworth, Hadeston, and Little Snoring, and with the appropriation of the churches of Raveningham and Norton Subcourse,[9] as well as with lands and rents in various other parishes.

In 1382 there was a proposal to remove the college to Mettingham Castle (Suffolk). On 5 July of that year John Plays, Robert Honeard, and Roger de Boys, knights, and John de Wolterton and Elias de Byntre, rectors of the respective churches of Harpley and Carleton, paid the immense sum of £866 13s. 4d. to the crown for licence to transfer the chantry of eight chaplains from Raveningham to Mettingham Castle; to increase the number of chaplains or canons to thirteen, and to alienate in mortmain to the college the said castle and 60 acres of land, 18 of meadow, 2 of pasture, £5 10s. in rents, and much more land in various townships, three parts of the manor of Bromfield, the manor of Mellis, and the manor of Lyng, notwithstanding that the manor last named is held of the Duke of Brittany as of the honour of Richmond.[10]

Some difficulty as to this transfer arose chiefly through the opposition of the nuns of Bungay, who had the appropriation of the church of Mettingham, and the college continued at Raveningham for several years after this date. On 6 August, 1387, the same applicants obtained a grant from the king, on the payment of the modest fee of one mark in the hanaper, to transfer the chantry of Sir John de Norwich's foundation from Raveningham, where it still was, to the church which was then being newly built in the rectory of Norton Subcourse, and that in consideration of the great fine of 1382 the master and twelve chaplains and their successors at Norton should hold all the lands and possessions granted to the chantry at Raveningham with the castle of Mettingham and all lands and possessions granted when it was proposed to move the college to that castle.[11]

A proposition for this transference to Norton had been made in the reign of Edward III and licence obtained in 1371, but it came to nought.[12] Sir John de Norwich of Mettingham Castle, by will of 1373, left his body to be buried in Raveningham church by the side of his father Sir Walter, there to rest till it could be moved to the new church of Norton Subcourse, to the building of which he bequeathed £450.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. iii, 5159.
[2] Ibid. 5792.
[3] Wodderspoon, *Mem. Ipsw.* 327–8.
[4] Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 4.
[5] Ibid. m. 27. [6] Ibid. m. 26.
[7] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 52–4; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1459; Taylor, *Index Mon.* 49.
[8] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 365.
[9] Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, fol. 31, 32.
[10] Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 35.
[11] Ibid. 11 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 25.
[12] Ibid. 45 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35.

On the death of Sir John de Norwich, the last heir male of the family, his cousin, Katharine de Brews, was found heir; Sir John Plays and Sir Robert Howard and the others who obtained licence for the removal of the college to Mettingham in 1382, and to Norton in 1387, were that lady's trustees, on whom she settled the college's inheritance.

On the removal of the master and twelve chaplains to Norton the college still retained the title of the place where it was first founded; the society was termed 'Ecclesia Collegiata S. Marie de Raveningham in Norton Soupecors.' But the college merely tarried at Norton for seven years; in 1394 it was eventually removed to the castle of Mettingham, where it remained until its dissolution.[1]

Richard Shelton, the master, and nine chaplains signed their acknowledgement of the royal supremacy of 28 September, 1534.[2]

The Valor of 1535, when Richard Skelton was master, gives the clear annual value of the temporalities in Suffolk and Norfolk of the college of the Blessed Virgin of Mettingham as £191 10s. 0¾d. and of the rectories of Raveningham and Norton as £10 17s. 5d., giving a total clear annual value of £202 7s. 5¾d. It also appears from the Valor that the college supported fourteen boys in the house and gave them education as well as board, lodging, and clothes, at an annual charge of £28.

The college was surrendered to the crown on 8 April, 1542. The surrender was signed by Thomas, bishop of Ipswich, as master or warden, with the consent of his fellows or chaplains.[3] On 14 April of the same year the college with all its possessions was granted to Sir Anthony Denny.[4]

This Denny was clerk of the Privy Chamber and keeper of Westminster Palace, and profited much by monastic and collegiate plunder. A letter from Robert Dacres of the Privy Council to Anthony Denny, dated 13 May, 1542, states that his profit had been advanced as well among the chaplains of the college as the tenants. There were secured for him two great chalices and a great pix of silver and parcel gilt, divers rich corporas cases and nineteen massive silver spoons, as well as palls of silk, &c. The college, notwithstanding the obsequious and servile wording of the 'voluntary' surrender, had made some endeavour to conceal certain church goods and other property from the legalized marauders; but 'one simple priest being well examined gave light to all these things, and then all the other priests confessed.'[5]

[1] Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 14.

[2] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 86.

[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 746–7, where the document is cited at length.

[4] Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 3.

[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 322.

MASTERS OF RAVENINGHAM COLLEGE[6]

Thomas Boyton, 1349
Alexander de Boyne, 1355
Adam Wyard, 1361
John de Carlton Rode, 1375
Roger Wiltey, 1380

68. THE COLLEGE OF STOKE BY CLARE

Richard de Clare, earl of Hereford, removed, in 1124, the monks of Bec whom his father had established in the castle of Clare to the town of Stoke. This alien priory was naturalized in 1395;[7] but in 1415 Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, its then patron, caused it to be changed into a college of secular priests or canons, by virtue of a bull from Pope John XXIII, ratified by Pope Martin V.[8]

The first charter of foundation was not sealed by the earl until 9 May, 1419;[9] and the seal of the college was attached to the statutes by Thomas Barnsley, the first dean, on 28 January, 1422–3.[10]

It was provided by the statutes that the college should consist of a dean and six canons, who were to form the chapter, to whom obedience was due from the inferior ministers, and whose order in quire, chapter, and procession is exactly set forth. They were all to reside a full thirty-two weeks yearly, the dean or vice-dean regulating the period of residence for each; every canon in residence was, on every double feast, to attend mattins, high mass, evensong, and compline, and on every festival mattins or mass or one of the hours; the dean was to hold for the college all the tithes and appurtenances of the parish churches of Stoke and Honydon, and all the tithes of the manors of Arbury and of Chilton; the dean's residence was to be in a manse called 'Locus Decani,' and he was to receive annually 20 marks; the prebends allotted to each stall, three on the south side and three on the north, are all set forth, the prebendary of the first stall on the north side having also at his disposal the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of Stoke; neither the dean nor canons were to be in bed beyond six o'clock in the morning, or at the latest half past six, save if oppressed by old age or notable infirmity; any canon absent from divine offices but found present at table at meal times was to be punished by the dean or vice-dean.

[6] From Blomefield, corrected by the episcopal registers.

[7] The making denizen of this alien priory of St. John Baptist is set forth at great length on the patent rolls. To secure this privilege from the crown, Richard Cotesford, the English-born prior, was required to pay 1,000 marks, at the rate of 100 marks a year, towards 'the new work' at St. Peter's, Westminster. Pat. 19 Ric. II. pt. i, m. 8.

[8] Cott. MS. Vit. D. xii, fol. 73, 79.

[9] Ibid. fol. 73 *d.*

[10] Ibid. fol. 81.

There were also to be eight vicars and two upper clerks sworn to continual residence, and instructed in plain song and part-song (*in plano cantu et discantu*); five chorister boys of good life to help in singing and to serve in quire, each to receive five marks a year, or at least food and clothing and all necessaries; vicars or choristers absent from mattins, mass, or evensong to be fined one penny, from the other hours a farthing, the fines to be used for buying church ornaments. There were to be, in addition, two under clerks, perpetually resident, to act as keepers of the vestments, bellringers, lamp-trimmers, door-keepers, clock-winders, &c. The mattins bell was to be rung at five and the last stroke at six; high mass to be finished at 11 a.m. and evensong at 5 p.m. All services were to follow the use of Sarum. The mass of Our Lady to be sung daily as well as the mass of the day, save when the mass of the day was of the Blessed Virgin, and then the second mass was to be of Requiem. Mattins and evensong were to be sung daily immediately after the ringing of the bell, save in Lent, when evensong of Our Lady was to follow evensong of the day. The canons were to wear grey almuces and the vicars black, and both were to wear black copes and white surplices at mattins, mass, and the other hours, after the manner of other colleges. A master was to be appointed at 40*s.* salary to teach the boys reading, plain song, part-song, &c., and to give his exclusive time to them, seeing after their clothes, beds, and other necessaries.

Every evening at eight the curfew bell was to be rung for a sufficient time to admit of walking from the chapel of St. Mary to the college, and when the bell finished every outer door was to be fastened, and no one of the household of the college, from canon to chorister, was to be permitted to be outside the house save by special permission of the dean or vice-dean. No canon, vicar, or clerk was to frequent taverns at Stoke or Ash; a canon thus offending to be suspended for a year, and other minister to be expelled. No canon (except he had an income of £40 a year), nor vicar, nor clerk was to hunt; nor were greyhounds or any kind of hunting dogs to be kept within the college save by the dean, whose dogs were not to exceed four. No canon nor minister of the college was to carry arms of any kind, either defensive or offensive, within the college, under pain, if a canon, of forfeiting the arms to the dean for the first offence, and paying a fine of 20*s.* to the church fabric for a second offence; a vicar or clerk thus acting was to be expelled. Other statutes dealt with striking blows, incontinency, slander, and debts; the attaining to a thorough knowledge of vocal and instrumental music; the offices of verger and janitor, with their respective duties and emoluments; the division and cultivation of the vicars' garden; the common seal, and its custody; the rendering of annual accounts; the arrangement of the masses; the dining in common hall, and the reading of the Bible at meals; leave of absence for eight weeks for a vicar, and six weeks for a clerk; the use of special antiphons; the ringing or causing to be rung of a bell on the chancel gable (of such sound that it would carry half a mile) by each priest when about to celebrate mass; the giving of a cope of 40*s.* value by each canon within the year of his appointment; the election of dean and canons on a vacancy, and the election of vicars, clerks, and choristers; the assigning of the churches of Gazeley, Crimplesham, and Bures, and various pensions, &c. for the sustenance of the vicars; the giving to the college by each vicar within a year of his appointment of six silver spoons, or 13*s.* 4*d.* to purchase them; and the oath to be taken by each member of the college.

The last of all these numerous statutes provided that daily, immediately after compline, there shall be sung in the Lady chapel, by all the ministers present, the antiphon of the Blessed Virgin, namely, *Salut Regina*, &c. It is noted that this one statute was added at the special petition of Richard Flemyng, bishop of Lincoln, who procured the confirmation of the statutes by Pope Martin.[1]

These statutes were slightly amended from time to time, and the number of the prebends augmented as benefactions increased.[2]

The clear annual value of the college of St. John Baptist, Stoke, was shown by the Valor of 1535 to be £324 4*s.* 1½*d.* The temporalities in Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire brought in an income of £99 11*s.* 7¾*d.* The spiritualities produced £268 4*s.*, and included the Essex rectories of Great Dunmow, Thaxted, Bardfield Magna, Bardfield Saling, Wetherfield, Finchingfield, and Bures; the Gloucestershire rectory of Bisley; the Norfolk rectory of Crimplesham, and the Suffolk rectories of Gazeley, Cavenham, Hundon, and Stoke; together with a great number of pensions or portions from other churches. The offerings at the image of the Blessed Virgin within her chapel in Carte-strete, Stoke, averaged 40*s.* a year.[3]

The church of Great Dunmow had been appropriated to the college in 1481, and that of Wetherfield in 1503.[4]

[1] These elaborate statutes are set forth in full in Latin in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1417–23. There is an English translation of them. Add. MS. 19103, 87–95.

[2] The institutions in the Norwich diocesan register of some fifty years later record admission to the sixth stall on the dean's side (the dean taking the first), and to the fifth stall on the north side, so there must have been at one time ten prebendaries.

[3] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 469–71. There were then six prebendaries and a canon.

[4] Parker MSS. C. C. C. Camb. cviii, 2–3. There is much pertaining to the endowments and statutes of Stoke College in Parker's noble collection of MSS. They are numbered cviii, 2-4, 16-18, 22-40 clxx, 137. See Nasmyth's *Catalogue* (1777).

The college was visited in February, 1493, by Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary for his brother the bishop. The visitation was attended by Richard Edenham, bishop of Bangor (1465–1496), who held the deanery, and six canons, together with three vicars, two 'conducts,' six clerks, a verger, and five choristers. There was no reform needed.[1]

All the members of the college were summoned to a visitation held by Bishop Nykke in the Lady Chapel of Sudbury College in June, 1514. The vicars-choral were first examined; their testimony was that everything was laudably conducted, but that the number of the vicars had been reduced from eight to six for many years, owing to insufficiency of income; one of their number complained that their statutory privilege of being absent for eight weeks in the year without any diminution of stipend was no longer observed. Bishop Edenham, as dean, made a satisfactory report. Thomas Whitehead, prebendary of the second stall on the south side, and Thomas Wardell, prebendary of the second stall on the north side, stated that the book of the statutes had been suspiciously erased and interlined, particularly in the parts relative to the residence of the canons and vicars. Another of the prebendaries complained that the dean and Thomas Whitehead had been illegally felling much timber and applying it to the repairs of a mill, whereas the woods were only to be used for the repairs of the college and its houses; also that Whitehead had carried off much pertaining to the college for the repair of his benefice of Birdbrook. The same prebendary, William Wiott, also stated that Whitehead lived scandalously at his benefice. A fourth prebendary said that the erasures in the book of the statutes led to many disputes; and that although there were but six vicars instead of eight, there were nevertheless four clerks serving in quire, although the statutes only provided for two. It was also alleged that profits of the appropriated churches of Dunmow and Bisley, formerly assigned for the augmentation of the vicars, were now divided among the canons. The bishop was evidently not satisfied, and prorogued his visitation to the next feast of the Annunciation.[2]

The next recorded visitation was held in June, 1520, when the suffragan Bishop of Chalcedon and two other commissaries were the visitors. The vicars had been reduced from eight to five, for whose support there was scarcely sufficient; nevertheless the 'conducts' or clerks had been increased in numbers. The fellows or prebendaries repeated their complaints as to the tampering with the book of the statutes, and consequent disputes. The visitation was prorogued until Michaelmas.[3]

In April, 1521, the master and fellows of Stoke agreed to a revision of their statutes, in the presence of the bishop's commissary, on account of the erasures and interlineations in the original copy; they promised to abide by any decision at which the bishop might arrive.[4]

Five years later, namely on 12 July, 1526, the bishop in person visited the college. Of the beginning of this visitation an unusually detailed account is preserved in the register. It was held in the chapter-house, or, as the bishop's scribe explains it, 'in the vestry which they hold to be a chapter-house in the collegiate church of Stoke.' Thomas Whitehead, the senior canon, who had held a prebend here for twenty-nine years, in the presence and with the consent of three other canons, asserted openly before the diocesan, that Richard Griffith, receiver-general and secretary of Queen Katharine, had at her command forcibly taken away, in spite of their protests, the statutes and muniments of the college, namely the book of the statutes, the bull of Pope John XXII as to the founding of the college with *bulla* attached, the confirmation of Henry V, the charter of Edmund earl of March, and the charter of Richard duke of York, with other muniments and evidences, and the common seal with three other seals. The visitation notes continue, *Et dicit magister Whitehed*, and then suddenly break off.

At this point in the visitation a startling incident occurred. A letter from the cardinal was handed to the bishop. Cardinal Wolsey was at this time endeavouring to carry out his scheme of suppressing various small religious houses that seemed to be of little use, in favour of establishing the two large collegiate foundations at Ipswich and Oxford. The pope had granted him ample powers, and he had cast his eyes on the wealthy college of Stoke. Learning that the bishop of Norwich was making a visitation tour, it became a matter of some moment to check it. The cardinal's commissioners were anxious to make out a good case for the suppression of the college, and probably had their brief prepared; moreover the non-resident master or dean of the college, 'no estimable person,' had been already gained over. But the college was now under the patronage of the queens of England, and when Queen Katharine learnt what was contemplated she acted with prompt decision, sent down her faithful servant Griffith and took possession of the title deeds. Meanwhile, on 8 July, the cardinal wrote to the dean announcing that he was about to visit the college on 1 August, with powers of a legate *a latere*. This important and ominous letter seems to have been handed to the bishop just after he had begun his visitation. Cardinal Wolsey had full power as legate to inhibit the bishop visiting, but the Bishop of Norwich was on safe ground in considering that a letter addressed to the dean of

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 42-3.
[2] Ibid. 81-3.
[3] Ibid. 132-4.
[4] Ibid. 195.

the college did not concern him, and he continued the visitation regardless of the contents. The letter, however, of the cardinal to the dean was set forth at length by the bishop's scribe in his register; it stated that the religious life of the college was said to have declined, and the dean and canons were cited to appear on 1 August before the cardinal's commissioners. This letter had reached the college on 11 July.

The notes of the interrupted but continued visitation show that Dr. William Greene, the dean, was not present, but that six prebendaries were in attendance, with eight vicars and five 'conducts' or lay stipendiaries. The result of the several examination of the canons and the vicars is set forth in detail. It was shown that the janitor of the college, who ought to be in residence, was in attendance on the queen; that the dean, though bound to reside, was non-resident and in other ways broke the statutes; that George Gelibrond, one of the vicars who had been forced upon them by the present dean, though incapable of singing, was a most quarrelsome and discreditable person; and that the dean had presented him to the vicarage of Stoke under his seal, without the consent of the chapter, and had also dismissed a vicar of the college without cause and without the leave of the chapter. All the vicars united in complaining of Gelibrond, most of them also stating that he defamed Cardinal Wolsey. Three slightly different versions in English are entered of the actual words used by Gelibrond when defaming the cardinal, the most pungent is: 'It is a pitie that he berith the rule that he doithe, and if otheremen wolde doo as I wolde, he shoulde be plucked out of his house by the eyres. I wolde to God there were xl thousand of my mynde.'

The bishop's injunctions were that if the dean did not reside he was only to receive £20 a year out of the profits, according to the statutes; that the chancel of Clare was to be repaired at the dean's expense, before next All Saints' day; that the janitor was to reside and see to his duty, otherwise to forfeit his salary; that one of the clerks was to sleep and remain all night in the vestry; that the verger was to be in attendance and exercise his office in the same manner as at the collegiate church of St. Stephen, Westminster, or of Windsor; and that George Gelibrond, irregularly admitted, was to be expelled from his stall. This last injunction was afterwards withdrawn in favour of a monition. Other injunctions related to inventories, custody of seals, the recovery of the muniments, &c.[1]

The bishop left Stoke on 15 July and visited other Norfolk houses, arriving at Thompson college on 21 July. When there, one John Stacy, of Norwich, a messenger of the cardinal, brought him a letter from Wolsey, dated 2 July, concerning the visitation of Stoke, which had been for some unknown reason delayed. To this letter the bishop wrote a wary reply, stating the exact hour that the letter reached him, adding that he had already visited Stoke, but saying nothing as to his injunctions. Meanwhile the bishop took action against Dr. Greene, the dean of the college, whom Dr. Jessopp describes as 'an unprincipled rogue, ready to sell himself and the college for what he could get.'

Canon Kiel, supported by two of his colleagues, had testified that the dean had been duly cited to the bishop's visitation, and produced a letter in which Dr. Greene not only declared his own intention of being absent, but urged his fellows to resist the visit. The dean was then cited to appear before the bishop in the chapel of his palace at Norwich on 20 August. At the appointed time Canon Kiel appeared and testified that the dean's answer to him was 'I can not appear, nor will not appear, and ye were to blame and folis any of you to tappere before my lorde, for I send you letter to the contrary.' Whereupon, Dr. Greene was formally pronounced contumacious and suspended from celebrating divine service and cited to appear before the bishop in the manor chapel of Hoxne on Wednesday after next Mid-Lent Sunday to show cause why graver action should not be taken. Canon Gilbert Latham, the only one of the college who supported the dean in subserviency to the cardinal, was also at the same time pronounced contumacious.[2]

It is not known precisely what next took place, but the aged diocesan and the queen evidently succeeded in checkmating Wolsey so far as the immediate suppression of Stoke College was concerned, for it lasted until the days of Edward VI.

The college was again visited by the diocesan on 10 July, 1532, when Canon Whitehead, who had sent the book of the statutes to London, was ordered to restore it before Michaelmas under pain of excommunication. There were not many complaints, but it is clear from one of the entries that Cardinal Wolsey did visit the college either in 1526 or at some subsequent date. The bishop, in consequence of £13 having been paid to the king that year in discharge of procuration fees due at the visitation of the late cardinal, and of jewels to the value of forty marks having been taken by thieves out of the vestry, ordered that there was to be no division that year of the residue of the profits of the college among the residentiaries. He further enjoined that women were not to fetch linen for washing from the houses of the vicars, nor were they to serve in the houses of the canons; that the muniments were to be kept under three locks of diverse workmanship; that one of the clerks was always to sleep at night

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 226–39.

[2] Ibid. 254–59.

in the vestry, particularly in the winter season; and that an annual statement of accounts was to be made immediately before the feast of the Purification.[1]

The state papers show that the corruption of this college continued. Dean Robert Shorton, writing to Cromwell on 14 August, 1535, said that he had received his letter in favour of Gilbert Latham, a canon of the college, asking for his restoration to the college dividends. For once, at all events, in his life, Cromwell met with no subserviency. The dean flatly refused to allow Latham a penny. To do so would be contrary to statute and custom. There could be no division until repairs were deducted. In a year and a half the canons had only spent £4 in repairs, whereas, according to custom, they should have spent £14. Latham had got into his hands £17, and Westby as much, against the statutes. This would not be suffered; moreover if they, dean and canon, divided equally, each share would not come to as much as £5 or £6.[2]

Dean Shorton could not have had much time to give to the college affairs, for he was a bad pluralist, being at the same time master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and canon of York, as well as holding a benefice in Durham diocese. But he died shortly after rebuffing Cromwell, namely, on 17 October, 1535. Leyton, Cromwell's subsequent unprincipled tool against the monasteries, wrote to him in October, saying that Dean Shorton was *in articulo mortis*, begging for a letter commending him to the bishop of Durham for this benefice. He asked for the letter to be delivered to the bearer, who would ride with it to Stoke College, 'and as soon as the dean is dead, ride on with it to Durham.'[3]

The vacancy caused by the death of Dean Shorton was filled by the appointment of Matthew Parker, the future archbishop. He was presented on 4 November, 1535.[4] In 1537 Matthew Parker procured the assent of his chapter to a reformation of the statutes.[5]

An inventory of the goods of Stoke College was drawn up on 8 December, 1547. There was a very rich supply of vestments, including thirteen suits for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, with albs; fifty-five copes, seventeen single vestments, and a considerable number of altar cloths, corporas cases, etc. The books in the library, 'with ther cheres, tables, yrons, and waynscott,' were valued at £5. The silver plate, including four chalices, a cross, two candlesticks, cruets, pix, &c. was divided into gilt, parcel-gilt, and white; its total weight was 461 oz.

There was also a considerable supply of church ornaments in latten. There was a pair of organs in the rood loft, another in the quire, and two pairs in the Lady chapel. In the tower were six great bells and a little sanctus bell, and 'a clock parfect striking on ye great bell.' The destruction contemplated is shown by the fact that twenty-two gravestones with their brasses were valued at £3 13*s.* 4*d.* and even 'the foundar's tombe' at 20*s.*[6]

The following details appear in the certificate of this college taken by the commissioners in 1548.[7]

'The College of Seynte John Baptiste in Stoke nexte Clare, founded by Edmund yerle of the Marches and Ulton, lord of Wigmore and of Clare,' 19 May, 2 Henry V, to find a dean, six canons, eight vicars, seven chief clerks, two meaner clerks, one verger, one porter, and five choristers. Since the foundation, the numbers had been twice augmented; in the first place by William Pykenham, sometime dean, for another vicar, to be vicar to the dean and his successors; and in the second place by William Lowell, sometime verger, for a deacon of the college. The yearly value was declared at £383 2*s.* 6½*d.* and the clear value £314 14*s.* 8*d.* There were 490 oz. of plate, ornaments, and household stuff, valued at £69 0*s.* 8*d.*; lead remaining 62 fothers, and bells weighing 8 tons, 2 cwt. 26 li. Arrears of rent amounted to £105 9*s.* 2*d.*

Matthew Parker, D.D., the dean, aged 48, drew £67 0*s.* 2*d.* and held in addition divers pensions of the annual value of £30. The stipends and pensions of the other members of the establishment, including the schoolmasters of the college and of the free school are also given in detail.

On the suppression of the college in this year, it was granted to Sir John Cheke and Walter Mildmay. A pension of £40 was secured for Dean Parker.[8]

DEANS[9] OF THE COLLEGE OF STOKE BY CLARE

Thomas Barnesley, A.M. 1415–54
Walter Blaket, A.M. 1454–61
William Welflet, S.T.P. 1461–9
Richard Edenham, S.T.P. 1470–93 (Bishop of Bangor)

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 299–301.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 92.
[3] Ibid. 632.
[4] Parker MSS. (C.C.C. Camb.), cviii, 6.
[5] Ibid. Parker carried out this reform in the hope of saving the college. Strype, *Life of Parker*, 3.
[6] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 742–3, says that there were buried in this college Sir Edward Mortimer, the last earl of March, Sir Thomas Grey, knight, and his first wife, and Sir Thomas Clopton, and Ada his wife. The Duke of Norfolk, writing to Dean Parker in 1540, expressed his desire to be buried in the collegiate church among his ancestors.
[7] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 47.
[8] Hook, *Archbishops of Cant.* ix, 82.
[9] This list is taken from that drawn up by Archbishop Parker MSS. (C.C.C. Camb.) cviii, 11.

William Pikynham, LL.D. 1493–7
John Ednam, S.T.P. 1497–1517
Robert Bekinsawe, S.T.P. 1517–25
William Greene, S.T.P. 1525–9
Robert Shorton, S.T.P. 1529–35
Matthew Parker, S.T.P. 1535

There are numerous impressions of the seal *ad causas* of this college attached to various Harleian charters. It is a pointed oval, bearing the head of St. John Baptist, with rays and large nimbus; there is a flowering sprig above and below the head. Legend :—

SIGILLU : COLLEGII : DE : STOKE : AD : CAUSAS :[1]

69. THE COLLEGE OF SUDBURY

There lived at Sudbury in the first half of the fourteenth century, close to the old church of St. Gregory, a worthy burgher, Nigel Theobald, a person of some position and one of the leading wool merchants in the county of Suffolk.[2] To Nigel and Sara his wife were born two sons, Simon of Sudbury and John of Chertsey. The eldest son, distinguished for his learning, was consecrated bishop of London in 1361, and translated to the primatial see of Canterbury in 1375.

Among the records of the borough of Sudbury is a grant of land near the croft adjoining his father's house, which was assigned to Simon the future archbishop by Hugh de Dedlyn in 1339.[3] On this plot of land and on the site of their father's house, the two brothers Simon and John founded the college of St. Gregory, a charter granting the requisite permission being sealed by Edward III on 21 February, 1374–5. In the previous year the brothers had obtained the advowson of the church of St. Gregory from the prioress, prior, and convent of Nun Eaton. The advowson and appropriation of the church were to be put in the hands of a community of chaplains, one of whom was to be warden.[4]

A deed dated 9 August, 1375, when Simon had become archbishop, was enrolled between Simon and his brother John, of the one part, and Henry bishop of Norwich, of the other part, for the actual erection of the college, with the licence of the latter prelate, who secured for himself the sum of two marks and for the prior and chapter of Norwich five shillings annually as an acknowledgement. This licence was confirmed in 1381.[5]

In March, 1380, licence was granted for the alienation to the college by the joint founders, of the manors of Balidon and Middleton, 570 acres of land, &c., of the yearly value of £17 0s. 9½*d.*[6] There were further grants in the following year of a messuage and three shops in St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, and of over 200 acres of land in Sudbury and other places in Suffolk, which were the endowment of the priory of Edwardston (commonly called the priory of St. Bartholomew, Sudbury), a cell of the abbey of Westminster.[7]

In the college the warden lived, with five secular canons and three chaplains; they kept the canonical hours and celebrated in the adjoining church of St. Gregory.

In 1384 the endowments of the college were increased by the alienation to the warden and chaplains, by John Chertsey and John Rennyshale, of the manor of Braundon, Essex, of the yearly value of £12 5*s.* 11*d.*[8]

The Valor of 1535 shows that the college was then in receipt of £37 0*s.* 0¾*d.* from houses, lands, rents, &c., in Sudbury and the Sudbury manor of Neles; of £76 1*s.* 4½d. from lands in Essex; and of £19 from property in London. In spiritualities there was the further income of £15 1*s.* 4*d.* from the church of Sudbury with its chapel of St. Peter, and a small pension from Cornard Parva. The gross annual value was £147 2*s.* 9*d.*, and the net value £122 18*s.* 3*d.*[9]

Archdeacon Goldwell visited this college as commissary of his brother in 1493.

Thomas Aleyn, the master, presented his accounts, and eight other fellows attended; it was found that no reform was needed.[10] The next recorded visitation was in 1514, by Bishop Nykke in person. Master John Carver, and eight fellows were examined; all declared that everything was in good order, save that there was a debt of £15. The bishop enjoined on the master and fellows to prepare a tripartite indenture of the jewels and movable goods of the college, whereof one part was to be handed to the bishop at his next visit.[11]

At the visitation of 16 June, 1520, Richard Eden, the master, although he had been duly cited, made no appearance either personally or by proctor. His name was again called on the following day, and as there was again no appearance, the bishop excommunicated him. John White, aged 80, testified that he had been a fellow of Sudbury for 50 years; he said they lacked three fellows of their full foundation number, but they had two 'conducts' or stipendiaries in their place; that one of the fellows had been acting as chantry priest at Melford for five years; and that divine worship was duly observed; and that all temporal mat-

[1] Harl. Chart. 442*a*, 32–50; B.M. Cast, lxxiii, 13.
[2] Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34; 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1; 15 Edw. III, pt. ii.
[3] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vii, 24.
[4] Pat. 49 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 29.
[5] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi.
[6] Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 1; pt. ii, m. 17.
[7] Ibid. 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11. See previous account of the priory.
[8] Ibid. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 29.
[9] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 456.
[10] Jessopp, *Visit.* 41–2.
[11] Ibid. 80.

ters were well ordered at the college and that they were out of debt. Thomas Legate, the college steward, who had been a fellow for 12 years, gave a good report of everything, save that the statute as to their dress being of one colour and pattern was not observed. William Tublayne, who had been fellow for 12 or 13 years, William Nutman for 7 years, and John Sickling for 10 years, all made favourable reports.[1]

The bishop next visited Sudbury College on 10 July, 1526, when Richard Eden, the master, was in attendance; he was examined and gave an undeviating favourable report of everything pertaining to the house. But the bishop, acting apparently on private information,[2] contented himself on that occasion with the master's testimony, and prorogued the visitation, adjourning it until after the Michaelmas synod. On the visitation being resumed, evidence was given of great disorder. The master was absent, and Thomas Legate, a fellow and president in the master's absence, deposed that annual accounts were not rendered and that the fellows were ignorant of the state of the house, that he believed they were in debt, and that Nutman, the steward, was much in fault. He also complained of the almost daily quarrels and disputes between Nutman and Sickling, another of the fellows. William Tublayne also complained of Nutman, stating that he neglected to pay their quarterly stipend properly, and did not attend to the repairs of the manors, farms, and granges. Nutman deposed that all was well, save that the house was in debt. Sickling said that he had not heard or seen any accounts for 14 years, and that the steward made no monthly returns as he was ordered by the statutes, that their stipends were not properly paid, and that there was a niggardly supply of provisions. Thomas Coche *alias* Kerver, a former fellow, had provided the infirmary with feather beds and other bedding, but they were not at the service of the fellows when ill. Robert Chickering, another fellow, stated that the manor houses, granges, and other houses belonging to the college were in a grievous state of dilapidation, through the negligence of the steward, that the agriculture of the college property was in a sad plight, and that their food was sparse and unhealthy, all owing to the bad management of the same official, who refused to supply any accounts. William Fisher, another fellow, testified in a like manner. The injunctions consequent on this visitation are missing.[3]

The last visitation of this college, prior to its dissolution, was made on 7 July, 1532. Thomas Legate, the sub-warden, testified that the number of the fellows was defective. There ought to have been eight, but there were only three. The two other fellows, Chikering and Fisher, said that there had only been three fellows for the last three years, and that they knew nothing of the accounts, for they were never presented. It was further stated that sometimes, at time of divine service, there were only two chaplains in quire; that there were no choristers, and that a youth of eighteen acted as college steward. On 9 July the bishop called the master, Richard Eden, to account in the chapter-house, ordering him to exhibit the faculties, together with institutions and collations, whereby he held many benefices; he was to appear before him on the morrow of St. Nicholas's Day in the chapel of his manor of Hoxne, and to hear his will as to the charge of perjury, which, with other articles, had been alleged against him. The warden swore on the Holy Gospels that his faculties, with institutions and collations, were in his house at London in a secret place to which he only had access.

The bishop ordered the warden at once to remove from the college a French chaplain; and to fill up the number of fellows to eight before next Michaelmas. The visitation was then prorogued until the following Lady Day.[4]

Richard Eden, the last master of the college, who was also archdeacon of Middlesex, surrendered it to the king on 9 December, 1544. The surrender, in addition to the master's signature, was signed by Edmund Lyster, Thomas Legate, and Robert Paternoster, chaplains.[5]

On 3 February, 1544–5, the king granted the college and its appurtenances and property to Sir Thomas Paston, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber.[6]

Masters of the College of Sudbury

John Cordebef,[7] occurs 1375
Peter Hermis,[8] resigned 1393
John Stacy,[9] appointed 1393
George Bryce,[10] died 1446
Thomas Bett,[11] appointed 1446
Henry Sything,[12] appointed 1452
Robert Sylman,[13] appointed 1464
Thomas Aleyn,[14] occurs 1493
John Carver,[15] occurs 1514
Richard Eden,[16] occurs 1520

The fine seal bears St. Gregory seated in a canopied niche, with papal tiara, the right hand raised in benediction, and a cross in the left.

[1] Jessopp, *Visit.* 150–1.
[2] Ibid. 224–6.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. 297–8.
[5] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix, pt. ii, 718.
[6] *Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.* vii, 30–1.
[7] Bodl. Chart. Suff. 233.
[8] Pat. 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 15.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 2.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. xi, 29.
[13] Ibid. xi, 143.
[14] Jessopp, *Visit.* 41.
[15] Ibid. 80.
[16] Ibid. 150.

Above, in a smaller niche, the Trinity, and on each side in a canopied niche, a saint. In the base Archbishop Simon kneeling, between two shields of arms. Legend :—

SIG' LU . . . . . GREGORII DE SUDBURY[1]

70. THE COLLEGE OF WINGFIELD

In 1362, Lady Eleanor, relict of Sir John Wingfield, and Thomas Wingfield, brother of Sir John, being his executors, founded, in accordance with his desires, a college of priests in the parish church of Wingfield. The original foundation only provided for a provost or master and three other priests; but this number was afterwards increased to nine priests and three choristers. It was jointly dedicated in honour of St. Mary, St. John Baptist, and St. Andrew. The original foundation also provided for the support at the college of three poor boys.[2]

Licence was granted in November, 1401, to the provost or master and the chaplains of the collegiate church of Wingfield, for Thomas Doupe to grant in mortmain to them land in Stradbroke, Wingfield, and Earsham. At the same time Michael earl of Suffolk obtained licence to grant land rent in Stradbroke, Wingfield, Silham, and Earsham,worth 10s. yearly.[3]

The Valor of 1535 shows a clear annual value of £19 14s. 5d. The temporalities were obtained from Wingfield, Chekering, Sydeham-cum-Esham, Stradbroke, Walpole, Benhall Robert, Middleton Chekering, and Raydon Wingfield; the gross value being £47 10s. 4d. The spiritualities were the rectories of Wingfield, Stradbroke, and Syleham, with the chapel of Esham. Among the deductions was the sum of £8 paid to the three poor boys on the foundation.[4]

Bishop Goldwell made a personal visitation of this college on 27 September, 1493, when William Baynard, the master, with three fellows and four 'conducts,' was examined. The report of the visitation stated that though there was not much worthy of reformation, the ordinance and statutes of the house were not read before the members, the master was too remiss in correction, and that no provision was made for teaching grammar.[6]

When Bishop Nykke visited in 1526, Thomas Halkyn, one of the fellows, said that the college seal was in the hands of only a single fellow, but that otherwise all was well ordered by the master. Three other fellows gave equally satisfactory testimony.[7]

The last visitation of this college, prior to its dissolution, was held on 4 July, 1532; it was attended by Robert Budde, master, Nicholas Thurlynge, fellow, and three stipendiaries. There were no complaints, and nothing to reform; but Robert Tompson, stipendiary and steward of the college, said that they were two priests short.[8]

Robert Budde, master of the college, and four of the fellows signed the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy on 17 October, 1534.[9]

The college was surrendered on 2 June, 1542. The instrument of surrender is signed by Robert Budde, master, and by four fellows. Annexed to the surrender is the commission, dated 12 May, of the same year, and the commissioners' certificate of the surrender, dated 17 June.[10]

In this college were buried the bodies of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, 1450, and his son and heir, John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, 1491.[11]

The fine seal of this college bears St. Andrew crucified on a saltire cross; in the base the arms of Wingfield. Legend :—

+ COMMUNE + SIGILLUM + S + MARIE + DE WYNGFIEELD [12]

MASTERS OF THE COLLEGE OF WINGFIELD

Robert Bolton, occurs 1404,[13] resigned 1426[14]
John Burthan,[15] appointed 1426
Henry Trevyllian,[16] appointed 1433
William Baynard,[17] occurs 1493
Thomas Dey,[18] occurs 1530
Robert Budde,[19] occurs 1532

ALIEN HOUSES

71. THE PRIORY OF BLAKENHAM

Walter Gifford, earl of Buckingham, gave the manor of Blakenham to the great Benedictine abbey of Bec in the reign of William Rufus.[5]

As this was an estate of some importance and must have required supervision, it is probable that it was placed in the charge of one or two monks who would have their chapel and offices

[1] Add. Chart. 8405; B.M. Cast, lxxii, 14.
[2] Norw. Epis. Reg. v, 88.
[3] Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 22.
[4] *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 407.
[5] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1002, where the charter is cited from the original at Eton College.
[6] Jessopp, *Visit.* 52–3. [7] Ibid. 223. [8] Ibid. 296.
[9] *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 304.
[10] Ibid. viii, App. ii, 49.
[11] Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 758.
[12] Add. Chart. 10642; B.M. Cast, lxxii, 15.
[13] *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxi, 347.
[14] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 15. Mentioned as master in 1405; Pat. 5 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 7.
[15] Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 15. [16] Ibid. ix, 61.
[17] Jessopp, *Visit.* 52.
[18] Add. Chart. 10642. [19] Jessopp, *Visit.* 296, &c.

at the manor house in early days; but it was some time before Blakenham is named as a distinct alien priory or cell. For a long time it was under the charge of the prior of Ruislip, Middlesex, against whom in 1220, and again in 1225, this manor of Blakenham was claimed by Thomas Ardern. For a time the manor was held by the crown in consequence of these disputes; but eventually full seisin was given to the prior of Ruislip as representing the abbey of Bec.[1]

Subsequently this manor was under the control of the prior of Okeburne, the chief representative and proctor of the abbot of Bec. The taxation of 1291 names a portion of 40*s.* out of the rectory of Great Blakenham due to the prior of Okeburne.[2] In 1325 the manor was held by the same prior.[3]

A curious point arose in 1339 in connexion with this manor, as held by an alien power during the time of the war with France. Robert de Morle, admiral of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames northward, claimed from John de Podewell, bailiff of the manor of Blakenham, an armed man to set out to sea in the king's service. Whereupon the prior of Okeburne appeared before the council, asserting that he already found two men to serve the fleet at Portsmouth, and if this further charge was laid on him, he asked to be discharged from the custody of the priory, as he would be unable to pay the farm rent due to the king. The council, on deliberation, considered that it would be to the king's harm if the priory was resumed by the crown, and therefore orders were issued to the admiral superseding the exaction of a man from Blakenham.[4]

After the dissolution of the alien priories, the former possessions of the abbey of Bec at Blakenham came to Eton College, through Henry IV, in 1460.

Among the grants of Edward IV to William Westbury, the provost, and to the college of Eton in 1467, occurs 'the priory or manor of Blakenham, co. Suffolk, sometime parcel of the alien priory of Okeburne.'[5]

72. THE PRIORY OF CREETING ST. MARY

There are four adjacent Suffolk parishes of the name of Creeting, differentiated by the invocation of their respective churches, St. Mary, St. Olave, All Saints, and St. Peter. The first two of these had small distinct alien priories of Benedictine monks. The more important of the two was the priory of Creeting St. Mary, a cell of the abbey of St. Mary of Bernay, in the department of the Eure. Henry II, by charter of 1156, confirmed to the monks of Bernay all that they had held in England in the time of King Henry, his grandfather, including the manor of Creeting (*Gratingis*).[6]

The taxation of 1291 enters lands, &c., from Everdon, Northamptonshire (another cell of Bernay), as pertaining to the prior of Creeting; they produced an income of £6 7*s.* 6*d.* At the same time lands to the value of 2*s.* 10*d.* a year are entered as pertaining to this priory in Stonham Aspall, whilst the lands, stock, &c., of Creeting St. Mary and Newton were worth £10 15*s.* 5*d.* a year.[7]

The possessions of Bernay Abbey at Creeting in Suffolk seem to have continued under the same rule as those at Everdon, Northamptonshire. Thus, in a long list of alien priories, in 1327, mention is made of the prior of Creeting and Everdon; the two houses then formed a joint cell of the abbey of Bernay.[8]

In 1325 the goods and cattle of the manors of Creeting and Newton pertaining to this priory were valued by the crown at £18 15*s.* 10*d.*[9]

A commission was issued by the crown in 1378 to inquire touching waste and destructions by the late prior and farmers of the alien priory of Creeting, in the king's hands on account of the war with France, to the custody of which the king has appointed his clerk, John de Staverton.[10]

In 1409 John Stanton and John Everdon were acting as crown wardens of the joint priory of Creeting and Everdon, at a rent to the king of £26. The total receipts for that year were £39.[11]

Edward IV granted the possessions of this suppressed priory, in 1462, *inter alia*, to form part of the endowment of Eton College.[12]

73. THE PRIORY OF CREETING ST. OLAVE

Robert, earl of Mortain, in the time of the Conqueror, gave the manor of Creeting St. Olave (*Gratingis*) to the Benedictine Abbey of Grestein in Normandy; it was held in chief of the king.[13]

The taxation of 1291 enters 18*s.* 8*d.* as the annual value of land pertaining to the prior of 'Gretingge' (under the abbot of Grestein) in Barking, Essex. This priory at the same time

[1] Close, 4 Hen. III, m. 15; 12 Hen. III, m. 11.
[2] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 115.
[3] Mins. Accts. 18 Edw. II, bdle. 1127, No. 4.
[4] Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 41 *d.*
[5] Pat. 7 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 13.
[6] Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i, 137.
[7] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 54, 125, 129*b.*
[8] Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.
[9] Mins. Accts. bdle. 1127, No. 4.
[10] Pat. 2 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 38 *d.*
[11] Mins. Accts. bdle. 1093, No. 1.
[12] Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 24.
[13] Dom. Bk.; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 295.

had 7*s.* 1*d.* in Earl Stonham, whilst the manor of Creeting St. Olave produced £9 0*s.* 5½*d.*[1]

The goods and stock pertaining to the priory of Creeting St. Olave were valued by the crown, in 1325, at £17 10*s.* 1*d.*[2]

Edward III granted this manor during the French war in 1345 to one Tydeman de Lymbergh, a merchant; but in 1360 permitted the abbot and convent of Grestein to sell it to Sir Edmund de la Pole.[3]

74. THE PRIORY OF STOKE BY CLARE

Earl Alfric, son of Withgar, who lived in the reigns of Canute, Hardecanute, and Edward the Confessor, founded the church or chapel of St. John Baptist in the castle of Clare, and therein placed seven secular canons. This church, with all its endowments, was given by Gilbert de Clare, in 1090, to the Benedictine monastery of Bec in Normandy, of which it became a cell, and thus remained until the year 1124, when Gilbert's son Richard removed the foundation to Stoke, where it eventually reverted to a collegiate establishment.[4]

The fourteenth-century chartulary[5] opens with confirmation charters of Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III, including a grant of a Thursday market at Stoke, and a yearly fair of three days at the feast of St. John Baptist. The various charters of Gilbert, earl of Clare, the founder, and of his son and grandson, are set forth, whereby the monks, in addition to lands, mills, fishing, and pasturing rights, held the advowsons of the churches of St. John and St. Paul, Clare, and the churches of Cavenham, Foxhall, Hunston and Bures, Crimplesham, Gazeley, Winham, Birfield, Ash, and Woching.[6] The ordination of the vicarage of Gazeley, at the time when the church was appropriated to the priory, is duly set forth under date of 12 July, 1286.[7]

An undated letter of Roger, earl of Clare, solemnly presents to the house certain relics (not specified) which he entrusts to the monks, both cleric and lay, to be by them carefully preserved with the greatest reverence.[8]

The confirmation charters of the Bishops of Norwich and London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1090 to the end of the reign of Henry III, cover several folios.[9] These are followed by several papal confirmations, and by an indulgence from Pope Innocent exempting them from any provision of benefices.[10]

Amid a very large number of grants of land, rents, &c., mostly of small value, occur the gifts of the church of Bradley by Richard the son of Simon, of the church of Little Bradley by Albrinus son of Ercald, of the church of Little Bunstead by William de Helium, of the church of Bunstead by Robert de Helium, and of the church of Stamborne by Robert de Grenville, with various confirmations.[11] The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the priory at that time held, in addition to churches, temporalities in seventeen Suffolk parishes of the annual value of £30 14*s.* 7½*d.*; it had also considerable lands and rents in Essex, and a small amount in Norfolk, yielding a total income of £53 13*s.* 3*d.*

In 1305 a quit-claim was executed in favour of this priory of the advowson of the church of Little Barton by Mildenhall.[12]

Prior John Huditot died in 1391; whereupon Robert bishop of London and William prior of Okeburne, authorized by Pope Boniface IX to act for the abbot of Bec in the case of dependent English houses, presented Richard de Cotesford, an English monk of that house, to the Bishop of Norwich, to be prior, with the assent of the king as patron, by reason of the minority of the son and heir of the Earl of March.[13]

Richard II, in 1379, made a grant during pleasure, to his uncle, Thomas de Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, of £60 a year from the farm of this alien priory during the wars, to help to maintain his rank as an earl,[14] and among grants made from the alien priories' estates to the crown in June, 1395, towards the king's expenses in the war with France, was the year's issues and profits of the priory of Stoke by Clare of the value of £60.[15] In the following month, however, the friends of this priory managed to secure from the crown a charter of denization, but only on condition of the very heavy fine of 1,000 marks being paid to the abbot of Westminster, to be expended solely on the new works of St. Peter's Church. This sum was to be paid at the rate of 200 marks a year until discharged. The grant of denization stated that Richard de Cotesford, the then prior, was of English birth, and provided that the convent of monks was henceforth to be exclusively drawn from those of English birth, and that no tribute

[1] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 129, 129*b*.
[2] Mins. Accts. bdle. 1127, No. 4.
[3] Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 13; Close, 33 Edw. III, m. 6.
[4] Dugdale, *Mon.* (1st ed.), i, 1005–9; Tanner, *Not. Mon. Suff.* xiv.
[5] Cott. MS. App. xxi. There is an abstract of its contents in the Davy MSS. (Add. MS. 19103, fols. 136–205).
[6] Chartul. 21–5, 29, 33, 36.
[7] Ibid. 35.
[8] Ibid. 44.
[9] Ibid. 70, fols. 32–4. These are in a different hand; ibid. 70–137.
[10] Ibid. 138–143.
[11] Ibid. 270, 274, 280, 285, 296, 309.
[12] Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. 2, m. 9.
[13] Ibid. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 1.
[14] Ibid. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40.
[15] Ibid. 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 9.

of any kind whatever was to be paid to any foreign abbey.[1]

The independent position secured for this priory had but a brief existence; twenty years later the priory was dissolved in favour of a college.[2]

PRIORS OF STOKE BY CLARE

Nicholas,[3] occurs 1174
John de Havelen,[4] *temp.* Hen. II
Hugh,[5] occurs 1198, 1202
Richard,[6] occurs 1222
John,[7] occurs 1247, &c.
Henry de Oxna,[8] appointed 1325
Peter de Valle,[9] appointed 1367
John de Huditot,[10] died 1391
Richard de Cotesford,[11] appointed 1391
William de Sancto Vedasto,[12] appointed 1395
William George,[13] appointed 1396
William Esterpenny,[14] appointed 1396

75. THE HOSPITAL OF GREAT THURLOW

The origin or date of foundation of the small hospital of St. James, which was subordinate to the foreign hospital of Hautpays or De Alto Passu, is not known. Being an alien house, it came into the hands of the crown in the fourteenth century. The church of Thurlow Magna, which was appropriated to the hospital as early as the taxation of 1291, was returned as of the annual value of £10 13*s.* 4*d.*[16]

In 1312, grant for life under privy seal was made to John Menhyr, king's clerk, of the custody of the hospital of St. James, Thurlow; later, however, in the same year the life custody of this hospital was transferred to Thomas Miltecombe; and yet again to John Beauchamp, *alias* John de Holt.[17]

In May, 1385, Robert Dovorr, king's clerk, obtained life wardenship of this hospital.[18] In the following month, a royal mandate was issued for the arrest of persons collecting alms in divers churches and other places, on behalf of Thurlow Hospital, without warrant of Robert Dovorr, the warden, and appropriating the same to their own use.[19]

Edward IV, in 1463, included the hospital or free chapel of St. James, Great Thurlow, in the numerous endowments of 'Goddishous' College, Cambridge.[20]

ADDENDUM

76. THE HOSPITAL OF SUDBURY

In the time of King John, Amicia, countess of Clare, founded a hospital at Sudbury to the honour of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin His mother.[15] Tanner supposes it to be identical with the house or chapel of St. Sepulchre, which the same countess gave to the monks of Stoke Clare, and which was granted by Edward VI to John Speke; but of this there is some doubt.[21] Mention is made in 1277 of the breaking open by thieves of certain chests that had been deposited in the hospital of Sudbury, county Suffolk, without mentioning dedication, as though there was only one of any importance.[22]

Richard II in 1383 granted the custody of the free chapel of St. Sepulchre, Sudbury, to Peter Harmodesworth; it was in the king's gift by reason of his custody of the land and heir of Edmund, late earl of March, tenant in chief.[23]

[1] Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8.
[2] See the account of the college of Stoke by Clare.
[3] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii, 501.
[4] Cott. MS. Aug. xxi, 365. [5] Ibid. 16, 17, 18.
[6] Ibid. 14. [7] Ibid. 11–12, 13, 42.
[8] Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 6.
[9] Ibid. v, 80.
[10] Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 1.
[11] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 161.
[12] Ibid. vi, 212. [13] Ibid. vi, 223.
[14] Ibid. vi, 228.
[15] Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 776.
[16] *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 122.
[17] Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 36, 21, 19.
[18] Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 14.
[19] Ibid. m. 1*d.*
[20] Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 16.
[21] Tanner, *Notitia*, 524; Taylor, *Index Mon.*, 116.
[22] Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 2.
[23] Pat 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 31.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE South-folk who dwelt in one half of the original kingdom of the East Angles found a natural boundary between themselves and the East Saxons in the estuary and marshy course of the Stour, while the march in the north was also clearly defined by the course of the Waveney. On the west the boundary was not so clearly determined. There the fens extended almost to Bury, the county being prevented from becoming absolutely insular in character by the low wooded hills to the south-west. The actual boundary here was to be found in the ditch at Newmarket (called later the Devil's Ditch), where the neck of land between the fens led to Cambridge and formed the principal gateway into the county. When the actual separation of the folks took place is impossible to state. In Domesday Suffolk is geographically distinct from Norfolk, but all through the middle ages down to Tudor times it continued, with a few exceptions, to be administered fiscally with the sister county.

The county was divided for administrative purposes into hundreds, half-hundreds, and ferdings. The origin of this division has been ascribed to Alfred, but this is no doubt simply a compliment paid to a national hero, for the term *centeni* was used among the Teutonic tribes to describe a certain district. By the time Tacitus wrote the word had ceased to have a literal meaning and had become the designation of an administrative area, and such it is in Suffolk in historic times. It is possible that Alfred or his son Edward redistributed the hundreds in order to facilitate the collection of ship-money. As evidence of this redistribution it is worth noting that the chief town from which the hundred was obviously named often lies outside the boundary of the hundred, and did so in Domesday. Wangford lies no longer in that hundred, but in Blything; Parham lay outside the shrunken remains of its hundred; Lackford lies beyond the march of Lackford. In Domesday there are twenty-eight hundreds. Of these Babergh is made up of two and Sampford of one-and-a-half, pointing again to re-distribution, while Ipswich, Cosford, Lothingland and Parham rank as half hundreds. By the end of the thirteenth century the number had shrunk further. Blackbourn had absorbed Bradmere, but ranked fiscally as two hundreds. In the twelfth century[2] Sudbury had been regarded as a quarter of the hundred of Thingoe, and in the Hundred Rolls of Edward I it is held by the earl of Gloucester of Bury, but seems to be identified with Babergh. The extra-hundredal part of Loes, containing Woodbridge manor, is given in Domesday as part of Loes. Lothingland was part of Luding, a hundred which was afterwards the half hundred of Mutford. Both these half hundreds were manors in the king's hands and granted out by him. In 1763 the two were re-united into one hundred. Exning seems to be another instance of a manor becoming a half hundred. Below the hundreds came the vills and townships.

[1] J. H. Round, *Feud. Engl.* 98. [2] Ibid. 101.

The hundredal organization was the basis of all administration, judicial, fiscal, and military. There was the county court, the hundred court, and the court of the township, though this last was not strictly speaking judicial. In Anglo-Saxon times the county court met twice a year and the hundred court every three weeks. Under Henry II the latter was held every fortnight, while in the thirteenth century it occurred every three weeks, and the county court every month. Twice a year, however, came a specially full hundred court, when the sheriff visited the hundred to see that the tithings were full and that every man was in frank-pledge. At these the reeve and four men of the vills attended. Attendance at these courts was a duty attached to the land and as such irksome : such a man held such land on condition that he attended so many courts in the year. The dwellers in the county were identified with the land, and were collectively responsible for crimes and miscarriages of justice committed within their marches. There was the same idea underlying the hundred. If a man committed a murder in Sampford or Babergh the whole hundred was responsible for the payment of the fine of five marks. If a man fled from justice the hundred made good his flight. The county and the court were one. In the shire the courts were never called anything but the *county*, and the suitors were the freeholders of the county. They[1] were also the doomsmen, and no foreigner could legally try a Suffolk man. In 1331[2] the county complained that owing to the dilapidated condition of Ipswich gaol Suffolk criminals were lodged at Norwich, and were delivered by Norwich men. This was against the law, for the men of Norfolk knew not the crimes of the men of Suffolk. The principle of the administration of the county was Suffolk men must transact Suffolk business, and no matter whether it were a hue and cry, an inquisition post-mortem, an array, a grant to collect, it was done by the landowners of the shire.

The officers of the county were first the sheriff who presided at the county court, while the bailiff of the king or the steward of the lord presided at the court of the hundred. The earl had no official position beyond drawing the third penny from the county revenue till the fourteenth century, when he practically became responsible for the military organization. The office of sheriff became neither hereditary nor elective. His judicial powers were lessened by the introduction of the Custodes Pacis, two or three knights empowered to hear and determine felonies, who finally developed in the reign of Edward III into the justices of the peace. In Tudor times the quarter-sessions had superseded both the county and hundred courts, and were held at Ipswich, Bury, Woodbridge, and Dunwich. Below the sheriff came the coroners, four officers elected in the county court who kept the pleas of the crown. These had to be resident in the county and possess certain property. The king's fiscal and territorial interests were further looked after by the escheator. The judicial interests of the crown in Suffolk were constantly clashing with those of the great ecclesiastical liberties in which the king's writ did not run. They removed fourteen hundreds from the royal jurisdiction, for the abbot of Bury claimed the right of the return of all writs in Babergh, Risbridge, Thedwastry, Thingoe, Cosford, Lackford, and Black-

[1] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law* (1895), i, 550.
[2] *Cal. of Close* 1330–3, p. 113.

bourn, while the like claim was made on behalf of St. Etheldreda of Ely in Carleford, Colneys, Plumesgate, Loes, Wilford, and Threadling. In 1344[1] the abbot of Bury was required by the sheriff and the king's justices to plead at Ipswich. He replied that already, in the time of Edward I, the question of his jurisdiction had been argued and settled. He cited the evidence then given by twelve men from the hundred of Risbridge, who swore before the justices in eyre at Ipswich that the abbot had royal liberties as appeared in the pleas of the king of *Quo Warranto*. It was further proved that all original pleas affecting any tenement within the four crosses of St. Edmund should be delivered to him, and with all other writs affecting the crown within the liberty of St. Edmund should be pleaded in Bury by justices appointed by the abbot. The sheriff sometimes refused to arrest men indicted at Bury.

For fiscal purposes the county was divided into the two liberties and the geldable[2] which had two centres, one at Ipswich for Bosmere and Claydon, Sampford, Stowe, Hoxne and Hartismere, and the other at Beccles, for Blything, Wangford, Mutford and Lothingland. The liberties paid one half of the tax between them, while the geldable area was responsible for the other. Bury paid two parts to Ely's one, and of the secular Beccles paid two to Ipswich's three. Out of the county receipts were paid its defence, its gaols, its castles and its sick,[3] and until after the Restoration the sheriff was responsible for the amount of the firm.

From Anglo-Saxon times there have been two sources from which the king could draw an army. There was the county host—the county in arms for purposes chiefly of defence—and there were the individuals who owed military service and so to speak formed the army for attack. The county host, led in pre-conquest times by the aldermen or the earl, and afterwards by the sheriff, was an unwieldy instrument, badly armed, unmanageable and disinclined to advance beyond the county border.

At the Conquest William gave many of the forfeited lands on the understanding that the service of a fixed number of knights would be demanded,[4] but at an early period the crown accepted a money payment in lieu of personal service. By the reign of Henry II the county was completely parcelled out into knights' fees, and the fees themselves had become minutely sub-divided—the earl of Clare[5] was assessed for 131½ knights' fees in Suffolk besides ½, ¼, ⅛, ⅑, 1/10, and 2 + 1/30 of fees. Such sub-division meant an arrangement among the various holders, probably one by which the original divider of the fee remained responsible for the service, while the holders of the aliquot parts paid him their obligation in kind or money. The abbot of St. Edmunds acknowledged that he owed the king 40 knights' fees:[6] as a matter of fact he had 52½ from which he took scutage, and pocketed the difference, or rather the hereditary seneschal William de Hastings took toll. Earl Hugh rendered account for £227 10*s.* for knights and serjeants in the Welsh war.[7] The honour of Eye was assessed for 90½ fees. The knights of St. Edmund were bound to do castle-ward at

[1] *Cal. Pat.* 1343–5, p. 363.
[2] *Pipe R. Hen. II* (Pipe Roll Soc.), *passim*.
[3] Add. MS. 19171, fol. 36.
[4] Pollock & Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law* (1895), i, 237.
[5] *Pipe R.* 10 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), p. 33.
[6] Ibid. 11 *Hen. II*, p. 3.
[7] Ibid. p. 7.

Norwich for three months in bands of five as were those of Eye at Eye and Orford; but this ward, too, was being commuted for money.[1] Under Edward I the system broke down, though as early as 1198 the abbot of St. Edmunds had had to hire knights to go to Normandy at 3*s*. a day, for his own refused on the pretext that they were not bound to cross the sea. Minute sub-infeudation had made a feudal host impossible. In 1314 the dower of the widow of the earl of Clare consisted of many fiefs in various manors. Amongst others she held :—

¼	fee in	Helmingham held by Robert de Cressi at 20*s*.
½	„	Great Bures held by Peter Silvestre's heirs, 50*s*.
½ and ⅛	„	Gaisle held by Wm. de Hausted, 60*s*.
2/10	„	Brokeleye held by John de Cramavill, 5*s*.
⅛	„	Barwe held by John de Cretyng, 20*s*.
1	„	scattered through several manors held by Rob. Mauduyt, 100*s*.

Under Henry III the whole of the freemen, the *jurati ad arma*, were enrolled by name and arms by the constables of every hundred for military and police purposes, while Edward I instituted the commissioners of array, whose business it was to inspect the county contingent and take the most likely men. This led to a decrease in the military power of the sheriff. The higher classes were forced into arms by distraint for knighthood, all those who held £40 a year in fee being liable. In 1297 the sheriff was commanded to summon all those who possessed 20 librates of land or more, as well those who held in chief as those who did not, those within the franchises and those without, to prepare at once to follow the king with arms and horses. The county force was now made up of great lords who received a special summons from the king, and whose tenants usually served under them, minor knights who by the fourteenth century served by indenture under a chosen lord, and the men picked from the *jurati ad arma* by the commissioners of array. In 1345 Edward III reassessed the county; owners of land valued at 100*s*., or one knight's fee, to provide one mounted archer, those of £10 to provide a hobeler armed at least with hagueton, visor, burnished palet, iron gauntlets, and lance, the number of men increasing with the income. The Davillers of Brome,[2] it may be noted, held their land by the duty of leading the footmen of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk from the ditch of St. Edmunds without Newmarket to the Welsh wars. From this time the force was under the command of the chief men of the county, who in Tudor times were appointed by the king to the office of deputy lord-lieutenant.[3]

The Tudor and Stuart kings often sent letters missive to their servants and other gentlemen desiring the person addressed to certify how many men he could put in the field in the service of the king. In 1536 Sir Charles Willoughby, Sir Arthur Hopton of Westwood, Sir Anthony Wingfield of Letheringham, Sir William Drury of Halstead, Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke, could all put one hundred retainers in the field; Sir Thomas Rushe of Chapmans, and John Spryng of Lavenham, sixty; George Colte of

[1] 1324 Richard de Amundeville held Okenhall in chief of the honour of Eye by the service of doing suit at each court of the honour, and 20*d*. to the ward of the castle of the honour at the end of every thirty-two weeks.

[2] *Cal. of Close* (1330–3), p. 244.

[3] Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ed. 1786, p. 80.

Colt's Hall in Cavendish, Sir John Jernyngham, and Richard Cavendish of Grimstone, thirty.

In 1524 Suffolk furnished a muster[1] of 2,999 archers and 7,763 billmen. But the service was by no means voluntary, and the usual method when it came to foreign service was simply to press the men in the market-towns and ship them off. At other times, the whole contingent being assembled at Ipswich or Beccles, the captains appointed by the king, beginning with the colonel, picked their men.

The old system of the militia broke down in the wars of the seventeenth century. An Act was, however, passed in 1662 for the re-organization of the militia, the obligations to provide horsemen or footmen being allotted according to a scale of property, while the lord-lieutenant was granted full powers of raising the force, appointing officers, and levying rates for the supply of equipment. According to the muster roll of 1692,[2] the Suffolk militia then consisted of four regiments of infantry with two additional companies at Ipswich and four troops of horse: the Red Regiment, under Colonel Anthony Crofts, included six companies with a total complement of 460 officers and men; Colonel Sir Philip Parker's White Regiment comprised seven companies, with 509 of all ranks; the Blue Regiment, late commanded by Sir Philip Skipton, mustered eight companies 657 strong; while the Yellow Regiment of Sir Thomas Bernardiston showed the same number of companies with a complement of 660. The two Ipswich companies with their 181 men and the four troops of horse 208 strong, under the personal command of the lord-lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, brought up the total of the county forces to 2,675 of all ranks. In 1697 it was remarked that the Suffolk militia had not been mustered since 1692, while the sixty years that followed witnessed the general decay of any efficient militia force outside the city of London.

The Militia Bill of 1757 introduced the ballot, and all men from eighteen to forty-five were with a few exceptions liable to its operation. During the Napoleonic wars the regular or 'marching' militia supplied volunteers, attracted by bounties, to fill the waste of the line, while under special Acts of Parliament supplementary and local militia were further raised, the latter being largely recruited from disbanded volunteers. After Waterloo the regular militia was nominally retained, but by a policy of systematic neglect reduced to a mere skeleton of officers and sergeants. The middle of the century witnessed a revival, and in 1871 the old constitutional force was removed from the special jurisdiction of the lords-lieutenant to the more direct control of the War Office. Some ten years after, on the territorial re-organization of the infantry of the line, the West Suffolk Militia became the 3rd battalion of the Suffolk Regiment, and was embodied on two occasions during the last Boer War. Besides the infantry there are also now artillery militia with head quarters at Ipswich.

The regular battalions of the present Suffolk regiment are furnished by the old 12th Foot, which owes its origin to an independent company raised shortly after the Restoration to garrison Windsor Castle.[3] At the time of

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (i), No. 972.
[2] From a return of 1697. Egerton MS. 1626 (B.M.).
[3] Rudolf, *Short Hist. of Terr. Regiments*, 121.

Monmouth's rebellion other companies raised in Norfolk and elsewhere were united with it, and the regiment thus formed was numbered the 12th of the line. It had already fought at the Boyne and Aughrim, at Dettingen and Fontenoy, where its loss is said to have been greater than that of any other regiment on the field, before it shared in the memorable victory of Minden, for which the laurel wreath is graved in commemoration on the buttons of the officers.[1] At a later date the regiment was the senior corps of infantry present in the last great siege of Gibraltar, and has since borne the badge of the castle and key with the motto 'Montis Insignia Calpe,' while during the siege it first received the territorial title of the East Suffolk Regiment. In the record of its later service may be mentioned the storm of Seringapatam in 1799, the Kaffir War[2] of 1851–3, and the fighting in New Zealand in the early 'sixties' of the last century. In the late South African War, though the Suffolk Regiment lost heavily at Colesberg in January, 1900, it did excellent service on many occasions afterwards, the conduct of the Suffolk Mounted Infantry at Bothaville being especially worthy of note.[3] As in most of the non-royal regiments of English infantry its facings are now white.

Besides the East Suffolk, now the Suffolk Regiment without qualification, the old 63rd of the line, now the first battalion of the Manchester, bore for about a century[4] the title of the West Suffolk Regiment, while in 1804 a second battalion was raised for it and stationed at Bury St. Edmunds,[5] being disbanded at Ipswich in November, 1814.

The record of the county yeomanry can be merely alluded to here. In the late South African War the Duke of York's Own Loyal Suffolk Hussars showed their readiness to answer the call of duty and patriotism.

Suffolk men still acknowledged the duty of the citizen to defend his country when during the Napoleonic wars forty-two separate companies of volunteers were raised. The volunteers of Yoxford[6] (1798) solemnly signed an agreement by which they agreed to form themselves into an independent company of not less than 60 nor more than 120 men, to be supplied with arms and uniform by the government, also with a non-commissioned officer to teach them the use of arms. They promised to serve under the general commanding the Eastern Division in case of actual invasion, or of the danger of invasion being deemed so imminent as to make it advisable for the lord-lieutenant or his deputies to give orders for the removal of cattle, corn, or any other article which might be of advantage to the enemy or useful to the public service.[7] Most of the companies were disbanded before the end of the

[1] Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army*, 186.

[2] The reserve or 2nd battalion was in South Africa actually from 1851 till 1857. Lawrence-Archer, op. cit. 185.

[3] Stirling, *Our Regiments in South Africa*, 121.

[4] Lawrence-Archer, op. cit. 441.

[5] Rudolf, op. cit. 550.

[6] Add MSS. 19188, fol. 57.

[7] Note from the Muster Rolls in the Record Office. The year 1803 saw the birth of many of the companies.

Company	Men	Commanding Officer	Did duty at
Helmingham	528	Earl of Dysart	Ipswich
Hartismere Rangers	360	Major Wm. Reeve of Roydon	Diss
Halesworth	112	James Reeve	Southwold
Blythford	83	Jno. Dresser	—
Bosmere and Claydon	300	Sir Wm. Middleton of Shrubland Park near Ipswich	Bury

war, but the movement was revived in 1859, when trouble with France was anticipated, and the lord-lieutenant was asked to superintend the formation of volunteer companies to repel invasion. From that date to the present day the movement has increased, and the volunteers are now an acknowledged factor in home defence. Of the four volunteer battalions attached to the Suffolk Regiment two are furnished by Suffolk, with head quarters at Ipswich and Bury respectively, both possessing affiliated cadet corps from Suffolk schools. There are also artillery volunteers at Ipswich and elsewhere.

The early political history of East Anglia is rescued from obscurity by the incursions of the Danes. The insular character of her geographical position prevented the Angles from entering on a career of conquest such as in turn tempted the other members of the Heptarchy. One of the royal family of the Uffings, Redwald, who succeeded to the throne in 599, became Bretwalda, but this was probably a case of personality over-riding environment. At first even the christianizing of the kingdom was intermittent; behind the screen of forest and fen the Angles dropped back again into their old rites.[1] Feeble knees were confirmed by the establishment by King Sigebert about 636 of a school at Dunwich, and of a monastery at Cnobheresburg,[2] while in 673 Dunwich and Elmham became bishops' sees. Until 823 the kingdom existed as a separate entity, but in that year Egbert of Wessex granted his

Company	Men	Commanding Officer	Did duty at
Bury	205	Orbel Ray Oakes and Captain Benjafield	—
Bungay	180	Major Peter Forster of Ditchingham	Lowestoft
Carlford	70	Sam Collett; Robert Ginger	—
Lakenheath and Wangford	105	Robert Eagle of Brandon	Bury
Leiston and Theberton	67	Forman Josselyn	—
Melton	105	Joseph Stammers	—
Rendlesham	100	Edward Crisp	—
Risbridge	315	Colonel Wm. Matthews	—
Saxham	65	Thomas Mills	—
Kelsale and Carlton	59	M. Rabett	—
Hollesley Bay	350	Major W. W. Page	—
Hoxne	70	Wm. Barber	—
Huntingfield	113	Wm. Philpot of Huntingfield	—
Ipswich	388	Major Neale	—
Babergh	350	Colonel MacLean	—
Hadleigh	160	Captain Leake	—
Stoke	57	Captain Mannock	—
Stowe	120	Captain Tyrrell	—
Blackburn	300	Lt.-Colonel Webber	—
Eye	100	Captain Wayth	—
Fornham and Bury	80	Captain Powell	—
Thedwastre	80	Captain Blake	—
Beccles	120	Captain South	—
Benacre and Wrentham	180	Major Good	—
Southwold	120	Captain May	—
Yoxford	76	Captain Davy	—
Sibton	77	Captain Jermyn	—
Dunwich	73	Captain Robinson	—
Framlingham	200	Major Stanford	—
Lowestoft	95	Captain Arnold	—
Gorleston	91	Captain Bell	—
Saxmundham	71	Captain Freeman	—
Woodbridge	157	Major Purcell	—
Colneys	330	Major Vernon	—
Tunstall	213	Captain Shepherd	—
Aldeburgh	58	Captain Winter	—

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 140.

[2] Ibid. 198.

alliance to it at the price of its nominal independence.[1] The witan of the East Angles continued to act as the centre of local government and military organization. The thing of the South folk may have met at Thingoe[2]—at Bury, in fact. In 866 the Danes, who had been for long harassing the coasts, lurking among the creeks and inlets, came first to land and took up their quarters in East Anglia, 'and there they were horsed.'[3] Four years later Suffolk acquired its famous martyr, for King Edmund was killed in defence of his kingdom. In 884 East Anglia became Danish. The army under Guthrum settled there and apportioned it among themselves, and it became by virtue of the treaties of Wedmore part of Danelagh. The return of the Danish army from a pillaging expedition in France was the signal for the breaking-out of the Anglo-Danes. Alfred prevented the landing of one detachment in the Stour, but a second pirate fleet swept away his victorious ships and landed its men.[4] On Edward's accession Ethelwald, the pretender to Alfred's throne, thought to make good his claim by Danish arms, fled to East Anglia and gathered a large army among them.[5] This gave Edward a chance of ravaging the county in 906,[6] and he afterwards bridled the South folk by a chain of forts. The Danes broke through the line again and again, and it was not till 920[7] that Edward was able to oust the Danes from the Huntingdon-Cambridge line of defence. He took them in the rear, making Colchester his head quarters and sending expeditions thence into East Anglia, where the English and the Danish colonists received him gladly. The army, caught in the fens, with Edward and his army behind and his forts in front, had to submit. From now until 991 East Anglia enjoyed a cessation of raids, but in that year the Danes, who for ten years had been burning intermittently the south and west, landed and fired Ipswich,[8] and then over-ran the county. This was the year which saw the first payment of Danegeld by the exhausted English. The county, however, both paid and suffered. In 1010 Ulfkytel, the alderman, met the army invading the Stour at Ringmere near Ipswich.[9] His army, composed of the county levies, had in its ranks the usual traitor, this time one of Danish extraction, for Thurkytel, a Danish jarl, was the first to flee. The county levy was slaughtered, and for three months the pagans lived on the whole district, where they destroyed men and cattle, and burned even into the wild fens. So great was the misery that St. Edmund appeared to fight for his people, and smote Sweyn the tyrant, so that he died,[10] and the county was rid of one oppressor. Even the martyr however could not fight the army single-handed, and in 1016 Cnut had obtained so firm a footing that for a second time a partition of the kingdom took place, and again East Anglia fell to the Danes. The death of King Edmund affirmed Cnut's hold upon England, and he divided the whole kingdom into four provinces and gave East Anglia[11] to Thurkill as his viceroy. East Anglia afterwards continued to be governed by its earl, and was part of Harold's earldom and later of Gyrth's, but it was not until the fourteenth century that the earldom of Suffolk was separated from that of Norfolk or East Anglia.

[1] *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 110–1.
[2] Gage, *The Hundred of Thingoe*, 1.
[3] *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 130–1.
[4] Ibid. i, 152–3.
[5] Ibid. i, 180–1.
[6] Ibid. i, 182–3.
[7] Ibid. i, 194–5.
[8] Ibid. i, 238–9.
[9] Ibid. i, 262–3.
[10] Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), i, 212.
[11] *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 284–5.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Under William I the geographical separation of Suffolk was recognized in Domesday, but politically the twin shires were regarded as one. William's[1] policy was to give one shire to one earl under his two viceroys, and to Ralph Wader, an Anglo-Breton, who had fought for the Normans, was given the earldom of East Anglia, whose centre was Norwich Castle, to which lands in Suffolk owed castle-ward. The other castle of importance in East Anglia, the only one mentioned in the Suffolk Domesday Book, was Eye, built by Robert Malet, but there can be little doubt that strongholds existed in such places as Clare, Framlingham, Haughley, Ipswich, Walton and Burgh. It is impossible to determine the part played by Suffolk in the resistance to the Normans, though no doubt the fens saw tragedies which find no record in the scant annals. It is very probable that so long as local customs went on fairly undisturbed the county took small heed of changes in the kingship, to which it had in the last fifty years become inured. Suffolk men fully appreciated the danger from the Danes, and Roger Bigod's new possessions made him responsible for the defence of the southern coast, the usual entrance of the invaders. He, with Robert Malet and Ralph Wader, met Sweyn[2] when he sailed up the Orwell in 1069 and defeated him near Ipswich. A few years later Suffolk was called to arms again under Robert Malet to resist its own earl. The king's frequent absence in Normandy and Ralph Wader's steady advance in power were the forerunners of the earl's rebellion. Ralph married Emma, daughter of the Earl of Hereford, and at the Bride-ale at[3] Exning hatched the conspiracy and rebellion which was to divide England into independent earldoms. The earl was defeated and outlawed, and his fall made way for the rise of a more formidable family, the Bigods, one of whom already possessed 117 manors in the county. Roughly speaking he, with Robert Malet, who possessed 221 manors, the Liberty of St. Edmund and that of St. Etheldreda, wielded the whole county influence.

The turbulent reigns of William II and Henry I saw the gradual growth of the power of the Bigods, whose influence became almost paramount after the expedition of Robert of Normandy in 1101 to claim his brother's throne. On the suppression of the rebellion Robert Malet suffered the confiscation of his vast properties, and in consequence the castle and honour of Eye fell into the royal hands. Roger Bigod was staunch for Henry and received the castle of Framlingham as his reward. He was in high favour. His eldest son[4] was drowned in the White Ship with Prince Henry in 1120, and Hugh Bigod, the younger son, succeeded to his father's place. Earl Hugh was one of those who swore fealty to Matilda in 1126 and 1131 and lightly broke both oaths.[5] Suffolk laymen were for Stephen, and Bigod was for himself, though Stephen made him earl of East Anglia in 1141. The king's treatment of the bishops had alienated the Church, and the Liberties were probably against the king.[6] Bungay, the Bigod stronghold, was taken and the earl himself, playing too openly for his own hand, was surprised and defeated by Stephen. In 1153, when Henry of Anjou invaded England, Ipswich under Bigod declared for him, was besieged and had to

[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 70.
[2] Ibid. iv, 251–2.
[3] Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 10; Freeman, op. cit. iv, 573.
[4] Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 74.
[5] Ibid. 84.
[6] *De Gestis Regis Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), 46 et seq.

surrender before help arrived. Earl Hugh must have regretted his support of Prince Henry, for the first demand of the new king was for the surrender of his castles, and in 1157[1] Framlingham and Bungay were given up. Orford and Eye and Walton were in the king's hands, and were garrisoned by his knights. In 1168 Orford[2] was refortified, and during the war with his son in 1173 all the king's castles were put into a state of thorough defence ;[3] two Norman engineers being sent from Ipswich to Orford to oversee the work there. Walton was garrisoned by twenty foot soldiers and two horsemen under the command of four knights, Gilbert de Sanford, Roger Esturmey, William Tollemache, and William Vis-de-Leu, all members of south-eastern Suffolk families. Ships were sent from Orford to Sandwich to prevent the landing of the Flemish allies of the prince. The preparations were justified, for on 29 September, 1173, the earl of Leicester landed near Walton with an army of Flemings. Presumably he took the castle, but it does not necessarily follow, for he failed before Dunwich. In conjunction with Earl Hugh he garrisoned Bungay and Framlingham, took Hagenet, and secured Norwich by treachery. Then he marched westwards from Framlingham towards Bury, for, as the chronicler gibes, the hospitality of St. Edmund's was proverbial. At Farnham St. Genevieve they were met by the abbot's forces under Walter fitz-Robert and the king's men led by Richard de Lucy and the earl of Arundel, who had both come with all speed from the Scottish border, and defeated. The countess of Leicester was captured crouching in a ditch, and her husband was also taken. The hapless Flemings, scorned as weavers, were butchered by the county levies armed with scythes and other primitive weapons, and great was the slaughter which followed the presumption of the foreigners in over-running the territory of St. Edmund.[4] This defeat, however, did not make peace in the county, for the Flemish garrisons in Bungay and Framlingham led by Earl Hugh terrorized the surrounding county. He besieged Eye, swept off the cattle and corn belonging to the castle, and destroyed the fish-ponds, cow-houses, and barns.[5] The garrisons were increased in Walton and Orford, and the following year 1174–5 Earl Hugh made peace with the king and gave up Framlingham Castle, which was levelled to the ground, as also was Walton. The earl went on a crusade and died abroad in 1177. Crusading zeal had seized hold of Suffolk. Numbers took the cross, and as an earnest of their prowess in the Holy Land they[6] massacred the Jews in Bury on Palm Sunday, 1190. Those who survived were banished from the place for ever. In Sudbury, Bungay, and Ipswich, the same fate overtook them to the filling of the royal coffers and the easement of local debtors. Grateful Richard sent the standard of Cyprus to decorate the shrine of St. Edmund. During Richard's absence, the bishop of Ely had been supported in his quarrel with John by Walter fitz-Robert, who held the castle and honour of Eye for the king. There was a general loosening of the central authority, and by the death of Richard the earl of Norfolk regained his power and seized his castles and refortified them. If John had been able to retain the fealty of the two Liberties his cause in Suffolk would have

[1] Roger of Wendover, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 16.
[2] *Pipe R.* 14 *Hen. II* (Pipe Roll Soc.), 15.
[3] *Chron. of Jordan Fantosme* (Rolls Ser.), 283–97.
[4] Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 158.
[5] Ibid. 19 *Hen. II*, 117.
[6] *Pipe R.* 20 *Hen. II*, 126.

been good, but already in his brother's time he had alienated the goodwill of St. Etheldreda, while his exactions as king soon made[1] St. Edmund's the head of the conspiracy against him. Richard earl of Clare, his son Gilbert and his cousin Robert fitz-Walter, William de Huntingfeld, Roger de Cresci and the earl led the county against the king. The autumn of 1214 saw an extraordinary number of noble pilgrims at the shrine of the martyr, whose church was turned into a council chamber. Every knight there swore to stand by the liberties accorded to church and nobles by Henry I. Roger de Cresci undertook to raise the county and lead it. Robert fitz-Walter son of Walter fitz-Robert, who had opposed John during Richard's absence, was elected 'Marshal of the army of God and of the Holy Church.' In the inevitable civil war Suffolk suffered as between two fires; soldiers, either friends or foes, plundered indiscriminately. The barons in London proved themselves as great a scourge as the royalists,[2] and in November, 1215, the county found itself ravaged by the king's army, which was watching to prevent the barons drawing supplies, and at the same time trembling under the incursions of the licensed robbers who had made the isle of Ely their head quarters. The destruction of John's fleet under Hugh Boves[3] had strewn the coast with corpses and left it defenceless against the landing of 7,000 Frenchmen, the vanguard of Lewis's army. These in their turn pillaged the towns and marched off to London laden with booty, and twice again in the same year were towns put to ransom by the barons under fitz-Walter and William de Huntingfeld. The news of John's death followed close on the last ravaging of the county, for true to his policy of carrying the war into his enemies' lands, the king had overrun the county before his retreat north.[4] Suffolk now exchanged the doubtful excitement of war for that of religious revival, which in the days of rival orders brought many evils and riots in its train. The Friars Minor and the Dominicans were preaching everywhere at the market crosses and usurping the place of the parish priest, especially in the matter of confession, for it was easier for the sinner to confess anonymously to an unknown and passing friar than to his own director. The very liberties of St. Edmund were threatened. Gilbert of Clare, engaged in a lawsuit with the abbot, tried to thrust into the town a body of the friars, while the sheriff refused to acknowledge his judicial rights.[5] The abbot complained that those who sought sanctuary within the four crosses were so watched as to starve to death. The county was restless; no strangers were allowed to pass unchallenged, nor was anyone allowed to give them entertainment,[6] and the hue and cry was strictly kept in every town by special constables. When war actually broke out Suffolk as usual was against the legitimate authority. At the battle of Lewes in the insurgent army were the earl, Robert de Veer earl of Oxford, William de Criketot, Roger de Huntingfeld, John de Boseville, John Esturmy, Roger de Sancto Philoberto, Waleran Munceaux, Robert Peeche, and William de Boville.[7] The last was nominated one of the *custodes pacis* of the Mise

[1] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 111.
[2] *Chron. of Edw. I–Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 17.
[3] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 147–8.
[4] *Chron. of Edw. I–Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 19.
[5] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 688; Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc), ii, 188.
[6] Assize of Arms. [7] Blaauw, 'Simon de Montfort,' from *East Angl. Mag.* vii (new ser.), 63.

of Lewes (1264). The next year most of these were in sanctuary at St. Edmund's or in the Isle of Ely. After the taking of Kenilworth the Disinherited dispersed, and a large body of them took refuge in the Fens. They drew their supplies from Suffolk, ravaged the county generally, and brought the fruits of their excursions to Bury for sale, the burgesses openly conniving. On 27 May, 1266, John earl of Warenne and William de Valence, the king's half-brother, appeared before the town and accused the abbot of conniving at the presence of the insurgents under Nicholas de Segrave.[1] The abbot threw the blame on the burghers, who, caught thus in a cleft stick, had to make their peace with the king at the price of 200 marks, and with the abbot, who demanded £100. Next year (6 February, 1267) the king arrived to hold a council at Bury, and brought with him the papal legate who justified his presence by excommunicating the Disinherited. They cared not a jot, and Gilbert of Clare made a successful diversion in their favour towards London, so that it was not until 11 July that Prince Edward forced the isle and pardoned the defenders, a considerable number of whom took the cross.

The Hundred Rolls of Edward I give a clear view of the balance of parties in the county at this time. The two Liberties were intact, but the hundred of Loes was held of Ely by the earl-marshal. Sampford was in the hands of Robert de Ufford, whose son later became the first earl of Suffolk; Mutford in those of Thomas de Hemgrave; and Lothingland in John de Baliol's. In the king's hands were Stowe and Hartismere, Bosmere and Claydon, Blything, Wangford, and Hoxne. Gilbert, earl of Clare, practically commanded the south-west corner. Aylmer de Valence held Exning. The work of reducing the county to order was vigorously undertaken by Edward, whose fiscal and judicial system was a clearly defined one of personal responsibility on the part of collectors and judges. The county suffered under the taxation, which was assessed by royal officers who had no regard for the liberties. On the other hand, the unjust judge was not allowed to escape. When Thomas de Weyland,[2] forgetting that he was a judge of the supreme court, hid the murder committed by one of his servants and was chased into sanctuary at St. Edmund's, where he was sheltered by the earl of Clare's friars, the king roused the county forces to hem him about till he would come out and surrender, which was not for two months. In 1275 the knights of the shire were first summoned to Parliament for the purpose of voting money. The fifteenth voted was to be collected by Robert de Typetot,[3] the sheriff to co-operate only. Ready money was badly needed, and not only by the king, almost every knight was indebted to Luccan merchants or to the Jews. In 1278 the Jews and the goldsmiths, who were also bankers and money-lenders, were arrested in Bury for coin-clipping. They were imprisoned till they ransomed themselves. The king, however, respected no liberties, and the goldsmiths (presumably the Jews had paid enough) were taken from[4] Bury gaol under the very nose of the abbot, to be tried in London. Bury protested and the king sent the men back, but the justices in eyre finally invaded the liberty and—culmination of perfidy—took the fines and brought them to the king's

[1] Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 197.
[2] Ibid ii, 240.
[3] *Cal. of Close*, 1272–9, p. 250.
[4] Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 220–1.

exchequer. But still money was not forthcoming freely, and[1] the sheriff was warned that unless he squeezed his county more thoroughly the king would make him remember. The Jews were finally expelled in 1290 and the county came into the hands of the Italian merchants.

Home defence cost the king nothing but a command—Suffolk had to defend its own shores. The coast had been for years infested by pirates, who plundered Dunwich, landed raiding parties and attacked ships, and by 1295 to this was added the possibility of French invasion.[2] Peremptory orders were issued to Earl Roger to guard the coast, laying all other things aside. Under him William de Boville of Letheringham, Reginald de Argenteyn of Halesworth and Cratfeld, Roger de Coleville of Rendlesham, John de Byskeleye of Brampton, constables, were directed to levy the county forces, horse and foot, and to cause them to come to the coast to guard it. Royal letters were sent to the following knights and county gentlemen, who were to work under the constables, and to see that their tenants and men were in readiness for defence, William de Neyreford of Henstead and Cove, Robert de Shelton, John Bygod, Edward Charles of Dodnesse, Jolland de Vallibus, Giles de Mountpounzen, William de Wauncy of Depden, Simon de Noers, John de Cokeford of Whatfield and Naughton, Thomas de Bavent of Easton Bavent, William de Kerdiston of Glemham, Robert de Ufford of Ufford, Shelton, and Bawdsey, John de Holebrook of Kesgrave and Floxhall. Recalcitrant landowners were to be distrained by the sheriff if they refused to answer to their assessment, and Peter de Dunwich was made overseer. The general tightening of the sinews of government had its reaction under Edward II. The levelling effect of the county legislation of Edward I had been resented, and *Quo warranto* stung deep. St. Edmund and St. Etheldreda again asserted their privileges against the county, the barons regrasped their liberties, the sheriff and the conservators of the peace became party leaders, and the common folk followed the lawless example of their superiors. Suffolk was suffering all the evil effects of the prolonged wars with France and Scotland, and of a series of bad seasons. The continual drain of men and money exasperated the peasants, as it wearied the landowners. Provisions were scarce and dear, purveyance harsh. The rich bribed the takers of prisage and the poor had to bear double. Justice was again at the mercy of might. Stephen de Segrave of Peasenhall, and Nicholas his brother, espoused the quarrel of their brother Henry with Walter de Bermyngham.[3] Nicholas assembled his men at Bury with horse and arms, and marched through the county, spreading dismay, to join Stephen and overawe the court at Norwich where Henry was imprisoned. The king forbade this brotherly expression of interest, but the Segraves carried it through, and next year Nicholas, far from being in disgrace, received from the king a grant for life of the town and castle of Orford and £60 out of the farm of Ipswich.[4] Peter de Gaveston, earl of Cornwall, on his marriage with Margaret, sister of Gilbert de Clare, received the castle and manor of Eye and the manor of Haughley. The county was soon divided into Royalists and Lancastrians. One of the lords ordainers of 1311 was Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, whose wife was the only daughter of Richard

[1] *Cal. of Close*, 1279–88, p. 529.
[2] Ibid. 1288–96, p. 455.
[3] Ibid. 1307–13, p. 354.
[4] *Cal. of Pat.* 1307–13, p. 506.

Weyland of Fenhall, and John de Botetout of Mendlesham was one of the negotiators of the peace of 1312. The death at Bannockburn of the young earl of Clare and the subsequent division of his property among D'Audleys, Damorys, and Despensers, hardly affected the balance of parties in the county.[1] Roughly speaking the strength of the lords was in the south and west, while what hold Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, had, was in the north-east. Clare Castle was the centre of the Lancastrian circle, and in many cases the fiefs of the earl of Gloucester lay cheek by jowl in the same manor with those of Lancaster, whose manors lay round[1] Ipswich, and possibly encouraged the town-folk to resist the king's officers[2] and those of the bishop of Norwich. The burghers besieged the king's bailiffs in their house, while at[3] Bury the king's clerk had to run for his life from abbot and townsmen. The castles were mostly in the hands of the rebels. The king's half-brother, Thomas of Brotherton, held Framlingham, the Norfolk centre, but in 1314 it was given into the hands of Sir John de Botetout, while Nicholas de Segrave still held Orford. Both Botetout and Segrave were 'out' with the earls in 1318, and were included in the general pardon which followed. The staunch loyalists all through were Edmund Bacon of Olton, and John of Cleydon his brother, Thomas de Grey of Denardiston, Edmund de Hemgrave of Hemgrave and Mutford, Robert de Bures of Aketon and Kettlebaston, and John de Haustede, Guy de Ferre of Benhall, and William de Beauchamp of Debenham and Pettaugh. They carried, or miscarried, on what county business could be transacted. There were the usual complaints of the exactions of the sheriff, who could not protect the property of those serving in Scotland nor would he bring the malefactors to trial. In 1317 Lancaster was making his party against the Despensers, and the county was full of those who promised gifts and lands, and who entered into illegal conspiracies.[4] Next year William de la Mote of Willisham (Lancaster's tenant), Nicholas de Segrave, Peter de Denardiston, William de Amundeville of Thorney, John de Botetout, Robert Spryng, Richard de Preston, Richard de Emeldon, John de Yoxhall, John, son of Robert de Vaus, Nicholas de Preston, Simon Sturmyn, John de Tendring, Bernard de Brus, John de Claveryng were all pardoned as Lancastrians,[5] and the castle and honour of Eye were taken into the king's hands. On 18 November, 1321, Edward issued an order to arrest any in the county who spoke to the king's shame,[6] and sent a writ of aid to Hemgrave and Grey to assemble all the horse and foot of Suffolk against the insurgents on the Welsh marches. Gilbert Peeche of Little Thurlow, Thomas de Veer, Edmund Bacon, John de Vaus, and John de Tendring were amongst those who led their men to join the royal forces. The sheriff was ordered to raise the hue and cry against the adherents of Lancaster, taking with him the posse of the county. Accordingly Peter Denardiston, Robert de Peyton, Robert de Gedeworth, and Sir John de Botetout, Sir John de Fresingfeld of Cockley [Despenser's man], Sir Adam de Swillington, and Robert de Watville were outlawed and their property confiscated. The usual pardon followed. With Lancaster's death in 1322 the territorial balance was affected

[1] Tanner MSS. Bodl. Lib. 10056.
[2] Ibid. p. 469.
[3] Ibid. p. 228 *passim*.
[4] *Cal. of Pat.* 1317–21, p. 605.
[5] Ibid. p. 95.
[6] *Cal. of Close*, 1318–23, p. 506.

favourably to the king, for the earl's lands fell to him, and he had also in his hands Clare Castle and manor (for Elizabeth Damory had 'left the king without permission') as well as that of Eye. This, however, made little difference to the rebellious spirit of the county. During the anxious months from December, 1325, to September, 1326, when Isabella the queen was daily expected to land on the Suffolk coast with an army of English refugees and French mercenaries, it refused to pay for signal beacons or to make preparations to repel the invasion,[1] though Robert de Ufford, Thomas de Latymer, and Richard de la Ryvere were duly appointed arrayors. The king[2] spent some weeks [26 December to 14 February] going nervously up and down the county superintending the defences. John de Sturmy,[3] admiral of the north fleet, guarded the coast and held Orford Castle, while the ports of Ipswich, Orwell, Bawdsey, Orford, and Dunwich were left to the watch of what forces the arrayors could raise. They watched in vain, for in September Isabella and Mortimer landed unopposed on the coast, probably at Landguard Point, near Walton. The county flocked to her army at every step, and she proceeded triumphantly to Bury, where[4] she levied contributions and laid violent hands on treasure stored there. John de Sturmy,[5] probably as the price of his treachery, was confirmed in his custody of the castle and town of Orford.

The minority of Edward III and the reign of Mortimer and Isabella did not make for a strong central control, and the local conditions became deplorable. The attempt of Edward I to assimilate all justice under one system had come to nought under his son, and now the eight and a half hundreds which were under Bury's jurisdiction were absolutely lawless. The magnates were little better than robbers, and in 1328 the king issued an order prohibiting any earl or baron from seeking adventures or doing feats of arms.[6] Some sought adventure nevertheless in kidnapping[7] the abbot of Bury, and his fate was unknown for days. To this normal state of lawlessness was added the distraction of Kent's rebellion. Robert de Ufford[8] raised the county against[9] Sir William de Cleydon and John fitz-Simond and the widow of John de Nerford, and was rewarded by receiving the custody of the town and castle of Orford. Night and day the county was harassed by armed robbers, for the commissioners of the peace were lax in the performance of their duties. A certain band countenanced by the sheriff made[10] Stowmarket church their head quarters and thence issued to terrorize the neighbourhood. They drove Sir Richard de Amundeville from his house at Thorney. As late as 1344 men were riding with banners displayed, taking men, imprisoning and holding them to ransom, perpetrating homicides, arsons, and other evils. An attempt to widen the powers of the sheriff brought a protest from the abbot of Bury. Sir Robert de Ufford was the king's right hand, and in 1337 was rewarded with the earldom of Suffolk.[11] The same year the decisions of the council on the French war were laid before the men of Suffolk at Bury by him, supported by Hugh de Saxham and Ralph de Bockyng, seneschal of St. Edmunds. The war was not popular at the outset, and the commissioners of array, empowered to arrest recalcitrant

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1324–7, p. 311.
[2] Ibid. p. 200 et seq.
[3] Ibid. p. 243.
[4] *Cal. of Close*, 1327–30, p. 249.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, 36.
[6] *Cal. of Close*, 1327–30, p. 407.
[7] Ibid. p. 442.
[8] *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 571.
[9] *Cal. of Close*, 1327–30, p. 471 *passim*.
[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1340–3, p. 313.
[11] *Cal. of Close*, 1337–9, p. 60.

defenders of their country, were roughly handled at Ipswich by Sir Thomas de Holebroke and his followers, who rescued the attached 'rebels.'[1] Suffolk, admiral of the coast, reported the impossibility of getting men and ships, and resort was had to convicted pirates, who were offered the alternatives, gaol and confiscation or service in Brittany and Gascony. The wages paid to soldiers and leaders were good enough to tempt anyone; still, though many crossed the sea, it was not until 1345 that the whole county was ordered out and went. The county was full of wrangling over the value of the one-ninth which was paid direct to the Italian merchants, the Bardi and Peruzzi, on whose failure Sir[2] William Tollemache of Gaisle, merchant of England, advanced money to the king.

Suffolk was used to the departure of men to seek their fortunes in Gascony.[3] Sir Guy de Ferre, of Benhall and Farnham, had been lieutenant in Guyenne in 1298 and seneschal in Gascony in 1307; Sir Gilbert Peeche had held the latter office in 1316–17; Sir John de Wysham in 1324; Sir John de Haustede (who certainly held lands in the county) in 1330 and 1342; Sir Oliver de Ingham of Weybread in 1334. In 1331 John de Sancto Philiberto of Lackford was mayor of Bordeaux, an office second only to that of seneschal. Criketot and Dagworth were also familiar names in the duchy. The French possessions were looked upon much in the same light as the colonies of the present day. Active young men might there push their fortunes. The fiscal burden entailed by this war was what made it so unpopular. The wages of men were paid in beasts, and further complications arose in converting the sheep or fleeces into a more portable form of exchange.

In October, 1344,[4] Sir Thomas de Holebroke, Nicholas de Playford and Thomas de Enges were ordered to find by inquisition and certify to the king by the Epiphany the names of all persons other than religious men holding of the fee of the church, having 100*s*., £10, or £25, and so on up to £1,000 yearly in land or rent. On this inquisition the county was assessed next year, and all barons, bannerets, knights, and esquires were ordered to prepare themselves to set out for Gascony and Brittany. Sir Thomas Dagworth, of the family of Dagworth and Thrandeston, was made king's lieutenant and captain in Brittany. Ships were impressed at all the ports. On Palm Sunday the county levies, including those from the towns of Bury, Ipswich, and Sudbury were inspected at Ipswich and the archers led to Portsmouth by Oliver de Stretton and Thomas de Wachesham. Few of the gentry seem to have remained at home save those incapacitated by age or infirmity. The county poured across to La Hogue. Suffolk landowners fought in the first division at Crecy under the Prince of Wales.[5] Among his bannerets were Sir William de Kerdiston, Sir Edmund de Thorpe, Sir Thomas de Barnardiston, Sir William de Tendring, Sir Richard Playce. In the second division were Sir William Tollemache, Sir John Shardelowe, Sir Robert de Tudenham. The king's division held the earl of Suffolk, Sir John de Botetout, Sir John de Huntingfeld, Sir John de Wingfeld,

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1338–40, p. 273.
[2] Ibid. 403.
[3] Thos. Carte, *Cal. Gascon Rolls*, i, 35, 50; C. Bémont, *Rôles Gascons, passim.*
[4] *Cal. of Pat.* 1343–54, p. 414.
[5] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais. From the Public Records* (William Salt, Arch. Soc.), 31 et seq.

Sir Bartholomew de Naunton, Sir Gilbert Peeche, Sir John Loudham, Sir William Carbonel, Sir Oliver de Stretton, Sir Thomas de Colville, Sir Adam de Swillington, Sir Thomas de Vis de Leu. The train of the earl of Suffolk included Richard Fitz-Simond, Richard Freysel of Boyton and Capell, Oliver de Stretton, John de Rattlesden, Oliver de Walkfare, Gilbert Peeche, Thomas de Vis de Leu, Richard att Lee, William Criketot of Ousden and many others, some of whom had already served in the campaign of 1337–40.[1]

After the Crecy and Calais campaign came the Black Death, and the war was not renewed till 1355, when the Black Prince led his army to Gascony. The same Suffolk names appear on the rolls, sons taking the place of fathers. The earl of Suffolk was given lands in Gascony, and on his death in 1369 he was succeeded by his son William, who while the war dragged on was admiral of the north fleet. Now England was no longer the invader, but feared invasion. In 1377, about ten days after the death of Edward III, the harrying of the southern coast by the French brought out the Suffolk men-at-arms and archers. Beacons were watched[2] to send the signal through the county. Two years later the king demanded loans for the war. The earl[3] headed the list with £100; the good men of Hadleigh gave £50, those of Bury 50 marks, Ipswich £40, while Alderton and Bawdsey gave 40 marks. This was followed by the calling out by the county of all able men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to resist invasion.

The county had been passing through an economic crisis. The villeins had during the last century gradually emancipated themselves and the modern farmer class was emerging. At the same time many causes had tended towards the emancipation of the serfs and labourers. The Black Death and the resulting scarcity and dearness of labour had opened the eyes of the landlords, and the Statute of Labourers (1351) had been an attempt to rebind the labourers to the soil. Added to the economic question was the religious one. Wyclif's poor priests had been going through the county in their long russet gowns, and were accused of teaching what are now termed socialistic doctrines. The poll tax of 1381 was the culmination of burdens, for the county was already full of 'champerties and embraceries, confederacies, deceptions and other falsities.' In the beginning of that year the sheriff and the escheator were commanded to inquire touching the names, abodes, and conditions of all lay persons over fifteen years of age, men, women and servants, notorious persons alone excepted, and to return the list direct to the treasury. By June[4] all Suffolk was in an uproar, though the storm seems to have concentrated itself round Bury, whither marched those 'angels of Satan,' their Essex sympathizers, with William de Benyngton as archangel. Under John Wrawe and his lieutenant Robert Westbrom, they broke into and pillaged Sir John Cavendisshe's house at Bury, and soon after slew the owner in the neighbourhood of Lakenheath.[5] At the same time another gang was perpetrating a similar act at Mildenhall, where the country folk found and killed the prior of Bury. His murderers marched to Bury, and the two

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1334–8, p. 527. [2] Ibid. 1377–81, p. 38. [3] Ibid. pp. 635–8.
[4] Thomas of Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 1 et seq.
[5] Powell, *East Anglia Rising*, 13.

forces under threat of burning down the convent, forced the monks to give up their charters and jewels, and divided the latter among themselves as earnest of the fulfilment of the promises of the monks to reduce the customs. Then sticking the heads of Cavendisshe and the prior on tall poles, with ribald jests they carried them through the town to the market-place, where they were posted. The prior's body was flung into the fields, and for fifteen days no man dared to give it burial. In the county the plan of the insurgents was to seize the person of the earl and cover their depredations with his presence. The earl was warned of their approach and intention, and fled precipitately from his dinner-table to St. Albans.

The bishop of Norwich, *juvenis et audax*, marched from Newmarket to Thetford overawing the countryside by his stream of adherents, and so into his own county, where he defeated the insurgents. The danger was first averted by promises and pardons, from which the men of Bury were excepted; then licence was given to the landowners who had been spoiled to regain their possessions as best they could without hindrance from the king or his ministers. The lands and goods of the late rebels were put up publicly to farm. But in spite of drastic measures the sheriff had no easy business to execute his office. The men of Lowestoft refused admittance to the king's officers,[1] and John de Tudenham,[2] the sheriff, went about in fear of his life from the outlaws who were lying in wait to kill him. Bury was not forgiven till 1385, when after much haggling a large fine was paid by the burghers. In the meantime the earl of Suffolk[3] had died very suddenly on the steps of the council room in 1382. He left no heir, and three years later the earldom was revived for Michael de la Pole.[4] He was the son of that William de la Pole, merchant of Hull, who had established the political fortunes of his family by lending to Edward III the sum of £11,000, in 1338, at Mechlin.[5] Edward had always been grateful to the man who had prevented his bankruptcy at the time of the ruin of the Italian bankers. The son was greater in administration than in arms, though he had served, it was said in the articles of impeachment of 1386, for thirty years in the war and had been captain of Calais and admiral. He had raised himself to the position of chancellor, and was in high favour with Richard II. Marriage with the heiress of Sir John Wingfield brought him the lordship of the manor of Wingfield,[6] but save the manor of Lowestoft and the hundred of Lothingland he held no other lands in Suffolk. He was only granted the reversion of the Ufford lands on the death of the widow of the late earl.[7] She was still living in 1395,[8] and Earl Michael died in exile in Paris in 1389.[9]

The leaders of the county were the duke of Norfolk and the earl of March. The former revived the preponderance of the Bigod family centring round Bungay and Framlingham, while the latter represented the Gloucester interest which centred round Clare. The banishment of Norfolk and the death of March in Ireland left Michael de la Pole, lord of Wingfield, who had not[10] succeeded to his father's attainted title, without a rival in the county. His opportunity arrived when Henry Bolingbroke came to claim

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, p. 503.
[2] Thos. of Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 48–9.
[3] Ibid. 587.
[4] *Cal. Gascon Rolls*, 1–91.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 18.
[6] *Suff. Inst. Arch.* viii, 190.
[7] *Cal. of Pat.* 1385–9, p. 18.
[8] Ibid. 1391–6, p. 659.
[9] Thomas of Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 187.
[10] *Cal. of Pat.* 1381–5, pp. 449–50.

his patrimony and found a crown. 'In consideration of his services at the king's advent' he was rehabilitated in the dignity of the earldom of Suffolk,[1] with the lands which had belonged to the Uffords. He was now definitely Lancastrian, and round him collected the adherents of that party, as did the Yorkists round March and Norfolk. The Lancastrians were fairly numerous:[2] Sir Edward Hastings, Sir William Clopton of Kentwell Hall, Sir William de Elmham, Sir John Heveningham, Sir William Argentein, Sir Roger Drury, John Burgh, Robert de Peyton, Thomas Hethe, and others. Sir Thomas Erpyngham was given the custody of the castle and manor of Framlingham during the minority of the earl of Nottingham, Norfolk's heir, while the earl of Suffolk received the lordship of the honour of Eye. The death of the young earl of Nottingham in 1405 for conspiracy against Henry IV confirmed the de la Pole influence. The earl of Suffolk died at the siege of Harfleur in September, 1415,[3] and the following month his heir, who had tried to unite both county factions by his marriage with Elizabeth Mowbray, was killed at Agincourt.[4] The earldom devolved on William the brother of the last earl. For seventeen years he served his country abroad, and saw the gradual shrinkage of the Anglo-French possessions. His long absence and his unfortunate reputation damaged his county influence, which was almost swamped by those of March and Norfolk combined. They were constantly clashing: where one oppressed the other championed.

Here is an example in point. A certain esquire of Suffolk called John Lyston[5] recovered 700 marks in the assize of *novel disseisin* against Sir Robert Wingfield of Letheringham. Sir Robert, to evade payment, had Lyston outlawed for some offence in Nottinghamshire, so that all his goods and chattels became forfeit to the crown. Then the duke of Norfolk was granted that 700 marks as part of his arrears of pay for service on the Scots marches. This the duke released to Sir Robert Wingfield, who went quit of his debt. The duke of Suffolk took the matter up warmly. But while he championed Lyston old Sir John Fastolf in Lothingland complained bitterly of his exactions.[6] Suffolk had been governor of Normandy, and the responsibility of its loss was thrown on his shoulders. Now Fastolf had held lordships in Maine, and regarded the duke as his debtor for the amount of his loss. This lay lightly on the duke, who wanted to get hold of the property of the childless old man, and by 1450 had already managed to oust him from four manors valued at a rental of 200 marks, besides other extortions put at 6,000 marks.

In 1447 Suffolk was at the zenith[7] of his career, and in February his rival the duke of Gloucester was arrested at the Parliament held at Bury and died immediately. Preparations had been made for the stroke and soldiers had been sent into the county by sea to ensure its success. Three years later, Suffolk, 'the abhorred tode,' was a fugitive by Ipswich to the Continent, but was intercepted at sea and beheaded on the gunwale of a boat on the Dover sands. The duke of Norfolk and his uncle the duke of York now used all their influence to swamp the Suffolk party. They met at Bury 16 October, 1450,[8] to agree upon and appoint knights of the shire of their own party.

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1399–1401, p. 160.
[2] Thomas of Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 309.
[3] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i, 41.
[4] 1448 he was made duke of Suffolk.
[5] Ibid. *passim*.
[6] Ibid. 313.
[7] Ibid. i, 148, 358.
[8] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i, 160–1.

The earl of Oxford backed them up so that by 8 November, the day fixed for the election, their adherents came to Ipswich in their best array 'with as many cleanly people' as they could get for their worships. The county was full of private strifes. Land-snatching and ward-lifting were common, and 'it stood right wildly without a mean may be that justice be had.' The obvious remedy seemed to be a strong sheriff, but that was impossible to get as parties stood. In 1454 the sheriff, Thomas Sharburne, did not return the writ for the knights of the shire, alleging intimidation by the duke of Norfolk's men and tenants. He saw he was to be overborne, and rode away refusing to hold the shire. Next year Norfolk worked hard to keep out the Lancastrians, the most to be feared being Sir Thomas Tudenham. The Suffolk levies probably arrived with the duke too late for the first battle of St. Albans (1455), but one Suffolk man gained uneviable notoriety there. Sir Philip Wentworth, a valiant kidnapper of wards,[1] bore the king's standard, but cast it down and fled into hiding in Suffolk. Norfolk swore he ought to be hanged. After the rout of Ludlow the Yorkists were in peril, and Tudenham, Chamberlayn, and Wentworth were ordered to take as traitors and imprison all well-wishers of the lords.[2] The rapid change of 1460 when York landed turned the tables,[3] and the late commissioners for traitors were glad of letters of protection from March and Warwick, while the countess of Suffolk had assured her position with the winning side by marrying her son John to Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of the duke of York. From this time on, though the territorial rivalry of the two dukes—Edward IV later restored the dukedom to John—did not cease, they were both adherents to the house of the White Rose. In February, 1462, the Lancastrians, Sir Thomas Tudenham, John earl of Oxford and Aubrey Veer his son and heir, John Clopton, and William Tyrrell were all arrested on suspicion of having been in treasonable correspondence with Margaret the queen, and with the exception of Clopton, were beheaded on Tower Hill.[4] The Veer tenants were arrested and all their lands confiscated: Sir Thomas Tudenham's went to John Wenlock lord of Wenlock. Sir John Clopton of Long Melford had a general pardon,[5] turned his coat, and set about, along with Sir Thomas Waldegrave and Sir Gilbert Debenham, the raising of men and ships to defend the coast against Margaret's Scots and French allies. The county was absorbed in the factious troubles of the two dukes. The king threatened to send a commission under the duke of Clarence to inquire into the rioting which attended their disputes. The Suffolk folk loved neither their duke nor his mother, and accused them of harbouring traitors and countenancing the extortioners whom the king had already tried to get hold of, to the filling of their own pocket. The sheriff too and his officers indicted men for their own profit, and Sir Gilbert Debenham and the under-sheriff fell out over this at the Bury assizes. In October, 1463, Queen Margaret sailed from France, but the coast was well guarded and the county levy was turned out to resist her. Sir John Wingfield, William Jermy, John Sulyard, and Thomas Heigham were appointed commissioners for treason.[6] John Gerveys,

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i, 336; *Fenn Letters* (ed. 1789), iii, 212.
[2] *Fenn Letters*, iii, 349.
[3] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner) i, 519.
[4] *Fenn Letters* (ed. 1787), i, 84; *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, pp. 28, 132, &c.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, pp. 113, 195.
[6] Ibid. p. 348.

gentleman, of Bury St. Edmunds, was rewarded by the grant for life of the manor of Brent Bradford,[1] lately held by Lord Roos, while Sir James Luttrell lost his Suffolk manors.[2] Thomas Colte got Acton, which had been confiscated from the earl of Wiltshire, and Sir John Scotte received Clopton, late Lord Beaumont's.[3] This was only an interlude in the county rivalry. The duke of Norfolk held his court at Framlingham and the duke of Suffolk held his at Wingfield Castle. There they lived like princes with their councils and their soldiers, wielding almost absolute power over their adherents. The Fastolf inheritance was coveted by both. The duke of Norfolk called his adherents out of Suffolk to besiege the manor house of Caister which John Paston had inherited from Sir John Fastolf, and Sir John Heveningham, Sir Thomas Wingfield, Sir Gilbert Debenham, and Sir William Brandon were all captains at the siege.[4] In this uproar the preparations for the Lancastrian rising of 1470[5] were almost unnoticed, and the earl of Oxford was busy disposing himself with all the power he could at Bury in conjunction with his brother, who was raising Norfolk. The duke of Suffolk was true to Edward IV, and during the short restoration of Henry VI, compelled his men of the borough of Eye to pay the men enlisted for the Yorkist army.[6] But the speedy return of Edward IV in March, 1471, though Veer was able to prevent the possibility of his landing on the coast, was followed by his proclamation in Suffolk by Lord Howard. Oxford and his adherents suffered further forfeiture, and Richard duke of Gloucester[7] was granted the lordships of Lavenham, Mendham, Cockfield, &c., lately belonging to the earl, and also Borsted, Shelley, &c., belonging to Robert Harleston. The earl was not deterred however from making another attempt, and in May, 1473, he was hovering round the coast.[8] One hundred gentlemen in Norfolk and Suffolk had agreed to rise to meet him, but wind and weather did not serve, and though he actually landed at St. Osyth's he did not tarry long. The same year Edward IV made a progress through the county. The duke of Norfolk died in 1475, and Sir Robert Wingfield was made controller of his estate during the minority of his daughter. Suffolk's position was perilously near the crown, and his son the earl of Lincoln was regarded as the heir after Richard of Gloucester. The final triumph of the Lancastrians in 1485 found the duke still supple enough to join the winning side.

By 20 October, after Bosworth field, which was fought on 22 August, he was calling out the county levies in the name of Henry VII. Lord Lovell,[9] after the failure of his rising in 1486, tried to escape by Suffolk ports, and his hiding-place in the Isle of Ely was denounced to the sheriff by Margaret countess of Oxford, his wife's aunt. She straitly charged the sheriff to watch the ports and creeks, but the fugitive gained a refuge in Flanders, where he found the preparations for the Lambert Simnel expedition in full swing. Along with the duke's eldest son he returned in Lambert's cause. The Suffolk levies[10] were turned out, and money was not to be accepted in lieu of service by Sir William Clopton and Sir William Cornwallis of Thrandeston. The duke did not openly approve of his son's action. Both

[1] *Cal. of Pat.* 1461–7, p. 443.
[2] Ibid. p. 231.
[3] Ibid. p. 116; 1467–77, p. 18.
[4] *Fenn Letters* (ed. 1789), iv, 405.
[5] Ibid. ii, 54.
[6] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii, 413.
[7] *Cal. of Pat.* 1467–77, p. 297.
[8] *Fenn Letters* (ed. 1787), ii, 138.
[9] Ibid. ii, 339.
[10] Ibid. v, 363.

the county and its duke were sources of anxiety to Henry VII, for Duke Edmund was almost the only remaining Yorkist heir to the throne. The county would have followed him, and in 1504 Henry confiscated all his estates and spent much ingenuity in trying to entrap his person. Finally he was given up by the duke of Burgundy in 1506 and closely guarded in the Tower. The county had suffered much from Henry's ingenious methods of acquiring money. 'Those that love me pay,' said he ominously; and the Yorkist paid.

The composition of the county was slowly changing. New families were springing up. The late wars had brought forward such as the Drurys and Sulyards, Hoptons, Brandons, and Coltes, while cloth fortunes were founding such as the Sprygns of Lavenham. The court under Edward IV had become a brilliant centre, and under Henry VIII was the source of all honour and service. Within its walls county jealousies could be fought out: the duel settled now what had before involved half the county. The fortunes of Suffolk became more directly dependent on the king's wishes. Henry VIII had European ambitions which meant men and money from the county. Charles Brandon, Lord Lisle, son of Sir Robert Brandon of Henham, had with him at Tournay Sir Richard Cavendish, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Sir Arthur Hopton.[1] Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Thomas Tirrel won their spurs there and were made knights in the church after the battle by the king as he stood under his banner. Peace was made and Francis and Henry met and kissed on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Suffolk men were there to attend on the king and queen: Sir Richard Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Robert Drury, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Philip Tilney, Sir Robert Wingfield, Sir William Waldegrave. All this magnificence had to be paid for and the county was drained of money.[2] Parliament had voted a tenth and a fifteenth, and the knights of the shire, citizens of cities, and burgesses of boroughs and towns were to name and appoint able persons for the collection. This rate, however, would make but a small sum to meet the great charges of the wars, and the 'loving Commons willing a larger sum to be collected in a shorter time—as in a more easy, universal and indifferent manner' voted a graduated subsidy which gathered pence from every able-bodied man and unmarried woman above the age of fifteen. It began at 5 per cent. on the year's income of all those over fifteen taking wages or profits for wages to the value of 40*s*., and became less in proportion as the possessions advanced in value, those having lands and rents above 40*s*. and under £40 only paying 2½ per cent. The inequality was glaring. The method of collecting and assessing the tax was of the most businesslike. Sad and discreet persons as well justices of the peace as others were appointed commissioners. The county by hundreds, towns, and parishes was to be canvassed by constables and head-boroughs, and the names and surnames of men and women over fifteen years of age were to be written in a book. Masters might pay for servants and stop it out of their wages. The commissioners were to return the assessed list to the constables who were to collect the money and distrain if resisted. Thus was the Tournay campaign paid for, and the sixpences of the Suffolk labourers went to help to gild the cloth of gold.

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, *passim*.

[2] *Parl. R. House of Lords*, 4 Hen. VIII.

War was renewed in 1522 and so were the demands for money. Parliament was called, but before it met a property tax in the shape of a loan was resolved on. Again an inquiry was to be made, but quietly so that no one should be alarmed. Then the commissioners were to call together such temporal persons as they thought fit, and to explain to them the king's necessitous state and how he required a loan on the following terms: Persons worth from £20 to £300, at the rate of £10 per £100; from £300 to £1,000, 20 marks per £100. The shadowy bait of repayment out of the next Parliamentary loan was to be used. The commissioners at the same time were to have an eye for likely-looking labourers who could be pressed for the wars. Lord Willoughby, the abbot of Bury, Sir Robert Drury, Sir William Waldegrave, Sir Richard Wentworth, Sir John Heveningham, Sir Philip Tilney, Sir Thomas Tirrell of Gipping, Lionel Tollemache, Humphrey Wingfield were the commissioners who by their successful 'practising' squeezed £7,400 out of those who owned £40 and upwards, while those who owned from £5 to £20 contributed £3,000. Besides this there was £3,374 from the subsidy which was to have been used to repay the first £10,000. Add to this the necessary drain on private incomes in providing sons with war outfits, for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had with him in France Wingfields, Cavendishes, Jerninghams, Waldegraves, Wentworths, and Hoptons.

The patience of the county was cracked and at the next demand in 1525 it flew in pieces. Wolsey devised strange commissions to every shire[1] and ordered that one-sixth of every man's substance should be paid to the king for furniture of his war. This was in March. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, aided by the news that ten French sail were cruising off the coast,[2] set about practising the grant. On 6, 7 and 8 April they practised all the rates from £20 upwards, and next week came the more ticklish work[3]—those below that amount. The people objected that the spirituality were not put to any charges, the more that they had taken no part in the rejoicing at the capture of Francis I at Pavia, when the laymen had had to pay for the bonfires and public rejoicings commanded by the king. Norfolk promised that the spirituality would certainly pay double and that they would make general processions of thanksgiving, and thought the matter ended. He was too sanguine. The commons adopted the method of passive resistance towards the collectors with threats of violence towards those who paid. In the woollen towns of the south-west, however, there was actual disturbance. Essex was in sympathy, and popular gatherings were held on the county borders, for the wool workers of Lavenham, Sudbury, and other towns were seething. Norfolk (May 8) feared an actual outbreak,[4] and desired above all things to temper their madness and untruth by some 'dulce' means, for hasty punishment might cause danger. He had by gentle handling persuaded the master clothiers to assent to giving the sixth, but the manufacturers had not now wherewithal to pay the wages of their men, so they dismissed their carders, spinners, fullers, and weavers. The men raged at the loss of their work, and Suffolk (no expert handler of men) ordered the constables to confiscate their harness. This caused an open outburst against Suffolk and Sir Robert Drury, and four thousand men assembled from the woollen towns

[1] Hall, *Chron.* (1809), p. 697.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, (i), Nos. 1241–60.
[3] Ibid. No. 1241.
[4] Ibid. No. 1319.

at the sound of the alarum bells. Suffolk assembled his men, retainers, and county gentlemen, but they refused to draw on the rioters.[1] They broke down the bridges, however, and waited near Bury for Norfolk to come up, when negotiations at once began. John Spryng, of Lavenham, with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Jermyn, went willingly from the duke to treat with the rebels, and persuaded the labourers that their only safety now lay in complete submission. Those of Lavenham and Brent Eleigh came in their shirts and kneeled for mercy, saying they were the king's subjects and had committed this offence for lack of work. Norfolk aggravated their offence purposely to frighten them, took four hostages, and sent a message to the other towns to warn them to be at Bury by seven the next morning or else be treated as rebels. The danger which had been averted was great, for the whole of the eastern counties were ready to rise. The four hostages were to be indicted for high treason, and were sent finally before the council, where they were released, wily Wolsey himself going bail for them as another Suffolk man. But though crushed the county was not quieted. The treaty with France interfered with the wool trade and the workers were adrift on the county. Sir Robert Drury got hold of certain rioters in March, 1528, and on examination at Bury[2] John Davy, the leader, said that he and others had arranged to go up to the king and cardinal with as many men as they could assemble and beseech a remedy for the living of poor men. Norfolk recommended severity and asked that they might be hanged. Next month, April, Norfolk hinted that the people would soon be asking for the repayment of the loan money—'a thing more to be feared than any other, for it is so much desired.' The Parliament of 1530 disappointed that growing hope, for by it the king was released from repayment and in return granted a general pardon to all rioters. But pardons do not fill empty stomachs. In the meantime Henry was embroiled with wife and pope, and later with his people over the question of his divorce. Anne Boleyn was crowned in May, 1533, and at her coronation Sir William Drury, Sir John Jernyngham, and Sir Thomas Russhe were made knights of the Sword, Sir Thomas Jermy a knight of the Bath,[3] and William Waldegrave was knighted.

The passing of the Act of Succession in 1534 outraged the county while it was forced to submit. Sir William Waldegrave,[4] John Spryng, and Robert Crane had the unenviable task of enforcing it. *In vino veritas*, and Margaret Ellys of St. Clairs Bradfield[5] spoke the truth as all men knew it when, in her cups as she pleaded, she said Anne was no queen but a naughty whore, and cried 'God save Queen Katharine.' In Suffolk the duke of Norfolk managed the king's affairs, and for the Parliament of 1536 he had arranged that such knights should be chosen as would serve his highness according to his pleasure. His pleasure was the suppression of the smaller monasteries, which inoculated the county gentlemen with land fever and added further to the distress of the poor. The Lincoln rebellion sent Suffolk, the favourite, north in command of the troops, while Norfolk remained behind to settle the county and call out the levies. From Stoke[6] he directed operations and calmed the 'light' young clothiers, making such harsh words in Hadleigh, Boxford,

[1] Hall, *Chron.* (1809), p. 699.
[2] Ibid. vi, No. 1494.
[3] Ibid. viii, No. 196.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (ii), No. 4012.
[5] Ibid. vii, No. 689.
[6] Ibid. ix, No. 625.

Nayland, Bildeston, Rattlesden, and elsewhere, that it would have been hard for anyone to speak an unfitting word without being seized and sent to him. Sir Thomas Jermyn, under-steward to the duke at Bury, and Sir William Drury and John Spryng, stewards of the liberty of St. Etheldreda,[1] rode with him through the country, and 1,400 or 1,500 tall Suffolk men were ready at an hour's warning. Out of the liberty of Bury alone were 1,000 more men only waiting for harness. Lord Wentworth was to remain to govern the county with Sir Humphrey Wingfield, Sir Thomas Russhe, Sir John Jernyngham, 'a man of good estimation,' to assist him towards the coasts, and about Bury, the abbot.[2] Thanks to the duke's firm not to say rough handling, Suffolk, denuded of her tall men, for the moment was saved from open rebellion; but through the year individuals continued to be indicted for treasonable utterances, and plays, prophecies, and songs touching the king's honour were common.[3] One mysterious individual who had played too successfully the part of Husbandry in one of the plays was sought for but not to be found. No games, no assemblies of the people were allowed, and Suffolk reported all quiet. It was the quiet of hopeless regret, for it was now firmly believed through the county that if they had only risen and joined with Lincolnshire and Yorkshire they would have 'gone through the realm.' They were in consequence irritable and inconstant and not in a mood for the levying of the subsidy in 1538,[4] so that Norfolk advised great firmness and the money to be assessed at the quarter sessions by the magistrates. A rumour got about that all unmarked cattle were to be confiscated to the king. Unhappy experience had taught that the flagrant injustice of the order did not show its impossibility, and an unknown rascal in a green coat and riding a fair white gelding was held responsible for the report.[5] Vagabonds were numerous, and were ordered out of the county, but as the same measure was in practice in every other county it is not wonderful that their number remained undiminished. Priests and curates were by no means reconciled to the Act of Supremacy, and read so confusedly 'hemming and hacking the Word of God and such injunctions as we have lately set forth' that no man could understand the true meaning thereof. Such clergymen, with vagabonds, valiant beggars, and readers of the mass of Thomas à Becket, were to be swept up and imprisoned without bail.

This year (1539) the military force of the county was reorganised, with a view not only to defence but for the advancement of justice and the maintenance of the commonwealth. When he had pardoned the poor souls in the Suffolk riots Henry had remarked that it was in his power to cut them to pieces by the sword with their wives and children, and this 'ordering of the Manrede' was conceived in the same spirit. It was a kind of police and militia system. The king was to appoint four, five, or six men in every

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix, No. 642.

[2] The following were commanded to turn out and serve the king's own person—*L. and P. Hen. VIII:* Sir Charles Willoughby with 100 men; Sir George Somerset of Badmundisfield with 40 men; Sir Arthur Hopton of Westwood with 100 men, served with Suffolk; Sir Anthony Wingfield of Letheringham with 100 men, served with Suffolk; Sir Thomas Russhe of Chapmans with 60 men; Sir John Jernyngham of Somerleyton with 30 men; Sir William Drury of Halsted with 100 men; Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke with 100 men; John Spryng of Lavenham with 60 men; George Colte of Long Melford with 50 men; Richard Cavendish of Girminston (?) with 30 men.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (i), Nos. 424 and 1284.

[4] Ibid. xii (i), No. 32.

[5] Ibid. xiii (ii), No. 52.

shire to be his head commissioners, who were to take oath to execute all commissions, letters, and missives, and to do all they could for the surety of the king and his succession, for the advancement of justice, the repressing of unlawful games, and the encouraging of the use of the long bow. Under them sundry minor officials who took the same oath did the work, took the musters, and sent in the certificates to the king. Besides the general musters the king sent letters missive to his servants and other gentlemen, desiring them to certify the number of men they could put in the field for the king's service in war. The invasion of a force under Charles V and Francis I to execute the papal bull launched against Henry was the occasion of all this bustle. Lowestoft, Aldeburgh, and Orwell were to be put in a state of defence[1] and nothing was thought of but the carting of ammunition and guns. In 1542 there was war with France and danger from the Scots. The duke of Norfolk was ordered to the Border and commanded to take the Suffolk levies with him. Certain gentlemen like Sir John Jermy the sheriff, 'as good a knight as ever spurred a cow,' paid for substitutes. Norfolk took with him his own special adherents, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldegrave, Sir Thomas Jermyn, John Spryng, and Henry Doyle, and 2,500 foot, all desirous to be avenged on the Scots. Two years later 3,000 men mustered for France.[2] Tall men were taken in the markets and pressed, and immediately shipped off to Calais, whither there was a daily procession wearing the red cross. Nothing was seen or talked of save harness, ensigns, and liveries of footmen. This campaign was disastrous to both Lord Surrey and his father the duke of Norfolk, the former was accused of treason and beheaded 13 January, 1547, and ten days after Norfolk was attainted and his warrant signed 27 January. Next day Henry VIII died.

The county respected the Act of Succession, and Edward VI was proclaimed. Princess Mary had a following, however, and all those oppressed by the new landlords looked eagerly to her accession. One Pooley was a leader of the worst sort of rebels in Suffolk[3] and held seditious meetings. Of the rebels who were taken some were set in the Ipswich pillory by Sir Anthony Wingfield, others lost an ear, or, worse still, were sent up to London to be tried and punished there. The short reign of Edward came to an end on 6 July, 1553.

Princess Mary was in Norfolk at Kenninghall. She at once bestirred herself to gather the loyal east about her.[4] On the 8th she wrote to Sir George Somerset, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldegrave, and Clement Heigham, requiring their obedience and presence at Kenninghall.

[1] *L. and. P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (i), No. 655.

[2] Ibid. xix (i), p. 158. The following gentlemen with their men were commanded to the army for France in 1544 :—Lord Wentworth, 140 foot ; Sir Humphrey Wingfield, 10 foot ; Sir John Willoughby, 6 foot ; Sir Thomas Jermyn, 40 foot ; Robert Crane, 6 men ; Wm. Calthorpe, 6 men ; Edmund Pooley, 3 men ; Robert Downes, 2 men ; Ralph Chamberlayn, 6 men ; John Croftes, 10 men ; Rob. Garnish of Kenton, 4 men ; Thos. Heigham of Heigham, 6 men ; Clement Heigham, 4 men ; Robert Spryng, 4 men ; Edward Waldegrave, 5 men ; Marten of Melford, 5 men ; Ric. Coddington, 10 men ; John Brewse, 10 men ; John Southwell, 3 men ; George Colt, 10 men ; Lawrence Slystede, 2 men ; Wm. Rede, 6 men ; Wm. Pooley, 2 men ; Thos. Pope, 3 men ; Robert Gosnold, 2 men ; Wm. Mannock, 6 men ; Rob. Kene, 2 men ; Rob. Forde, 4 men ; Rob. Raynoldes, 3 men ; Wm. Foster, 3 men ; Walter Waddeland, 3 men ; John Tasburgh, Thos. Bateman, Edm. Playter, Jn. Hacon, Roger Rookwood, Ant. Heveningham, Rog. Woodhouse, Thos. Dereham, Wm. Hunston, J. and H. Wentworth, nil ; Sir Wm. Drury, 30 men ; John Spryng, 30 men ; John Shelton, 30 men ; Henry Doyle, 30 men.

[3] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, p. 20.

[4] Strype, *Mem. Eccl.* iii, 1.

On the 14th she was at Framlingham collecting an army to oppose the earl of Oxford and Lord Rich, whom she commanded to retire towards Ipswich.[1] On that and the following days Suffolk men came to swear fealty to her : on the 14th Francis Jenney of Knoddishall, Thomas Playter of Sotterley, Robert Codan of Weston, George Harvey of Ickworth, Thomas Timperley of Hintlesham, Nicholas Bohun of Chelmondiston, John Reeve of Beccles, Robert Bacon of Drinkstone, John Rinete (or Reignolde) of Shotley, Owen Hopton of Westwood, Edward Ichingham, Robert Cheke of Blendhall, John Blennerhasset of Barham ; on the 15th Henry Chettings of Wortham, Edward Glemham of Glemham (2nd son), Sir Anthony Rowse of Dennington, Sir Thomas Cornwallis of Brome (sheriff), Sir Nicholas Hare of Bruisyard, John Tirrel of Gipping, Thomas Petyt of Shipmeadow ; on the 16th and 17th, John Smith of Cavendish, Richard Cooke of Langham, Robert Gosnolde of Otley, Sir Richard Brooke of Nacton, John Brend of Beccles, Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead, Edward Tasburgh of Ilketshall, Sir William Drury of Halstead, Robert Drury of Halstead, Clement Heigham of Barrow.[2] The munitions and ordnance of the ships which had been stationed at Harwich under Sir Richard Brooke to prevent Mary's escape were safely brought away to Framlingham on the 16th, as well as the artillery from St. Osyth's, before Lord Darcy could come up.[3] In order to recruit her army all the gaols in the county were discharged on the 18th by the advice of her council of Suffolk gentlemen, and on the 21st proclamation was made to all captains to bring their men to a muster[4] under Sir William Drury and Sir William Waldegrave. Mary[5] was received by the people of Suffolk solely on her right as heir to the crown. They realized the danger and difficulty which would beset them under a Roman Catholic queen if she proved bigoted, for the county favoured the Gospel. Mary was a woman of thirty-seven, whose life had been one long persecution for her religion. She was embittered and distrustful, but there can be little doubt that she was honest when she bought the general allegiance of Suffolk by her promise to respect its conscience. As she said a month later to the Mayor of London, 'she meant not to compel or strain men's consciences otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of this Word unto them by godly and virtuous and learned preachers.' A pacific restoration to the power of Rome was all she seemed to have dreamed till her marriage in 1554. Mary was grateful to individuals. She did not forget those who had helped her at Framlingham, and one of her first actions was to reward them with office and pension. Six of her council were Suffolk men : Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Edward Waldegrave, Sir Henry Jerningham (captain of the Guard), Sir Wm. Cordell, Sir Clement Heigham, Sir Nicholas Hare. The approaching marriage with Philip of Spain roused Protestant Suffolk. Ipswich protested, and Edmund Withipoll of that town was no truckler, whatever the bailiffs might be. In the county there was Thomas Pooley[6] of Icklingham to lead them. Sir William Drury was ordered to search his house for incriminating papers, and either take £1,000 bail or send him

[1] *Acts of Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1552–4, p. 300.
[2] Ibid. p. 294.
[3] Ibid. p. 298.
[4] Ibid. p. 300.
[5] Strype, *Mem. Eccl.* iii, 76.
[6] *Acts of Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1554–6, p. 106.

under strong escort to London. Sir Henry Tirrell[1] had the unenviable task of forcing the recalcitrant to church and imprisoning those who refused. He was thanked for his 'travail' in August, 1554. Papist members were returned for that year's Parliament.

The Marian persecution began;[2] in February, 1555, Dr. Rowland Taylor was burned at Hadleigh, and in June seven men were delivered out of Newgate to suffer in Essex and Suffolk.[3] In July Francis Clopton of Denston was apprehended with his servant and committed to the Fleet. Many fled abroad to France and Geneva, and waited their chance of overthrowing the scarlet woman on the throne. In June, 1556, these exiles made an attempt in Suffolk. The traitorous correspondence of Andrew Revett and William Bigott had been taken by the sheriff, Sir John Sulyard.[4] In consequence their persons were secured and their houses searched, with small result. This summary dealing did not deter the exiles, and they sent a bold man and 'one condemned' called Clayberd,[5] who gave himself out as the earl of Devon, then in exile at Padua, and used the name of the Princess Elizabeth to further his cause. He fell immediately into the hands of Sir John and was executed at Bury, while his few supporters were arraigned and condemned. Andrew Revett cleared his name by proving that the charge against him rested on a letter forged by a retainer of Sir Nicholas Hare. Most of the county stood aloof ready to follow a recognized leader against a persecution which was so abhorred that it was almost impossible to get the burnings carried into effect,[6] and that with a papist sheriff and two zealous assistants, Sir William Drury and Sir Clement Heigham. Lady Wentworth, the wife of the unfortunate defender of Calais, was first charged with harbouring Protestants, then she was apprehended and committed to the Fleet, and not released till she recanted. Edmund Withipoll, William Brampton, and William Gresham were ordered to come up before the council also.

Mary died opportunely 17 November, 1558. The county could not have been held in much longer, and the accession of Elizabeth was hailed by the majority with acclamation, for Suffolk hoped she would reign by the light of the Gospel, as expounded by its favourite preachers. They were soon to find out that her mind was in the main that of her father. In her progress through Suffolk in 1561 she was scandalized at Ipswich by the impudent behaviour of many of the ministers and readers, for little order was observed in the public service, and few wore the surplice, while all had wives and children. The bishop winked at the schismatics. Not so the queen.[7] She issued an order to the archbishop of Canterbury and all church dignitaries, dated Ipswich, August 9, forbidding the resort of women to collegiate churches or cathedral lodgings. Having spread dismay through the town which had assessed itself heavily for her entertainment she departed to Shelley Hall and thence to the Waldegraves at Smallbridge and the Tollemaches at Helmingham.

[1] *Acts of Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1554–6, p. 63.
[2] *Machyn's Diary* (Camden Soc.), p. 82 et seq.
[3] *Acts of Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1554–6, pp. 165, 171.
[4] Ibid. 235 and 360.
[5] Strype, *Mem. Eccl.* iii (i), 546.
[6] *Acts of Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1556–8, p. 135.
[7] Nicholl, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 96–7.

The county was over-run with returned soldiers and sailors whose pay was in arrears.[1] The coast was riddled by pirates, subjects of the queen who, forgetting the fear of God Almighty and the duty of good subjects, had been robbing and spoiling honest merchants on the coasts and seas. Foreign wars had deranged the cloth trade. Mary queen of Scots, a captive in England, had become the hope of English Catholics and already the duke of Norfolk was intriguing for her release. Add to this the growing number of enclosures, royal and private parks becoming daily more spacious and encroaching on the arable and pasture land, with the attendant game laws. It was rumoured that the Protestants had risen to massacre the Catholics,[2] a strange thing, as the Spanish ambassador writes, for in Suffolk they have it all their own way. The arrest of the duke of Norfolk however turned the rising into a social one and the Protestant county prepared to go to London to liberate forcibly their Papist duke. Rigorous measures were used, but the clothiers continued disturbed and incensed. All their enterprises were lost, says the Spanish ambassador, by bad guidance,[3] 'although they are undertaken with impetus, they are not carried through with constancy.' Papists, Puritans and Anabaptists, all extremists were alike subjected to persecution. Certain families,[4] such as the Sulyards, the Rookwoods, the Drurys of Losell, and the Forsters, were staunch for their faith and suffered imprisonment, fine, and exile without a murmur. In February, 1578–9,[5] the good divines of Ipswich and Bury attempted the conversion of Michael Hare, Roger Martin of Melford, Henry Drury, and John Daniel, who all preferred prison. In the autumn of the same year they laboured with equally vain results, for Edward Sulyard of Wetherden, Thomas Sulyard of Grundisburgh, Edmund Bedingfield, Henry Everard, and William Hare refused liberty on their terms.[6] The year 1582 saw the beginning of the Jesuit mission to England. Losell was a well-known harbour for the priests, who evaded the vigilance of the coastguard. They taught the children of the recusants and, inspiring them with a magnificent spirit of self-abnegation, persuaded many to become lay members of the order. The political danger was increased by the mission, for the Catholic forces in England were becoming organized just about the time when the Spanish invasion seemed most probable. Now began the preparations to repel the Spaniards. Spanish spies of a sanguine temperament reported Suffolk impracticable for a landing, but though full of heretics there were still Catholic gentlemen who could raise 2,000 men. The coast defences at Aldeburgh, Dunwich, Southwold, and Lowestoft were put in order by Robert Day, an engineer.[7] The inhabitants were to pay for the work, and those that would not be persuaded, to suffer. Many Suffolk merchants furnished ships out of their private means, and Ipswich and the other ports were called upon to provide four ships and a pinnace.[8] The necessity of mobility in the forces for land defence caused a new muster rating to be issued. All those who had estates

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1558–70, pp. 278 et seq.
[2] *Cal. S. P. Spanish*, 1568–79, No. 123. [3] Ibid.
[4] *Records of the English Province, S. J.* ser. ii, iii, iv, *passim.*
[5] *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1578–80, p. 47.
[6] Framlingham Castle was considered a fit place for the custody of recusants. Ibid. 1580–1, p. 82.
[7] *Act of the Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1586–7, pp. 114 et seq.
[8] Ibid. 1588, p. 10. Ipswich and Harwich were called upon for two ships and one pinnace, of the cost of which Harwich eventually bore a sixth part, Aldeburgh, Orford, and Dunwich for one ship and Lowestoft and Yarmouth one ship and one pinnace.

of £1,000 and upwards must keep six horses or geldings fit for mounting demi-lances with harness complete and ten with weapons and harness for light horsemen and so on down to estates of 100 marks and under £100, which were to furnish one gelding and harness for one light horseman.[1] The apportioning of the ship-money was not so easy.[2] Upland woollen towns objected to pay for both coast and land defence. Ipswich answered that their wool was shipped at the coast, and no port no trade. Lowestoft was too poor to furnish the pinnace alone, and the coast towns of Blything had to contribute. Aldeburgh had in a most spirited fashion furnished a ship and paid £590 for it, while Orford, Dunwich and Southwold, Woodbridge and Walberswick, collectively contributed only £40 to the outlay.[3] During the summer of 1588 it was found impossible to maintain the county levy at the coast, for the farms wanted hands in the June weather, and it was arranged that the towns and companies should take it by turns to watch a month. Her Majesty was a believer in the blue water theory and the Navy was indeed the defence of the whole realm. Suffolk was ordered to provide 200 cwt. each of butter and cheese for the fleet at reasonable price. On 23 July, while the fight was running up the channel, the county was ordered to send 2,000 men, and on the 28th, when the Spaniards had anchored off Calais, another 1,000 was urgently demanded. The county levied 4,239 men, and 2,000 of these were to repair on 8 August to Tilbury, under Sir William Heydon their colonel, but the same day a contradictory order was sent, for news had come that the Spanish fleet had been sighted ENE. of Yarmouth,[4] and Sir William was to wait with his levy till it would appear what course they were going to take, while Sir William Waldegrave, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Spryng were ordered to bring the rest of the levies to Stratford-le-Bow. On 7 August the danger was over, for the Spaniards were fleeing northward before the gale, and the Suffolk men were allowed to go about their harvest again.[5] Only the seamen had no rest, and 110 were ordered to be taken and pressed and sent to Dover and Sandwich. The geldable portion of Suffolk was commanded to contribute £500 to the ships furnished by Ipswich and Harwich.[6] All gentlemen who had served in Her Majesty's service in the summer were to be exempt, and the tax fell principally on the poor and on the recusants. The county continued to send contingents to the Spanish wars under Drake and Norris,[7] but the men deserted at the water's edge, and sailors simply were not to be found.

The 21 July, 1603, saw Suffolk once more with a duke of its own. Thomas, lord Howard de Walden,[8] second son of the Duke of Norfolk, was raised to the dignity. Two years later the county was horrified to find that one of its number was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. Ambrose Rookwood, of Coldhamhall[9] had been persuaded into joining the plot, which was wildly supposed to be the first act in a new Spanish invasion. Robert Rookwood of Clopton and Robert Townsend of Broughton were examined for evidence, and Ambrose's house was searched, but nothing treasonable was to be found and he himself had not been seen in the county since October.[10] The

[1] Grose, *Military Antiquities*, 13.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council* (New Ser.), 1588, p. 58.
[3] Ibid. 115.
[4] Ibid. 210.
[5] Ibid. 224.
[6] Ibid. 368 et seq.
[7] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1591–4, p. 552.
[8] Ibid. 1603–10, p. 23.
[9] See *East Angl. Mag.* iii (Ser. xi), 145.
[10] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 253.

county ordered public rejoicings at the king's escape,[1] and the poor of Ipswich received a dole of bread, while Dr. Samuel Ward, the town preacher, published a picture in which he commemorated this grand blessing of God to the nation. The immediate result of the plot was an increased distrust of the Papists.

The excitement of the Spanish marriage seems to have run high as early as 1617, and stout Protestants like[2] Sir John Heigham proposed to buy off James I. He wrote to the justices of the peace asking them to use their influence to get a liberal contribution voted in the county and to test the disposition of the principal gentlemen. Dr. Willett was imprisoned for sounding the county on the same extraordinary proposal. This exhibition of feeling did not deter James from pushing on the marriage in 1622, with the result that recusants were more leniently treated and Mr. Ward[3] of Ipswich was inhibited from preaching. The Spanish fear was only superseded by the French one, and the county was alarmed at the attitude of the Papists, who were said to be holding secret meetings, among others at the houses of one[4] Benefield in Redlingfield, and one Gage. In spite, however, of their fears, the county refused to pay a muster-master, and it was so bare of money that none was to be had to pay the garrison in Landguard Fort. A loan was hurried on, and a list of persons able to subscribe £10 was sent up to the council. It is significant that the subsidy in Suffolk under James I only produced £2,137, as against £6,828 in Elizabeth's time. All the money was absorbed in general war expenses; nothing was spent on the county, and at the summer assizes at Bury in 1626 the people raised a great clamour against the duke of Buckingham's careless neglect of their coasts.[5] They complained bitterly that their ships were taken and fired by pirates in their very havens before their eyes, and Suffolk boats hardly dared venture a bow out of port. Buckingham could not afford to withdraw the loan, though everywhere the people were refractory, and the attitude of a certain attorney, Valentine Coppin of Halesworth,[6] was typical. He said he had no intention of lending money to His Majesty nor had he authorized anyone to subscribe for him; in fact, he knew nothing about a subscription. There were at the same time disputes in the county about the provision for the king's household. The petition of the inhabitants of Woodbridge[7] shows what a constant drain there was at this time on all purses. They were charged for the king's provisions for his household, the repairing and watching of beacons, the provision of powder and match and bullets, the wages of soldiers in the bands for every five weeks' training, the carts, pioneers' tools, and nags; the charge of 3,000 men to march into Kent on any alarm, and 5,000 men on the coasts, and 4,000 men to march to Yarmouth, as well as all county charges. To these they were asked to add, with the rest of the county, a moiety of the expenses of the two ships demanded from Ipswich for the war with Spain. The water was so low in the well that the county sent a remonstrance to the council demonstrating their impotency to contribute. The men pressed for service mutinied at Harwich, and many fled through the county and were concealed by the

[1] Bacon, *Annals of Ipswich*, 10 Nov. 1605.
[2] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1611–18, p. 505.
[3] Ibid. 1619–23, p. 399.
[4] Ibid. 1625–6, p. 102.
[5] Ibid. 1625–6, p. 409.
[6] Ibid. 1627–8, p. 29.
[7] Ibid. p. 72.

friendly inhabitants. Sir Charles Cornwallis, at his wits' end, suggested that the deputy-lieutenants should be given powers of arbitrary punishment, so that the runaways might be punished without fear of pursuit in law or in Parliament.[1] Further, men were demanded for the siege of La Rochelle. The county refused to send them till the last two presses were satisfied and some definite provision made by the council for the payment of press and conduct money, for 'without money service cannot be got.' In reply, the council first adopted a tone of dignified reproach, saying that the custom always had been for the county to defray all expenses, and send in its bill to the government, and then peremptorily ordered the impressment to proceed without delay. The justices of the peace and the deputy-lieutenants had simply to put their hands in their pockets. Masters[2] and owners of Ipswich ships were many of them like to be ruined by the Isle de Rhé disaster, and Aldeburgh frankly told the council that if they wanted the town fortified they must do it themselves. A further loan of £5,550 was demanded in February, 1628. The county despaired of keeping solvent, and Buckingham was regarded as the root of all evil, so much so that one of the Feltons of Playford thought to mend matters by assassinating him. It was rumoured that Felton was only one of certain persons of quality in Suffolk who had threatened the Duke.[3] But Felton's fortitude prevented the discovery of the names of any of his confederates. His action brought no relief, only a change of masters. The coasts were no better defended. The county definitely refused to pay the muster-master's fee, and at Bury[4] Sir Robert Crane and Sir Lionel Tollemache, as members of Parliament, refused to sign any warrants for it, fearing they might be committed for it by the House. 'But,' said Sir Robert Crane, 'you, Sir Thomas Glemham and Mr. Poley, and such as are no Parliament men, make out the warrants.' The other deputy-lieutenants answered they would all run the same course, and the warrants remained unsigned. The fiscal and military exactions, added to the irksome ecclesiastical restraints under Laud, made Suffolk men restless and hopeless. The sacredness of individual religion as they found it in the Gospels and in the sermons and prayers of their powerful preacher, Dr. Samuel Ward, whose fame was great in both London and Cambridge, was to them more precious than their homes. They decided, urged thereto by a certain[5] Dr. Dalton, parson of Woolverstone by Ipswich, to emigrate to America, and arrangements were made for transporting some 600 persons out of Suffolk. Mr. Ward did not discourage their flight under persecution, while commending the courage of those who remained, for he writes: 'he was not of so melancholy a spirit nor looked through so black spectacles as he that wrote that religion stands on tip-toe in this land looking westward.' The first ships were to sail on 10 March, 1633. Ward was brought up before the Court of High Commission, and Dr. Brent made an ecclesiastical visitation through the county. He found preachers everywhere. Not a bowling-green or an ordinary could exist without one, and many private gentlemen kept divines in their houses as tutors to their children.

October, 1634, saw the beginning of the fiscal revolt, the struggle in the county against arbitrary taxation.[6] In that month the maritime towns were

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1627–8, p. 198.
[2] Ibid. 1625–49, p. 320.
[3] Ibid. 1633–4, p. 175.
[4] Ibid. 1625–49, p. 379.
[5] Ibid. 1633–4, p. 450.
[6] Ibid. 1634–5, p. 242.

asked to provide a ship of 700 tons, with arms, ordnance, double-tackling, and provisions for twenty-six weeks, from 21 March, with 250 men. In March, 1635, this was amended.[1] The king would provide the ships if the county would give the money, and in August the amount still unpaid out of Suffolk and Essex amounted to £657. During the same month was issued the second writ for ship-money, assessing this time the whole county and all corporate towns therein at £8,000.[2] This was not without precedent, for in 1628, as has been seen, the county refused to pay its share of the ships assessed on Ipswich. The sheriff was personally responsible for the total amount. The poor country towns cried out that the ports had forced them to pay on the last writ, and that they ought at least now to be assessed merely at the county rate. This led to endless disputes; every town and hundred had fifty good reasons why part of its assessment should be thrown on to its neighbour. By January, 1636, Sir John Barker had managed to collect all save £100, but his receipt for £7,615 is dated 31 July. The demand became yearly now; each August saw its writ. In 1636 only half the assessed amount was paid, but the decision of the judges in the king's favour quickened Sir Philip Parker, so that next year the amount was brought up to £7,900.[3] The demands of 1638 and 1639[4] were simply not paid, many of the defaulters having fled to New England and Holland, and Sir John Clench, the sheriff, was practically ruined. By 1640 the absolute impossibility of collecting the ship-money was demonstrated, and Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the sheriff, on 21 April, the day appointed for the high constables to bring in the £8,000, did not receive £200.[5] Instead, the distracted constables sent him certificates, saying that they could not get the money, and dared not distrain, for the tenants threatened actions. Ipswich division backed up Beccles, and the constables were powerless. The sheriff gave the true reasons for the non-payment: deadness of trade, scarcity of money, low prices for all commodities of plough and pail, great military charges of the past summer. Daily groans and sighs were the only returns. In the Parliament of 1640 the king offered to take twelve subsidies instead, and these were granted.

The trouble with Scotland in 1639 meant the calling out of the county levy. The Covenanters had many sympathizers in Suffolk, and the Puritans of Ipswich organized a transport strike,[6] so that the army contractors in the north could get no shipmen to carry out their contracts. Many in the county refused to pay coat and conduct money for the same reason,[7] and the 1640 levy of 600 men mutinied at Bungay. They attacked the deputy-lieutenants there who had gone to see them delivered over to Lieut.-Colonel Fielding, and held them up in their inn. Sir William Playter, however, boldly arrested the two ringleaders.[8] The soldiers were Puritans and fanatical. They held commissary courts among themselves and did justice on those of their fellows who offended against their moral standard. They also proceeded against witches. Sir Thomas Jermyn, the lord-lieutenant, got them on the march with all possible speed, dreading the impossibility of harmonizing the drums and bells. Suffolk was clearly a hot-bed for the new ideas. The new book of canons inculcating divine right and passive obedience was found

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634–5, p. 559.
[2] Ibid. 2 Mar. 1637–8, p. 200.
[3] Ibid. 1640, p. 59.
[4] Ibid. 1635, p. 363.
[5] Ibid. 1638–9, pp. 64, 530.
[6] Ibid. 1639, p. 157.
[7] Ibid. 1640, p. 274.
[8] Ibid. 336.

nailed to the Ipswich pillory.[1] Sir Lionel Tollemache sent to Laud a copy of the scandalous paper found alongside of it. Small wonder that in the exciting election of 1640 the Puritan candidates, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston and Sir Philip Broke, were returned. The county[2] was full of the cries of the poor for work and food, and their curses and threats came daily to every ear and told of sadder consequences at every door. Sixteen thousand people assembled to march to the House of Commons to petition for help and also to have the worship of God settled in a purer fashion. The question of the control of the militia and the management of military matters had already been hinted at when Sir Lionel Tollemache and Sir Robert Crane refused to sign muster-master warrants for fear of embroiling themselves with Parliament. Now the question had become the crucial one, and Sir Thomas Jermyn was said to have been one of those who would have used the levies to overawe Parliament.

By 11 August, 1642, Parliament had voted that the king's commissioners of array were to be accounted traitors, and the militia of Suffolk was to be turned out in the cause of the Commons.[3] On the 18th Sir Roger North and Sir Wm. Spring were ordered to secure the powder magazine at Bury. Landguard Fort, under Captain Sussex Camock, was in their hands; but he was half-hearted, and allowed[4] one ship full of ammunition to slip by him. Parliament appointed new deputy-lieutenants—Sir William Castleton, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Robert Broke, Sir William Soame, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Baker, Brampton Gurdon, William Rivett of Bildeston, Robert Brewster, John Gurdon, Nathaniel Bacon, Francis Bacon, William Bloyes, and Thomas Blosse for Aldeburgh. Thomas Tirrell of Gipping, Edmund Harvey, and Francis Brewster were added 11 May, 1643. They were to hasten the contributions of loyal subjects for the defence of king and Parliament in horse, money, or plate. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston was sent down by the House to set things going. The deputy-lieutenants were to exercise the usual military authority and to appoint colonels and captains. Ipswich[5] was to be fortified, and John Blomfield and Samuel Dunken rode to Colchester to find an engineer to do this, while the burghers enrolled themselves as volunteers under[6] Edward Bedwell, and undertook to watch for the king's ships. In December, 1642, the papists and others having successfully tried the experiment of association,[7] Parliament ordered the association of the eastern counties for their mutual defence against the said Papists.

In February, 1643, the deputy-lieutenants were ordered to subscribe the warrants for the association. After two or three attempts they arrived at the following:

> We whose names are hereunder written do profess freely and [with] willingness to join in the association and do further promise to use the uttermost endeavours for assembling the inhabitants of the several counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire, and by our own example and persuasions to further the effectual association of the said counties according to the Ordinance of Parliament and to return an account thereof.[8]

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 518.
[2] *Petition of the Clothiers and other Inhabitants of the county of Suffolk*, 1642.
[3] *House of Commons Journ.* 18 Aug. 1642.
[4] Ibid. 28 Nov. 1642.
[5] Bacon, *Annals of Ipswich*, 23 Nov. 1642.
[6] *Commons Journ.* 28 Nov. 1642.
[7] Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* ed. 1708, iv, 603, 17 Dec. 1642.
[8] Tanner, MSS. Bodl. Lib. 9940. Rushworth gives a 'form of association,' but the one in the Tanner MSS. is that actually signed by the Suffolk commissioners.

The deputy-lieutenants for Bury signed it : Thomas Gippes, alderman, Thos. Chaplin, John Briggs, and Samuel Moodye ; and for the body of the county, John Heveningham,[1] William Spring, William Soame, William Barrowe, and Robert Brewster. The committee for Suffolk sat at Bury, and had very wide powers, both administrative and coercive.[2] They could enter into the houses of Papists and of all delinquents or such as had not contributed to the cause or who had executed the king's commission of array, and of all clergymen who had publicly preached against or reviled the proceedings of Parliament. They were to make a list of these malignants and delinquents, and in it must have been the following : Sir Frederick Cornwallis of Bromhall, Major Thomas Staunton of Staunton, Sir Charles Gawdy of Croweshall Debenham, Henry and Edward Warner of Mildenhall, Captain Nicholas Bacon of Culford, Benjamin Cutler of Ipswich, Lord Windsor of Stoke by Nayland, Sir John Pettus of Chester Hall, John Hervey of Ickworth, Arthur Denny of Palgrave, Edward Rookwood of Euston, Francis Cheney of Eye, Robert Gosnold of Otley, Samuel Gooch of Bradfield, Arthur Heveningham of Heveningham, Sir Thomas Glemham of Glemham, and his son Sackville, John and William Le Hunt of Little Bradley, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Richard Bowle of Kersey Priory, Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke, Edmund Cooke of Herringfleet, George Gage of Hengrave, Nicholas Garnish of Micklefield, Lawrence Britton of Hitcham (a known agent for the king), Thomas Webb of Cowling, Thomas Easton of Thorndon. The same families as had been persecuted for their religion under Elizabeth suffered under Parliament : Sir Edward Sulyard of Haughley Park, John Bedingfield of Gislingham, Henry Foster of Copdock Manor, Francis and Dorothy Everard of Great Linstead, Anne Lomax, Sir Thomas Timperley of Hintlesham, and his son Michael, Sir Francis Mannock of Gifford's Hall, Stoke by Nayland, Lady Carill of Lavenham, Sir Edward Golding of Eye, James Harrison of Ipswich, Henry Nuttall of Swilland, Charles and Lady Lettice Tasburgh of Flixton, John and Edward Daniell of Acton, Lady Mary widow of Sir Walter Norton, and Nicholas Daniel her brother, Edward Chaplin of Farnham St. Martin, Thomas Allen, Oldring's House, Lowestoft, Reginald Rouse of Badingham, Henry Yaxley of Yaxley, Francis Yaxley of Melles, Sir Roger Martin of Long Melford. All these suffered sequestration.[3]

The county was at first assessed[4] at a monthly charge of £5,000, of which Ipswich paid £150, Southwold £20, and Dunwich £5 5*s*. In 1646 it was assessed at £7,070, to which Ipswich contributed £212. The money was to be paid in weekly instalments. The Papists' estates contributed largely to the amount. The earl of Manchester was in command of the association and ordered[5] Lothingland to be garrisoned but his warrant was overridden by that of the commissioners, who 'conceived themselves not only his judges but reformers of what actions of his they pleased to see fit.' The county was denuded of horses to mount home and London troopers, and while money flowed from it, but little was returned to pay the soldiers there. The committee were a set of ignorant civilians who grumbled at having to send their companies beyond their borders. That the county could be defended at York

[1] This signature is very indistinct, but John Heveningham was an active Parliament man.
[2] Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* ed. 1708, iv, 604.
[3] *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 1643–60, *passim*.
[4] Add. MSS. 19171, fol. 36 et seq.
[5] Tanner, MSS. Bodl. Lib. 9941.

passed their comprehension, and the money and men for the fort at Newport Pagnell had very often to be written for. This fort, the apex of the eastern triangle, was in Bedfordshire on the Ouse, and was one of the points by which the royal forces could break through to the east. The other point for defence was near Wisbech, called the Horse Shoe Pass. On 14 February, 1644, Laurence Crawford was appointed general in command of the eastern counties, and 3,000 men were sent from the county to Cambridge to cover Waller's advance towards Oxford. On his defeat, 29 June, at Cropredy, the county were told plainly that their harvest must wait, for if anything happened to Waller's army it would be worse for them than the going of their men out of the county. Two days later the news of Marston Moor relieved the anxious committee, and the men were allowed to go about their harvest, for they had testified to the committee that their hearts were zealously set on the cause of God and their country. Soldiers were getting tired of their trade and many deserted.

The year 1645 was one of humiliation for the royalists, and the committee in Suffolk had trouble with their troops. At Bury[1] there was rioting fomented by the royalists, who were plotting to get[2] Landguard Fort in their hands. The chaplain there was a dangerous man, and Captain Sussex Camock's loyalty to Parliament was more than suspect. News from Shrewsbury warned the committee, and Captain Hunter on 17 May was ordered to put himself with fifty men into the fort and to keep his instructions secret. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston was then commanded to make inquiries in the county as to such as kept intelligence with the king's quarters. The result of the inquiry went to prove that the fort had not been in real danger, and Camock was set at liberty. The importance of Landguard Fort was felt by Charles the next year, when he attempted to escape by the east coast and could get no ship. With the king's surrender the war ended for a time, and Suffolk delinquents escaped abroad in considerable numbers.

In 1648 royalist insurrections blazed up over Suffolk. At Bury[3] rioting began over the hoisting of a maypole and at once became serious. Next day the streets were full of royalists shouting, 'For God and King Charles!', the magazine and arms were seized and the Parliament men were chased out of the town. Several troops of Colonel Whalley's horse were ordered to advance against the town with the county forces,[4] and Sir William Playter and Sir Thomas Barnardiston were sent down to negotiate, with orders that if the inhabitants would surrender they were to promise them indemnity for all acts, but if they would not make absolute submission then there was to be no capitulation, and the commissioners were to let the rioters take their punishment from Whalley's dragoons. Bury wisely yielded to mercy. Aldeburgh was secured by Captain Johnson, and Lothingland and the Isle of Flegg by Sir John Wentworth and Captain Robert Brewster. None of these measures was premature, for one morning there arrived at Landguard Fort,[5] in a small boat, the vice-admiral of the fleet with his wife and children, escaped from his ship, which with the rest had declared for the king. During the siege of Colchester by the Parliament the Suffolk levies were kept on the

[1] *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1644–5, p. 496.
[2] Ibid. 1644–5, p. 484, *passim.*
[3] Ibid. 1648–9, 65; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* ed. 1708, vi, 396.
[4] *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1648–9, 65.
[5] Ibid. 1648–9, 85.

border to prevent provisions being thrown into the town, and after its capitulation Fairfax made a triumphal procession through the county fêted everywhere. This rising was fatal to the delinquents.[1] Sixteen thousand pounds was demanded from the county as a contribution towards its expense, and Bacon was sent down to see about sequestering the estates of the delinquents in order to pay the county forces.

On Cromwell's assuming the title of Lord Protector the old cavalier enemy began to stir. But, as Colonel John Fothergill of Sudbury wrote on 14 March, 1654, 'the Lord hath hitherto delivered [us] so he will own us still by discovering all their wicked plots and preventing all their hellish intentions.' The county was searched by him and he could only discover two suspected persons, though he had scoured all High Suffolk with his troop,[2] Colonel Rolleston of Peterborough, who had been with the king all through the war, and Captain Partredge of Barham Hall. The people however were reputed by the extreme Puritans as embittered and malignant, though the petition of 28 January, 1660, from the gentlemen, ministers, freeholders, and seamen of the county, to General Monk hardly bears this out :

> It is tedious, they said, to see Government reeling from one hand to another; it is in your power to fix it. Cast your eyes on a nation impoverished, bleeding under an intestine sword. Let its miseries and ruins implore your assistance. The only redress is in a full and free Parliament.

Another was sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, promising to follow their lead, to let this 'cheerful suffrage of ours be annexed as a label to your honourable intendment.' Writs were issued to fill up county vacancies in the house, and royalists and presbyterians were returned. On 29 May, 1660, Charles II landed at Dover.

Puritan Suffolk, however, was restless under cavalier government, and while the Tollemaches, the Cornwallises, and the Jermyns were petitioning for favours and the loyal clergy detailing their sufferings, the republican party was neither weak nor silent. Captain Thomas Elliott[3] of Aldeburgh, of the Commonwealth Fleet, who had plundered the king's royalist subjects to the extent of £12,000, vindicated his principles on the king's proclamation day by hanging up a picture of his frigate, and arranging round it the prizes he had taken. On the other hand obsequious Bury asked for a renewal of its charter, for it humbly said that certain things had been done in the late troubles which were not justifiable under their former patents. The disaffected were so many that the infamous Edward Potter,[4] spy by trade, who endured many ills in his passion for truth, allowing himself to be arrested and beaten by the king's officers rather than reveal his identity, was sent among them. He reported the Quakers, the men of peace, to be doing much harm and to have the best horses in the county. He promised to enter into any plot and to help it forward to a certain moment, when he would reveal everything to the government. The government reorganized the militia for police purposes, for the republican party was too numerous to be sent to gaol. The greatest safeguard against plots lay in the division of parties. On one occasion, possibly in 1663, 200 horsemen rose in Suffolk, but finding the plotters not of their own party they retired quietly.

[1] *Commons Journ.* 27 July, 1 Sept. 1648.
[2] *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1661–2, p. 177.
[3] Clarendon MSS. lxiii, 103, 3 Aug. 1659.
[4] Ibid. 154.

The Dutch war diverted men's minds. The militia was ordered in the autumn of 1665 to be in readiness to defend their coast at the shortest notice, and men were so needed for the navy that in Aldeburgh and Ipswich the news that an English frigate had been sighted was heralded by the spectacle of forty or fifty able-bodied seamen fleeing out of the town into safe hiding. Dutch prisoners simply swarmed at Ipswich and Sudbury. Landguard Fort was strongly garrisoned by Colonel Darell with 1,000 men, while Sir Charles Littleton and Colonel Legge's foot companies camped on the hill behind it. Lord Oxford's troop lay at Woodbridge. During the summer of 1666 the whole county was under arms, but it was not till the next summer, when negotiations for peace were going on at Breda, that the Dutch actually landed their men. On 2 July eight Dutch ships came into the Rolling Grounds, and under cover of their guns landed a party of men at Felixstowe.[1] The harbour was protected by a line of ships, which were to be blown up and sunk on an occasion such as this, but for some unknown reason this movement did not come off. Two or three thousand men landed at Felixstowe, of which the larger party attacked the fort with scaling ladders and pikes and grenadoes. Twice they came on and twice were repulsed, so that they had to return to their boats. In the meantime the rest of the landing-party were holding their own well in the fields and lanes against the county forces under the earl of Suffolk, who not being able to use his horse could only press them back by slow inches. All through the afternoon they fought till the evening, when by 9 o'clock the unsuccessful scaling party rejoined them. By this time the tide had left their boats high and dry, and there was nothing for it but to keep up the fight till the tide served. This they did with great coolness from eleven till two in the morning, the earl's men pressing them hard all through the night. By dawn they were afloat and aboard, and by six o'clock they were under sail. The English loss was trifling, and the Dutch hardly greater, but, adds Silas Taylor the Harwich store-keeper, the Dutch had an aching tooth. Peace was concluded 21 July and the militia disbanded. Next year the king surveyed the scene of the fight, living in his yacht, the *Henrietta*, moored in the estuary of the Orwell. He sailed round the coast to Aldeburgh, and thence rode to Ipswich to dine with Lord Hertford, who commanded the forces there.

Peace brought back the religious difficulty, and conventicles increased in number and boldness daily,[2] so much so that the king caused the lord-lieutenant to inquire concerning the frequent and scandalous meetings under pretence of religion. In 1672, however, an extraordinary number of licences for Nonconformist meeting-houses and ministers were issued. The temper of the county was shown in next year's election, when Mr. Samuel Barnardiston, the candidate of the commonality and the Nonconformists, Lord Huntingtower being that of the gentry, was elected amid great excitement. The indulgence of 1672 was withdrawn in 1675, and the danger in the county, as Sir John Pettus wrote, was that the Dissenters and Papists should be forced 'to skip for shelter into the same scale to make it mount beyond the level.'[3] 'No popery,' was the cry, however, and had Monmouth been successful in the west[4] the county would

[1] *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 263. [2] Ibid. 1667–8, p. 522. [3] Ibid. 1673–5, p. 553.
[4] There is little doubt that Sir Samuel Barnardiston was one of those who financed his expedition.

have risen in a body. A papist king was a thing to mock at, and in 1688 at Bury the Dissenters burlesqued the doctrine of Rome in a show called 'Before the Firy Purgation,' which even the gentry found extraordinarily comical. 'Free parliaments and the Prince of Orange,' the obverse to that of 'No popery,' was now the cry. All Papists were displaced in the militia, and the Revolution was accomplished with characteristic tranquillity. The regiment that had been Lord Dumbarton's, by its mutiny at Ipswich and the subsequent trial of the ringleaders at Bury, created the only excitement.

The political history of Suffolk since the Revolution mainly centres round its Parliamentary interests. Under Edward I the shire returned two knights, while Ipswich, Dunwich, and Orford were each summoned to send two burgesses. The Liberty of St. Edmunds was represented by its abbot; only one writ was issued for the election of a burgess[1] (30 Edw. I), and the sheriff noted on the back that the seneschal of St. Edmunds had the right to the return of all writs. Bury was only accorded the right of parliamentary representation by James I. The election of the knights of the shire was nominally in the hands of the suitors to the county court, but until restrained by public opinion and parliamentary act it was practically in those of the sheriff. In 1275 the sheriff was instructed to cause the election of two knights in full county court, but the territorial importance of the court was diminishing, and in 1406 it was enacted that all the suitors duly summoned, as well as others, should attend the election. It was also ordered that the sheriff should make proclamation of the election in every market town fifteen days before the court. In 1430 'in consequence of the tumults made in the county court by the great attendance of people of small substance and no value, whereof everyone pretended a voice as to such elections equivalent with the most worthy knights and esquires resident,' the franchise was strictly limited. To have the right to vote it was necessary to be a resident in Suffolk and to possess 40*s.* in freehold, the same to be sworn to on the Gospels. In 1432 the freehold had to be in Suffolk. The sheriff had the right to reject any elector who did not satisfy him that he possessed the necessary qualification.[2] The power of the sheriff was hard to limit. He could issue a general summons to the court, or he might only cite his special friends, and in extreme cases he simply did not return the writ. The act of 1406 tried to accomplish this limitation. It directs that the names of persons chosen shall be written in an indenture under the seals of those that did choose them. This indenture was to be attached to the writ and regarded as the sheriff's return. In 1410 the justices of assize were given power to inquire into the returns, and any sheriff making a false one was to be fined £100, while the members forfeited their wages. The persons eligible as knights of the shire were described in 1275 as 'de discretioribus et legalioribus.' Those girt with swords were meant, for in 1340 they are specially described as 'gladio cinctos et ordinem militarem habentes et non alios.' In 1372 sheriffs were disqualified as candidates, and in 1413 it was enacted that candidates must be resident in the county. The knights elected[3] had to find two, four, or six manucaptors that they would appear at the day and place appointed. If they refused to find these

[1] *Brevia Parliamentaria*, ii, 212–13.
[2] *Brevia Parliamentaria*, ii, 137.
[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. iii, ch. xx.

guarantors their goods were distrained to insure their appearance in parliament on the day fixed. In the reign of Queen Anne a property qualification was demanded of the knights, and this was not repealed till 1858.

The members for the boroughs were before 1430 usually elected in the county court after the knights had been chosen. The mayor, bailiffs, or the chief officers, with four or five citizens and burgesses, were sent as representatives, and made in the court the formal election of their already chosen burgesses. This method was found inconvenient, and from 1445 a precept for the election was sent to the magistrates, which was to be returned by indenture between them and the sheriff. The election was to take place between eight and eleven in the morning, and the persons to be elected were not to be below the degree of a yeoman. Members were paid by the county and boroughs, and to escape the expense the latter sometimes sent none.

There never was what could be called a free election. That was not possible till the introduction of the ballot. The interference was not however wholly confined to local magnates. From the fourteenth century onwards the crown tried to influence the return of members favourable to its policy. With the centralization of the administrative this influence increased, and under the Tudors and Stuarts royal agents were busy. Cromwell's candidates for Henry VIII's parliaments were sure to be elected. Mary insisted on the return of orthodox Roman Catholics, while Elizabeth increased her influence by giving representation to Sudbury, Eye, and Aldeburgh. James I tampered with the charters of the boroughs and gave Bury two members, and in the time of Charles I the borough warrants had a curious habit of straying into[1] private hands and remaining there. William of Orange even made an electioneering tour through the county, while the enormous sums expended by George III for this purpose are notorious. Until 1586 all petitions regarding disputed elections came before the king and council. But royal interference was necessarily intermittent and special, while the influence of territorial families was permanent. In 1450 the duke of Norfolk and the earl of March decided which knights were to represent the county, and again in 1455 they issued the mandate that 'None towards the duke of Suffolk (i.e. Lancastrian) were to be elected.' Under Charles I the territorial influence was weakened by the strong growth of religious ideas, and royal interference became necessary for the furthering of despotic measures. In later times the county representation was often a matter arranged by the two largest interests, each party sending one member. There was a decided attempt about 1722 to extend the[2] Hervey interest from Bury to the county by putting up one of the earl of Bristol's sons. But the earl would not hear of it, for his son had neither the necessary property qualification of £600 a year in land, nor the equally indispensable social one of being able to drink without stint at quarter sessions with the county gentlemen. The Grafton and Bristol interests usually carried all before them. Farmers voted with their landlords as a matter of course, and landowners appeared at the poll followed by their tenants.

In the boroughs the narrowness of the franchise had a very serious effect on the political morals of the county. The right to vote was

[1] Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Parl. Affairs, Harl. MSS. 165.
[2] *Letter Bk. of John Hervey*, Oct. 1722.

inherent in the status of a burgess, and the freemen with the corporation chose the member. But there were freemen resident and non-resident, and the right of the latter to vote was a hotly debated question. Moreover there were many respectable men who were not burgesses but who contributed to the municipal charges and desired to vote. The borough elections were variously influenced:[1] by making a private roll of favourable freemen, and excluding all opponents as not having been enrolled, and[2] by the wholesale making of burgesses just before the polling day. One alderman of Dunwich had a factor at Wapping who paid men to become freemen and then secured their vote, though they had never seen the town. The same official was said to carry the common seal of the borough in his pocket, and to give the oath of a freeman when and where the fancy seized him. The earl of Bristol[3] in 1725 promised preferment to a local parson, and then was somewhat indignant when his son was challenged by the defeated candidate on charge of bribery. But open sale of votes was by no means unknown.[4] A vote in Ipswich rose from the fixed normal value of £3 to £30 on the last day of the election. The wise man remained undecided in his opinion till the last moment, then took the money of one party and voted for the other just to show 'he had no fancy to be hired.' Vanities such as scarlet waistcoats were used as bribes, and rents were paid and pressed men redeemed by candidates. On the other hand an appearance of force was sometimes resorted to. A convenient frigate would appear just before the election and press those who were likely to vote for the rival candidate. Boxers and prize-fighters were imported in 1747 into Sudbury, though[5] in earlier years Benjamin Carter the notorious mayor of this notorious borough played their part and struck down and imprisoned certain who would have voted for the opposing candidate. Gradually the territorial influence slipped off the boroughs, and flourishing ones like Bury, Sudbury, and Ipswich were left entirely to that of corruption. In 1747 Lord Bristol laments that Bury is no longer the chaste and constant mistress he loved and valued.[6] 'Since she is grown so lewd a prostitute as to be wooed and won by a man she never saw,' he wrote to his son 'let who will take her.' The opposition to his nomination seemed as unnatural to him as the late rebellion. Sudbury openly advertised her favours for sale, and the mayor did a roaring trade in promises to use his interest for many candidates.[7] Dunwich, in 1816, a mean village of forty-two houses and half a church, whose corporation would soon have to exercise their electoral functions in a boat anchored over the town, was under the joint ownership of Lord Huntingtower and Mr. Snowdon Barne.[8] The few miserable hovels called Orford had for proprietor Lord Hereford, while Aldeburgh's patron was Sir Claude de Crespigny, and Eye submitted implicitly to the nominations of Lord Cornwallis. Nine individuals sent to Parliament thirteen out of the fourteen Suffolk members.

The restricted franchise was regarded on all sides as the root of the evil, and great things were expected from the Reform Act of 1832. This Act enfranchised £10 householders in the boroughs and in the county; £10

[1] *House of Commons Journ.* 19 Mar. 1702, Sudbury.
[2] *Letter Bk. of John Hervey*, 9 Mar. 1724–5.
[3] *House of Commons Journ.* 1702, Sudbury.
[4] Oldfield, *Rep. Hist.* iv, 561.
[5] Ibid. 31 Mar. 1714, Norwich.
[6] *Parl. Returns*, 1835, viii.
[7] *Letter Bk. of John Hervey*, 23 June, 1747.
[8] Ibid. iv, 566–7.

copyholders; £10 leaseholders for a term originally created for not less than sixty years; £50 leaseholders for a term created for not less than twenty years; £50 occupiers. This materially widened the voting basis; but, as was shown before the Bribery Committee of 1835, it diminished the monetary value of the vote without touching the practice of bribery. The Ipswich elections of 1826 and 1835 show little change in the moral atmosphere. In 1826[1] the electors were some 1,000 or 1,100 freemen, two-thirds of whom were non-resident, and all were friends and relatives. The practice was for candidates to pay the admission fees for freemen, who, generally speaking, waited for an election to obtain their freedom without cost. The annual borough contests were financed by the members. Votes were looked upon as personal property with right of sale. A poor voter would be content even with 20*s*. or 30*s*., while a rich one would ask £50. The bribery oath was regularly administered. Their votes once bought, the men were 'cooped' until they had polled to prevent their being corrupted; that is, they were housed out of the borough, fed, and treated, and then driven to the poll. The Reform Bill made little difference in the actual number of voters.[2] It disfranchised the non-resident freemen, but the number of £10 householders practically brought the constituency up to the original 1,000. At the election of 1832 there was a feeling that the old system had been condemned, and it was unanimously resolved to discontinue the practice of bribery and treating; but by 1835 that 'scandal of free institutions' was in full swing again, and £10 was offered for a vote after the first day's poll. The bribery oath was administered and swallowed. One man there had been bribed by a free loan to vote for Kelly and Dundas.[3] As he was about to enter the booth an inspector tendered him the oath, but when he came to the words 'promise and inducement' he stammered and broke off. The returning officer, standing by, said the voter evidently did not understand the terms of the oath, and twice repeated them slowly before the conscientious objector 'gulped' them. Tradesmen refused to vote either way for fear of losing patronage, and one contractor who had promised to remain neutral was forced to vote by threats of loss of work. Working men in Ipswich felt bitterly the class pressure: 'Gentlemen,' they said, 'ought to get us poor men the ballot or else we cannot vote as we like.' The same election at Sudbury was one of the most riotous and drunken ever witnessed. Cooping was in full force, and the Rose and Crown inn was besieged by the Reds to capture three cooped Blues who had preferred unwisely to be lodged in the town. The restriction (1835) of the time of voting to one day reduced the practice of cooping. In the county the landlords still regarded their tenants' votes as their own, and forced them to vote for their candidate. The Reform Bill of 1832 had given Suffolk four county members, while Dunwich, Orford, and Aldeburgh were disfranchised. Sudbury lost its members in 1844, and, with Eye, was in 1885 merged in the five electoral districts into which the county was then divided, while at the same time Bury St. Edmunds was restricted to one member only.

[1] *Parl. Returns*, vol. viii. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

MARITIME HISTORY

A professional committee of 1785, considering the question of invasion, decided that if an enemy were allowed three months he might transport to England 30,000 men, with guns, horses, and sixty days' stores, in 10 sail of the line, 85 smaller ships, and 150 shallops. Suffolk has been held to be a vulnerable point in the line of English coast defence; it will therefore be interesting to inquire what facilities it would have offered to an unwieldy fleet carrying a force which, not strong enough to strike efficiently itself, could only act as an accessory to the main invasion whereso-ever that might be. A primary necessity for such a fleet is a port where guns and stores can be disembarked in security, but it is evident that Suffolk offers few advantages in that respect. Obviously the estuary formed by the Stour and Orwell is the roadstead an enemy would select, and, assuming that the line-of-battle ships had silenced the defences at Landguard and Harwich, a disembarkation could be effected safely in the harbour, which is, however, commanded from Shotley and the Walton heights, and could only be a temporary base until they were held by the invader, and no base at all if they were lost by him. The troops might have pushed on to Ipswich, but transports with stores and supplies could not follow them, because the Orwell for six out of its ten miles of course between Landguard and Ipswich was at low water a narrow, shallow, and tortuous stream clogged with mudbanks, and above Downham Reach impassable for ships of any burden. Such as it is, however, Orwell Haven is the only port in Suffolk an invader could use. The River Deben will only admit small craft; the River Alde, although deep in some places within, is marred or protected at the entrance by a bar which alters in size and shifts in position, and the mouth of the River Blyth is still more difficult to enter. Neither Lowestoft Harbour nor Yarmouth Haven will admit at low water of vessels drawing more than ten or twelve feet.

General Dundas, in a confidential report made in 1796, remarked that 'it seems very difficult for an enemy to make any attempt on the coast of . . . Suffolk.' If he decided to dispense with a port and throw his troops ashore on the coast, trusting to speed and indifferent to the chance of weather dispersing his fleet and cutting him off from supplies and reinforcements, it would be a very dangerous proceeding, but one which might be effected. Even now, although a steam fleet could possibly hold its anchorage, the heavy surf caused by a gale would prevent communication with the shore; in sailing-ship days there was the added peril that the anchorages themselves were always more or less insecure. The belt of sands which fringes part of the coast of Suffolk serves as a breakwater generally, but there is usually some one quarter from which the roadsteads thus formed are exposed to the full force of wind and sea and cease to be protected. Hollesley Bay has always been a favourite anchorage; it affords good holding ground and is sheltered by Orfordness, by the Whiting, and by the trend of the coast to the south-westward, from the full force of gales from any quarter but those from NE. by E. to E.; but even there a sea may easily rise sufficient to close communication with the shore for a more or less lengthy period. Between Orfordness and Lowestoft Roads there is practically no shelter, for the famous 'Solebay' anchorage is only safe with off-shore winds, and for sailing-vessels to remain at anchor in threatening weather would be courting misfortune. Passing northwards, Lowestoft and Yarmouth Roads, formed by the Newcome, Holm, Corton, and Scroby sands, may be considered one roadstead, but of the Lowestoft portion the South Road is too confined to be of much use for anything but small coasters, and the North Road is little larger. Corton Road, joining Lowestoft North Road with Yarmouth Roads, is an area of much greater capacity, but it, like Yarmouth Roads, is exposed to the northerly gales which have often wrought disaster. The channels leading inside the sands frequently alter in shape and position, and if the buoys and lightships were removed an enemy would find it a difficult task even to-day to run in and out continuously with safety. In the past he would have been also in constant fear of a gale heaping up his transports on the shore, with which also he could only hold communication by boats when the weather permitted.

Commercially, as well as militarily, Orwell Haven has been the chief port of Suffolk. It is possible, however, that the action of the sea, which has been continuous on this coast within historic times, has altered the smaller ports for the worse. We know that it has destroyed Dunwich, converted Southwold Bay into a meaningless geographical expression, and transformed the contour of the seaboard. It may be that in the mediaeval period both the Woodbridge and Orford rivers were easier of access and ran with a deeper stream than now.

The character of the Suffolk coast, river-pierced, and in some parts fringed by tidal marsh, must in early times have rendered communication between the inhabitants by water, where that was possible, easier than by such paths as then existed. The fact, also, that it was included in the Saxon Shore shows that arrivals and departures by sea were comparatively frequent. Therefore, although we have no maritime history for a long period, it is fairly certain that there was a maritime life, especially as the fisheries, the foundation of all traffic by sea, must have existed immemorially. For geographical and political reasons the first attacks of the Norsemen were on the north-eastern and southern coasts, and although they encountered a more stubborn resistance in England than in any other country of the western world, it was more by land than by sea. Never such good seamen as the Norsemen the Saxons seem to have lost much of their earlier maritime aptitude; although fleets were formed, and did sometimes win battles, it would appear to have been more an artificial effort than a natural inclination. At first Ireland and Wessex promised the Norsemen richer spoil than East Anglia, of which, perhaps, they had heard little, so that their first recorded appearance there is in 838, after which an interval of nearly thirty years elapsed before the Danes came in force in 866. It may be surmised that many a disastrous wreck among the dangerous sands fringing Essex and Suffolk had taught the raiders to be cautious in their approach and careful in the choice of season for their arrival in those waters. No land or sea battle is spoken of in connexion with Suffolk during the thirteen years' contest which ended with the peace of Wedmore in 878, for East Anglia had long been in the possession of the Danes, and the English were struggling to hold even Wessex. In 876 the Danish army 'stole away' to Wareham from the camp at Cambridge;[1] most commentators think that it was by a series of forced marches, but Mr. J. R. Green[2] assumes, as is most probable, that Guthrum went by sea, and if so Orwell Haven would have been the natural place of embarkation.

The peace of Wedmore was but a truce, and the hard fighting the Vikings had experienced on the continental shore tempted them once more to try their fortune in England in 884. The direct onslaught fell upon Kent, and their repulse from Rochester was followed by an attack by Alfred's fleet on Guthrum's Danes of East Anglia, who had assisted their fellow countrymen. The resulting battle in 885, at the mouth of the Stour and at Shotley Point,[3] when sixteen Danish ships were captured and their crews killed, is the first known sea fight directly connected with Suffolk and Essex, although the victors were themselves defeated by a superior force during their return passage. The years of war which followed Alfred's death had for their object national consolidation, and have nothing to do with naval history, but we may note that Athelstan, in the campaign which ended at Brunanburh in 937, was accompanied by a fleet to which probably every maritime shire contributed its quota. In 980 the Danish harrying recommenced, and in 991 Ipswich was plundered and perhaps destroyed. In the following year there was a levy of London and East Anglian ships to meet this invading army, for which Suffolk must have supplied its share. The scene of war was chiefly in Wessex and for a long time the county seems to have escaped the calamities that were suffered by the greater part of England in the succeeding years, but no doubt it sent men to the 'fyrds,' and in 1008 obeyed the new law that every 310 hides of land should build and equip a warship, the legal precedent for the subsequent ship-money levies. In 1010 a Danish army sailed from Kent and landed at Ipswich, but it is not said to have done any mischief there, although it ravaged and burnt its way through the whole of East Anglia. Again, in 1016, Cnut landed in the Orwell, necessarily at or near Ipswich, and marched inland destroying and killing everywhere. In all these cases Ipswich seems to have escaped comparatively lightly, possibly because of the presence as settlers of descendants of former Norse invaders. With the accession of Cnut ended the era of a devastating war of conquest; the lesser civil commotions which occurred during the reign of the Confessor do not appear to have affected Suffolk. Fleets were frequently raised during this period, and as Harold, before becoming king, was earl of the East Angles, it is probable that Suffolk ships followed in his service to Wales and elsewhere. No doubt, also, they were present in the fleet discharged too soon in 1066.

The commerce of daily life, the coasting and fishing trades, voyages to Flanders, and perhaps to the North German ports, must have gone on notwithstanding such epoch-making events as the battle of Hastings and the Conquest. We are ignorant of the maritime strength not only of Suffolk but of all the counties. The fact, however, of Domesday showing that in several places manorial rents were paid partly in herrings indicates that the fishery was a well-established industry long before the Conquest. William I was the last man likely to underrate the importance of maritime power, and if he had no English he had a powerful Norman fleet at command. At any rate both in 1071 and 1072 he was able to send fleets to sea to act in conjunction with his land forces, and if many of the ships were Norman others must have come from the English ports and have been collected in proportion to the importance of the coast towns in the manner customary

[1] *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 145.
[2] *Conquest of Engl.* 108.
[3] Still called 'Bloody Point.'

with his successors. Neither in the expedition to Ireland in 1171 nor in Richard's crusade of 1190 do we know that Suffolk took part. For the former there were 400 ships, most of which must have been very small and levied in the south and west; Richard's fleet consisted of upwards of 100 large vessels, and probably included many from the continental dominions of the crown. The landing at Walton of a military force, brought from Flanders by Robert, earl of Leicester, occurred in 1173, but there was no attempt by sea to hinder his passage. In 1205 we have the first station list of the king's ships, from which we find that there were two galleys at Ipswich and five at Dunwich.[1] As there was none between London and Ipswich, and Dunwich has the same number as London, this is incidental evidence of the early importance of the two Suffolk ports. In that year the king placed two galleys in commission to guard the coast from Orford to Yarmouth, promising the crews a half value of all prizes[2]; besides these other galleys were attached to Ipswich and Dunwich. Both in 1208 and 1214 lists of ships belonging to all the ports of the kingdom, with the names of their owners, were required, but in the latter year the demand was confined to ships of eighty tons and upwards.[3] In 1213 the principal maritime districts were called upon to supply naval necessaries, Norfolk and Suffolk being required to find masts, oars, and cordage.[4] In the same year there was a general levy of ships to form the fleet which, under the earl of Salisbury, destroyed a French force in the Swin, and no doubt the Suffolk ports were represented in his command. John was several times in Suffolk during his reign, but only once on the coast, in 1216, at Ipswich.

In 1225 the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were directed to select at Ipswich three ships fitted for horse transport, or, if they were not to be obtained there, to take them from Dunwich.[5] At this date the Cinque Ports contingent was the nucleus of the royal fleets, and it is noteworthy that a writ to the Cinque Ports ordering a levy was frequently accompanied by one to Norfolk and Suffolk for the same purpose, showing that in sufficiency and readiness they were considered on an equality. And, of the Suffolk ports, Dunwich stands out pre-eminently as the one upon which the crown relied as always having ships and men available. On 10 September, 1229, the bailiffs of Dunwich were required to send forty ships, armed and manned, to Portsmouth by the 29th for the king's passage over the sea, and although ten of the forty were remitted there is no indication that this was done because such a sudden demand for so many vessels unduly strained the maritime resources of the town.[6] Again, in 1235, when most of the Cinque Ports, together with Yarmouth and Southampton, were assessed for one ship each, Dunwich alone was required to send two.[7] An order of 1236 that ten vessels were to be chosen in Norfolk and Suffolk for the passage of the king's sister Isabella on her marriage with the Emperor Frederick[8] seems to show that the ships belonging to these ports were comparatively large and roomy and suitable for passengers, since the only others levied were from the Cinque Ports; and those we know, whatever their merits, did not possess such qualities. Dunwich was again coupled with the Cinque Ports in 1242, when, after Henry's failure abroad, he urged the bailiffs to devote the whole strength of the towns to ravage the French coast and to destroy French commerce.[9]

Both in 1230 and 1255 there were arrests of ships large enough to carry sixteen horses; in the first instance the writ is for Suffolk generally, in the second Orford, Ipswich, and Dunwich are specified.[10] In 1242 only vessels of eighty tons and upwards were required from the Suffolk ports.[11] In another writ Goseford, which undoubtedly meant Bawdsey Haven[12]—that is to say, the district watered by the lower part of the River Deben, probably including Woodbridge—is grouped with Ipswich and Orwell.[13] These appear to have been the only Suffolk ports as yet conspicuous. Perhaps a sign of the commencing decline of Dunwich is to be found in 1264 when a writ states that twenty-four of their ships having been impressed the town and the adjacent places were left unprotected, and that therefore one vessel, available at Winchelsea, was to be returned.[14] The Dunwich men themselves considered that the moment of their greatest prosperity was when they took the farm of the town from Edward I, about 1279; at that time they possessed eighty 'great ships' and the tolls levied at their 'commodious port' paid most of the farm. By 1348 the ships had been destroyed by enemies, the port spoiled by sandbanks, and lands submerged by the sea.[15]

[1] Close, 6 John, m. 10.
[2] Pat. 6 John, m. 2.
[3] Ibid. 9 John, m. 2; 16 John, m. 16.
[4] Close, 15 John, m. 4.
[5] Ibid. 9 Hen. III, m. 16.
[6] Close, 13 Hen. III, m. 4; 14 Hen. III, m. 16.
[7] Pat. 19 Hen. III, m. 14.
[8] Rymer, *Foedera*, i, 358.
[9] Ibid. 406.
[10] Close, 14 Hen. III. m. 17 *d.*; Pat. 38 Hen. III, m. 5. In the 1230 levy the owners showed some hesitation and the local authorities were ordered to imprison those recalcitrant (Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 13).
[11] Close, 26 Hen. III, m. 4.
[12] 'Goseford haven aliter dict Baudseye haven' (Exch. K. R. Mem. Roll 333, East. *r.* 7).
[13] Pat. 19 Hen. III. m. 14 *d.*
[14] Close, 48 Hen. III, m. 4 *d.* The others were at Bordeaux.
[15] Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 12 *d.*; *Rot. Parl.* i, 426; ii, 210.

A feature of the maritime history of the thirteenth century is the appointment of one or more persons, sometimes for one county and sometimes for a group of counties, as keepers of the coast, a step towards the organization of systematic defence. In 1217 Nicholas Donewyz was nominated for Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and in 1224 Richard Aiguillun for Norfolk and Suffolk; in the latter case writs were directed to the burgesses of Orwell,[1] Orford, Yarmouth, and Lynn to assist him in his duties.[2] The functions of the keeper were chiefly military, but were also judicial in matters relating to the sea and coast; he was in military command both at sea and on land and was given somewhat large powers. In 1295 the keepers were told to send three Yarmouth ships to cruise in the North Sea for the protection of English and Flemish fishermen.[3] In 1297 the four keepers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex were directed to maintain six ships at the expense of the inhabitants and of merchants using the North Sea.[4] In 1316 John de Thorpe's duties are defined as being to protect the people of the coast between Ipswich and Lynn from murders and robberies both by sea and land, and he was empowered to appoint constables and to compel all people to assist.[5] Practically, the keeper was expected to put down piracy, to beat off raiders, to enable coasters and fishermen to sail in peace, and to summon the county to arms upon invasion. The office did not continue long, for during the second half of the fourteenth century, the growth of the admiral's court, the increased power of the admirals, and, finally, the creation of the post of High Admiral, lessened its importance. Historically, however, the keeper may be considered the ancestor of the conservators of truces instituted locally by Henry V, and of the later vice-admirals of the coast whom we find acting from the middle of the sixteenth century. An illustration of an intermediate class of appointment, when the keeper's duties were ceasing to be military and were becoming administrative, like those of the subsequent conservators and vice-admirals, is to be found in the duties of Hugh Fastolf who, in 1364, was lieutenant for Norfolk and Suffolk of Robert Herle, admiral of the king's fleets, and in that capacity held an inquiry upon the seashore at Covehithe.[6] Here, he who would have been formerly keeper of the coast is becoming the admiral's deputy, as two centuries later the vice-admiral of Suffolk was the deputy of the Lord High Admiral. A part of the system of defence under the care of the keeper was the line of beacons, corresponding to the modern coastguard stations, usually placed on the hill nearest the shore and guarded in war time by a watch from the neighbouring parishes.[7]

The Welsh wars of 1277 and 1282–3, and the Scotch war of 1295 were mainly fought by the feudal armies. The Cinque Ports furnished most of the squadrons—not large ones—required for the Welsh wars, but the Scotch campaigns stirred the east coast to greater activity. Parliament granted a subsidy of a thirtieth for the war of 1282, and the taxation roll for Ipswich shows that fourteen ships and sixteen boats were owned in the town.[8] In 1294 three large fleets were equipped; that from the east coast under the command of Sir John Botetourt included eleven vessels from Bawdsey and Harwich together, seven from Ipswich, four from Dunwich, four from Orford, and two from Goseford.[9] In the following year there was an attempt to keep the intended port of concentration secret, the person collecting the ships in Suffolk and elsewhere being directed to 'bring them on a certain day to a certain place as directed by word of mouth.'[10] Sometimes the levies were very sweeping; in 1298 *all* the ships found in Norfolk and Suffolk, suitable for the transport of men and horses, were to be impressed. From a writ of Edward III[11] we find that about this time (probably in 1294) Dunwich furnished eleven armed ships for service in Gascon waters and lost four of them. A claim of £1,420 10*s.* for services and losses was examined by the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer and duly allowed, but for some reason—perhaps there was a counterclaim for debts due to the crown—was never paid either by Edward I or Edward II. On his accession Edward III was petitioned, and, in directing the rolls of the Exchequer to be examined, ordered that if the decree were found upon them the claim was to be paid, 'having consideration to the estate of the town and the men thereof,' but less any debt due to the crown.

A general call upon the counties was made in 1301 when some seventy ships were demanded, of which Ipswich supplied two, Goseford and Bawdsey two, Orford one, and Dunwich one.[12]

[1] Cf. 'The Mythical Town of Orwell,' by Mr. R. G. Marsden, in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxi, 93 et seq.
[2] Pat. 2 Hen. III, m. 10; 8 Hen. III, m. 3.
[3] Ibid. 23 Edw. I, m. 6.
[4] Ibid. 25 Edw. I, pt. 2, m. 14.
[5] Ibid. 10 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 25. In 1338 the keepers for Suffolk were distraining on the clergy and others to oblige them to provide men (Close, 12 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 13 *d.*).
[6] Coram Rege, 38 Edw III, Mich. Rot. 33 (Rex). For other civil appointments of the same character see Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. 2, m. 24; Add MSS. 30222 fol. 18; Hargrave MSS. 93; Orig. Writs, ii, 322*b*. On the subject of coast defence see also Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (2nd ed.), ii, 285.
[7] 'Signa consueta vocata beknes per ignem.' Cf. Southey, *Lives of the Admirals*, i, 360 (quoting Froissart), as to the method of constructing them.
[8] E. Powell in *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Arch.* xii, pt. 2 (1905).
[9] Chanc. Misc. $\frac{4}{4}$.
[10] Pat. 23 Edw. I. m. 9.
[11] Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 1.
[12] *Foedera* (ed. 1816), i, 901, 928; Pat. 29 Edw. I, m. 20.

Again, in November, 1302, there was a general levy from Newcastle to the Land's End, the eastern counties being called upon for fifty ships, but the number required for each town is not given.[1] In this case, and unlike the southern counties, which were commended as a whole for their willingness, the east coast showed a lagging spirit which evoked some coercive measures. The original order was dated 10 November, 1302, and Walter Bacun, a king's clerk, was to select the vessels in the various ports. On 2 March, 1303, a writ to the sheriffs of the counties directed them to aid Bacun to take security from the shipowners for appearance at Berwick, as some had absolutely refused to send ships, and others had not sent as many as had been demanded.[2] On 16 April another clerk was associated with Bacun because 'he has been negligent' and the king 'expects great help from the ships.'[3] Seeing that probably the greater part of such trade as existed with Scotland was carried on by the east coast towns it can be understood why a dynastic war was not very popular in that region. The shipbuilding industry which was afterwards the chief business of Ipswich must already have been of some standing, for in 1295 a galley and a barge for the king were being built there.[4]

The practice of the crown in taking up merchant ships was a part of the king's claim to the services of all his subjects, upon which the right of impressing seamen was also based. At first sight the constant levies of ships and men would appear to have been destructive of commerce, but in reality they were not nearly so disastrous to it as they seem to be. A trading voyage involved great risk of loss from wreck, piracy, or privateering; the royal service meant certain payment for the fitting and hire of the ship with sixpence a day for the officers and threepence for the men, very liberal wages allowing for the different value of money. The incessant embargoes which harassed trade—then much increased—under Edward III were not yet common, and the alacrity with which most of the ports responded to the demands made upon them shows that the services required were not oppressive, nor even unwelcome, especially as those who contributed to the sea service were freed from any aid towards that by land. There was no permanent naval administration at this time. The king possessed some ships of his own and the commanders were usually charged with their maintenance. When a fleet was to be raised from the merchant navy a certain extent of coast was allotted to one of the king's clerks, or to a serjeant-at-arms, who acted with the bailiffs of the port towns in selecting ships and men and seeing them despatched to the place of meeting. If a ship did not appear, or the men deserted, they or the owner might be required to find security to come before the king, and although there was as yet no statute dealing with the offence,[5] they were imprisoned by the authority of the king alone or punished at the discretion of the admiral.[6]

The entries on the Patent and Close Rolls show that in the thirteenth century Dunwich was the leading Suffolk port. In 1275 and 1285 there are references to a direct wine trade with Gascony, one of the ships engaged being of at least 125 tons.[7] In the next reign two Dunwich ships were plundered to the value of some thousands of pounds in a Zealand port;[8] in 1317 two ships of Goseford (probably of Woodbridge) are mentioned, one of which must have been of about 120 tons.[9] Orford, Ipswich, Orwell, and Goseford, as well as Dunwich, are referred to as passage ports, but in 1229 only Ipswich and Dunwich were subjected to an embargo on foreign trading.[10]

The continual quarrels between the ports about their rights or encroachments are sufficient evidence that the herring fishery was carried on industriously. In 1233 the bailiffs of Yarmouth were ordered to allow the Dunwich men to remain in their port in peace;[11] an order of the same year,[12] which exempted all Suffolk vessels from payment of the fortieth, was perhaps due to the desire to encourage the fishery, since such a tax must have pressed most hardly on fishing boats. Some of the orders, such as one in 1309 that no one should take fish 'without payment' from the Holland and Friesland boats, seem to point to easy if dishonest methods of supply.[13] The feuds between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports are well known, but the Suffolk towns also had an uneasy time with their big neighbour. In 1302 a commission sat to examine into complaints made by Yarmouth against Gorleston and Little Yarmouth, and the gist of their offence may no doubt be found in another Yarmouth petition in 1307 which states that 200 ships at the time, belonging to 'merchants strangers,' were sometimes lying in the two smaller ports.[14] The success of Gorleston caused so much ill-feeling in Yarmouth that a year later the sheriff of Norfolk was ordered to proclaim that any injury done to the Gorleston men would be punished by 'grievous forfeiture.'[15] An award of

[1] Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 2.
[2] Ibid. 31 Edw. I, m. 33.
[3] Ibid. m. 27.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 257.
[5] The first statute was 2 Rich. II, st. 1, cap. 4, by which deserters were fined double their wages and sent to prison for a year.
[6] e.g. Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 13; ibid. 32 Edw. I, m. 28; Close, 17 Edw. II, m. 6*d*. See also *post*, p. 206.
[7] Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 25.
[8] Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 11.
[9] Ibid. 10 Edw. II, m. 12 *d*.; 11 Edw. II, m. 18 *d*.
[10] Ibid. 13 Hen. III, m. 7 *d*.
[11] Ibid. 17 Hen. III, m. 10.
[12] Ibid. m. 16 *d*.
[13] Ibid. 3 Edw. III, m. 23. To the east coast generally except Essex and Lincolnshire.
[14] Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 15 *d*.; 35 Edw. I, m. 37 *d*.
[15] Close, 1 Edw. II, m. 6.

1331 seemed to settle the dispute in favour of Great Yarmouth, for it forbade any foreign ship to discharge at Gorleston, the use of the port being confined to vessels belonging to the town.[1] However, so far from submitting to the decision we find from a writ of 1336 that 'large bodies of armed men' assembled at Gorleston and Little Yarmouth, and forced both English (other than those owned in the town) and foreign ships to unlade there.[2] There must have been a large number of Flemish fishing boats working in the Norfolk and Suffolk ports; in 1316 the count of Holland consented to a tax on each boat arriving until a claim of £1,300 against his subjects, for injuries done to English merchants, was satisfied.[3]

There was incessant strife between the men of Dunwich, Walberswick, and Southwold, concerning the port and the receipt of dues, and Ipswich and Harwich had at this time a similar quarrel on hand. Probably the Ipswich claim had been passively admitted until Harwich grew prosperous, but in 1335 the Ipswich burgesses found it necessary to appeal to the king, saying that 'the port of Orwell with the arm of the sea and the river leading from the mouth of the port towards the sea as far as the town belongs to the king and his said town,' and again that the port of Orwell 'has belonged in the past to their town.'[4] In 1340 a commission was inquiring into the rights of the two towns, and the dispute as to jurisdiction lasted, it will be seen, well into the nineteenth century. Several documents of this period dealing with the controversy suggest that it was perhaps the first time the pretension had been definitely put forward by Ipswich or refused by Harwich.

As piracy closely follows trade it may be regarded as a sign of commercial importance that the Suffolk ports were frequent offenders or victims. The promise of spoil brought over Flemish pirates, so that in 1282 Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Ipswich were called upon to set out a local squadron to patrol the coast.[5] The wrongs, however, were not all suffered by one side, for in 1291 a Flemish merchant had his ship plundered at Dunwich although not necessarily by Dunwich men.[6] In 1299 there was another commission to inquire into the seizure of a ship near Dunwich, the pirates taking their capture to Gillingham and selling the cargo there; in the same year the earl of Gloucester complained that ships in which he was interested were plundered and destroyed at Southwold and 'his merchants' hindered in their accustomed use of the port.[7] At Orford, in 1309, a vessel from Bruges was emptied and then sunk, while at Ipswich, in 1311, thirty-seven men, including the parson of Flixton, were in gaol for piracy.[8] The next year a Goseford ship boarded one belonging to Lynn, at anchor near Rochelle, and after ransacking her set her adrift so that she went ashore and broke up.[9] In 1315 there were eleven commissions to inquire into piracies committed between Lynn and Harwich; there must have been many more in which the losses were not large enough to tempt the sufferers to the tedious and expensive process of appeal to the king. But the number is not surprising when we find, also in 1315, a Cinque Ports ship, especially commissioned to cruise after pirates, despoiling two Flemish traders lying in the Orwell.[10] Matters had become so bad that the next year John de Botetourt was placed in charge of the coast from the Thames to the Tweed to keep the king's peace, 'as well on land as on the sea near the land,' with instructions to put aside all other business to attend to this particular need.[11]

If Botetourt was successful it was only temporarily. Bad cases occurred continually, such as the attack on a Walberswick ship at Southwold by Dunwich men, and the murder of sixteen of the crew;[12] here the hatred born of the rivalry between Dunwich and Walberswick was no doubt a contributing factor. Soon after, in 1335, four ships, manned by Englishmen, came into Orwell Haven, and lay there for nearly three months, rifling and sinking all traders, holding the crews to ransom, and detaining ten vessels prepared for the royal service, although these last they eventually set free unharmed.[13] There seems to have been another peculiarly audacious act in 1344, when 129 men boarded ships belonging to Robert de Morley, admiral of the northern fleet, which were lying off Lowestoft and plundered them of cargo to the value of £5,000.[14] As the men were led by four of the bailiffs of Yarmouth it might be imagined, but for the value of the cargo, to have been merely one of the innumerable fishery disputes between Lowestoft and Yarmouth. But occasionally cases called piracy were hardly, if at all, outside the law. In 1340 a fleet of sixty-four ships belonging to Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Bawdsey, attacked a Mediterranean ship bound to Flanders, and pillaged her of goods to the amount of £20,000. Edward was compelled to compensate the owners at a

[1] Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 1.
[2] Ibid. pt. 1, m. 34.
[3] Ibid. 10 Edw. I, m. 12 *d.*
[4] Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 18 *d.*; 12 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 16.
[5] Ibid. 10 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 25 *d.*
[6] Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 23 *d.* In the opinion of the writer a very large number of the cases of piracy, so-called, in mediaeval times would later have been simple privateering cases for the adjudication of the Admiralty Court. There was then no proper agency for the settlement of captures, and international law, even now very cloudy, was only in the making.
[7] Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 15 *d.*; m. 6 *d.*
[8] Ibid. 3 Edw. II, m. 34 *d.*; 4 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 4 *d.*
[9] Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 7 *d.*
[10] Ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 21 *d.*
[11] Ibid. 10 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 34.
[12] Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 22 *d.* 27 *d.*
[13] Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 9 *d.*
[14] Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 49 *d.*

cost of £16,527, and gave the Norfolk and Suffolk men implicated the option of indemnifying him or of standing a legal inquiry. They chose the latter course, which argues conscious innocence, and that the crown standpoint was weak is shown by Edward's later action in offering a free pardon to those accused if they sent their ships to serve in his fleets.[1]

The county helped to form the fleets with which Edward II tried to maintain his hold upon Scotland during the earlier years of his reign. In 1308 Yarmouth and Suffolk were called upon for ten ships;[2] in 1310 Ipswich was required to send two, and Dunwich, Orford, and Little Yarmouth each one, at their own cost. This attempt to make the ports provide ships at their own expense was necessitated by a depleted exchequer, but must have seemed to them in unpleasant contrast to the methods of Edward I. It may be a sign of the exhaustion of the east coast that Edward called for the services of the southern ports more often than for those of the eastern and north-eastern counties. In 1313 thirty ships were levied in Norfolk and Suffolk;[3] in 1314 Ipswich, Orford, and Goseford were asked for one ship each, and Dunwich for two.[4] In the following year a commission issued to inquire into allegations that bribes had been taken by those sent to select ships on the east coast, through which the best ships and men had escaped impressment.[5] In 1316 an attempt was made to persuade the Suffolk ports to set out ships voluntarily at their own cost, 'for better keeping of the English sea,' but with what success we are not told.[6] In 1319 Ipswich, Dunwich, Orford, and Little Yarmouth were asked to send ships for three or four months at their own expense, and afterwards at that of the king, but the charge on the ports was not to be a precedent; some of the towns, including all those of Suffolk, were to have prize goods without rendering any account, but prisoners were to belong to the king.[7]

A two years' truce with Scotland expired in 1322, and preparations for an attack on England were being made in Flanders. Edward invaded Scotland himself and convoked a meeting of representatives from the chief ports of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex at Norwich to discuss with the treasurer and the bishop of Norwich the measures necessary to ward off the danger threatening from Flanders. Ipswich, Dunwich, Goseford, Bawdsey, and Little Yarmouth, sent delegates who agreed to provide ships at the cost of the ports for two months' service, two each being promised from Ipswich and Little Yarmouth, one from Goseford and Bawdsey, and one each from Dunwich and Orford.[8] This happened in April, 1322, but by June it was considered necessary to strengthen the naval force still further, and the contingents from the Suffolk ports were doubled, this time at the king's charges, with an additional ship from Guston (? Gunton), Walton, Colneys, and Felixstowe.[9] In 1323 a truce for thirteen years was concluded with Scotland, but war with France followed immediately, and although an actual levy, made at first in the Suffolk ports, was cancelled, an embargo was placed on all vessels of forty tons and upwards in England and Ireland. The succeeding three years must have been a time of vexation for shipowners for, although nothing was done, they were constantly harassed by preparations which were not followed by action. In 1326 Isabella was in France, her return expected, and her intentions known. Fleets were levied round the coasts, that from the eastern ports of vessels of thirty tons and upwards, including those from Ipswich, Orwell, Bawdsey, Orford, Goseford, and Dunwich, being ordered to concentrate in Orwell Haven by 21 September.[10] Twelve ships in addition, manned and furnished at the expense of those not contributing to the preparation of the main fleet, were to be taken up at Ipswich and Harwich; this squadron was to be stationed at Orfordness for the protection of the coast in the absence of the fleet.[11] Orfordness itself is an impossible station, but as it forms one of the shelters of Hollesley Bay it is clear that this is the first recorded use of the roadstead as a strategical position for men-of-war. As shown on the Patent and Close Rolls the measures taken by Edward, or his advisers, were remarkably well considered in the dispositions of the squadrons and the proposed movements; but either the final orders were given too late or there was treachery among the higher commanders, for when Isabella landed at the mouth of the Orwell on 26 September she met with no resistance.

There was a short war with Scotland in 1327–8, for which forty ships were sent from the whole of the east coast, but there was no levy on a large scale. A more serious war broke out in 1332, and as the Scots at this time, helped by their continental friends, seem to have been unusually

[1] Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 19*d*.; 15 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 22*d*.; 16 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 42*d*. m. 35*d*.; m. 34*d*.

[2] Rot. Scot. 2 Edw. II, m. 13.

[3] Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 18.

[4] Rot. Scot. 8 Edw. II, m. 8.

[5] Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 10*d*.; m. 4*d*.

[6] Close, 9 Edw. II, m. 13*d*. Application was made to the whole coast from Lynn to Falmouth.

[7] Rot. Scot. 12 Edw. II, m. 6, m. 3; Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 17.

[8] Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 14*d*.; m. 12*d*.; Pat. 15, Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 19.

[9] Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 5. Covehithe was now added to Bawdsey. The Bawdsey men appealed to the king against the action of their mayor and the admiral of the northern fleet who tried to make them equip another ship for service with the south fleet. They had no difficulty in obtaining a prohibition (Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 4).

[10] Ibid. 20 Edw. II, m. 10*d*.

[11] Pat. 20 Edw. II, m. 18.

well equipped for maritime operations the effects were felt along the whole of eastern England, both in the preparations necessary and the losses caused by the enemies' ships. In 1334 there were Scotch privateers cruising off the Suffolk coast.[1] Gradually the towns were becoming restive under the hardships due to the embargoes and the frequent arrests of shipping with which Edward began his personal government. But, like all strong sovereigns, he knew when to hide the iron hand in velvet and, instead of insisting on the prerogative, condescended to persuasion, sending confidential officials round the coast in December, 1336, to explain 'certain things near the king's heart.'[2] At the same time another conference, similar to that of 1322, was assembled at Norwich ;[3] the usual Suffolk ports were represented, with the addition of Kirkley, which now begins to appear in the writs. These mild proceedings do not seem to have been very successful. There was a general arrest of shipping in January, 1337, but there was so much evasion along the east coast that a commission was issued in August to imprison the defaulters and seize their ships and goods.[4] In September a writ was addressed to the bailiffs of Little Yarmouth in particular, directing them to give certain persons the option of going to sea or going to prison.[5]

A catalogue of the orders, which rapidly succeeded each other during this reign, for levies of ships in the various ports would be barren of interest unless the connexion with general history was shown. But the disinclination of the eastern counties, the most progressive in trade and therefore the greatest losers by these adventures, is well marked. In 1342 William Trussel was commissioned to inquire, in Suffolk and elsewhere, whether the arresters of ships had not taken bribes from towns and individuals to free the vessels, and sometimes extorted large sums.[6] The balance of maritime war was against England in 1338 and 1339, until the victory of Sluys restored our supremacy for many years. For this expedition 200 vessels were collected in Orwell Haven, from which Edward sailed on 22 June, 1340. The continuous strain was telling, however, on English shipping resources, and in the same year the sheriffs of the maritime counties were ordered to prevent any sales of ships to foreigners.[7] A truce with France had followed the battle of Sluys, but the continued decrease of the maritime strength of the country, as well as the necessary preparations for the renewal of war, induced Edward to require the chief ports to send delegates to Westminster for consultation and to receive orders.[8] The principal ports each sent two representatives, and it is rather curious to find Goseford among them, while Ipswich and Little Yarmouth only sent one each ; Dunwich and Orford are not in the list. No doubt social and other influences were brought to bear on these men, and the plan may have proved successful enough to encourage repetition ; at any rate, similar councils were convened in 1342, 1344, and 1347. In 1342 only the southern ports were summoned to send townsmen to Westminster, but in 1344 and 1347 Ipswich sent two, and Dunwich, Orford, and Goseford one each.

In 1342 complications arose in Brittany owing to the death of the duke without direct heirs, leading to the despatch of a large fleet and army under Sir Walter de Mauny ; Edward himself crossed later in the year. In one fleet alone there were 357 vessels, of which Ipswich sent fourteen, Goseford fifteen, Dunwich four, and Orford one.[9] An undated list, probably relating to another fleet prepared for this expedition, gives a total of 119 vessels, for which Ipswich provided two barges, Little and West Yarmouth one, and Bawdsey, Orford, Kirkley, and Dunwich one each.[10] After Edward's arrival many of the vessels deserted from Brest, leaving the king and his troops 'in very great peril,' therefore writs were directed to the bailiffs of the ports to arrest the deserters and seize their property. The masters of eleven ships of Ipswich, eleven of Bawdsey, two of Little Yarmouth, three of Dunwich, and one of Orford, are named ; the vessels and goods were to be forfeited and the masters fined. Two Little Yarmouth ships had not appeared at all.[11] At the request of Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, thirteen of the vessels arrested in virtue of the preceding writs, and described as 'of his lordship,' were released.[12] It is very doubtful whether the severe penalties of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were often enforced to their full extent ; in many cases they certainly were not, the shipping interest being too important to offend. But in this instance Bawdsey at least paid its fines, and in 1315 was freed from any liabilities that might arise in consequence of the death of the receiver.[13]

For the campaign of Crecy and the siege of Calais a great fleet was collected. The original record, said to be a Wardrobe Account, containing a list of the fleet at Calais has perished, and the

[1] Rot. Scot. 8 Edw. III, m. 5.
[2] Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 4 *d.*
[3] Rot. Scot. 10 Edw. III, m. 3 *d.*
[4] Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 7 *d.*
[5] Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 32 *d.*
[6] Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 4 *d.*
[7] Rymer, *Foedera*, v, 210.
[8] Ibid. v, 231 ; Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 43 *d.* They received two shillings a day for their expenses (ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 18 *d.*).
[9] Chanc. Misc. $\frac{5}{8}$.
[10] Ibid. $\frac{5}{46}$.
[11] Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 17 *d.* ; Close, 17 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 4 *d.* ; m. 3 *d.*
[12] Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 33. As examples of ship nomenclature the names of some of these may interest the reader : *La Sefray*, *La Scot*, *La Saveye*, *La Molete*, *La Burghmayde*.
[13] Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 1.

existing copies, which offer internal evidence that the original MS. was in some places nearly or quite illegible when it was transcribed, are of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[1] There are discrepancies in these MSS. concerning the details relating to several of the ports, but in Suffolk it is only Goseford about which any material question arises. One MS.[2] omits it altogether; the four others allot it thirteen ships, and three of them 303 men, but the fourth[3] says 404 men. Ipswich sent twelve ships and 239 men,[4] Orford three ships and sixty-two men, and Dunwich six ships and 102 men. It appears that from the time of the capture of Calais the men of the port of Goseford, which here included Bawdsey, Falkenham, and Alderton, had held the privilege of supplying the town with beer and other provisions.[5] In 1347, and perhaps partly in consequence of the Calais service, Ipswich petitioned that it was 'piteously impoverished' by excessive taxation and the loss of ships by wreck and in the king's fleet,[6] but as the object of the petition was to obtain a reduction in the assessment for the tenths and fifteenths it need not be taken too literally. In 1402 Ipswich again petitioned about its unreasonable farm, and was described by its burgesses as 'a frontier towards the sea and a defence against the enemy for all the district around.'[7] A few new ports are mentioned in the writs of this reign, but it cannot be said that any of them were rising into importance. An order of 1360 for the arrest of all ships is directed to the bailiffs of Ipswich, Orford, Bawdsey, Kirkley, Little Yarmouth, and Dunwich;[8] another of 1364, forbidding the export of gold, silver, and jewels, is directed to Walberswick, Covehithe, and Kessingland, as well as to the places named in the first writ except Little Yarmouth.[9]

The naval history of Edward III is an illustration of the fact that the almost invariable result of the destruction of an enemy's military fleets is an increase of raids and privateering. Although naval victories were won, and no resistance was or could be made to the transport of Edward's armies, the coasts were continually harassed by French incursions or the fear of them while the sense of helplessness was increased in consequence of the spoils made by privateers and the exhaustion of the shipowning class. An unstable peace existed between 1360 and 1369; the outbreak of war in the latter year was followed by the meeting of another council of provincial experts at Westminster in November to which, of the Suffolk ports, only Ipswich sent representatives.[10] The renewal of the war was attended by the complete loss of English supremacy in the Channel. Levy followed levy without result; the Commons laid the causes to which they attributed the decay of shipping before the king, and in June, 1372, after the defeat of the earl of Pembroke before Rochelle, the crown was reduced to issuing commissions of array for the maritime counties instead of defending them at sea. The ordinary rate of hire of ships was 3*s.* 4*d.* a ton for three months, and now both that and wages were left unpaid, in contrast to the liberality Edward had shewn thirty years earlier when he could afford to make extra and unusual payments to help the equipment of the fleets. The year 1375 was marked by another maritime disaster in the shape of the capture or destruction, in Bourneuf Bay, of thirty-nine merchantmen, ranging from 300 tons downwards. Ipswich lost three vessels, two being of 100 and one of 150 tons;[11] they were no doubt wine ships, as there must have been a large local trade to Gascony.[12]

Edward III died in June, 1377, and in July the French were raiding the southern counties at their will. The English fleet was practically non-existent, therefore in November Parliament decided that the country generally should be required to build ships by the following March. Ipswich, Sudbury, Bawdsey, and Hadleigh, were requested to prepare a balinger between them and as an inducement, were promised that after its service in the king's fleets was completed it should be returned for the use of the towns.[13] In 1379 Ipswich alone was called upon for a barge and balinger, the squadron of which they were to form part being ordered to meet in Kirkley Road.[14] For years the coast was more or less in a state of blockade, and little more was done than to attempt to protect it, as it were, in patches by local levies where the danger seemed greatest. In 1382 certain persons were commissioned 'to take sufficient mariners of the better sort,' in Suffolk and elsewhere, to man ten or twelve ships for the safeguard of the coast.[15] Notwithstanding the bitter and repeated complaints of Parliament concerning the ruin of English shipping, there are indications that it was organization and generalship that was lacking rather than men or ships. In 1385 there was a powerful fleet at sea, to which Ipswich sent the *George*, 170 tons, and two smaller vessels.[16] In 1386 invasion was regarded as imminent; a great army was collected at

[1] Cotton MSS. Titus F. iii, fol. 262; Stowe MSS. 570, fol. 23; ibid. 574, fol. 28; Harl. MSS. 3968, fol. 130; ibid. 246.
[2] Harl. 246.
[3] Titus F. iii.
[4] Harl. MS. 246 says sixty-two men—obviously a mistake.
[5] *Rot. Parl.* iii, 271.
[6] Ibid. ii, 189.
[7] Ibid. iii, 514.
[8] Close, 34 Edw. III, m. 37 *d.*
[9] Ibid. 38 Edw. III, m. 27 *d.*
[10] Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1816), iii, 880.
[11] Chanc. Dipl. Doc. P. 324; there was a *Katherine* of Ipswich of 160 tons in 1337 (Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 21).
[12] Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 563.
[13] Close 1 Rich. II, m. 22.
[14] Ibid. 2 Rich. II, m. 14.
[15] Pat. 6 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 33.
[16] Exch. Accts. Q. R. bdle. 40, No. 9.

Sluys as well as along the coast, and the descent was expected to be made in the estuary of the Orwell. Therefore in September two knights were appointed to survey the harbour and the neighbourhood where a landing might be effected, as, wrote the king, he had information that the French and their allies intended to land in that district.[1] Charles VI had proposed to invade in August; as no counter-preparation, not even the preliminary general arrest of shipping, was made here until September it was fortunate that several causes disorganized the French design.

Hostilities with France ceased in 1389, and for some years maritime commerce suffered only its normal afflictions, for, although official peace existed, private war always continued. No declaration of war came from either side during the reign of Henry IV, but conditions at sea differed nothing from actual belligerency. In consequence of this state of things, not only the ports but many of the inland towns were ordered on 11 January, 1400–1, to build and equip ships, singly or in combination, at their own cost by the following April; Ipswich was to provide one balinger, and Kirkley and Goseford, jointly, another.[2] Parliament met on 23 January and protested against the proceeding and Henry's position was too uncertain to permit him, as he might have done, to insist on the strict legality of his action. A general arrest of shipping in 1401 applied, in Suffolk, only to Ipswich and Goseford; two years earlier[3] there is a reference to Dunwich as having been 'in great part destroyed' in 1357, and probably, although the smaller ports were prospering by the fishery, they had not, from the nature of their trade, vessels large enough to be of use for military purposes. The deep-sea fisheries, too, must have been in existence for some time, for in 1415 proclamation was made at Ipswich, among other places, that for a year there was to be no fishing in Danish or Iceland waters 'aliter quam antiquitus fieri consuevit.'[4] In 1379 sixpence a ton convoy money was levied from herring boats by the week, but from 'other fishers' only at the rate of twopence a week.[5]

In 1402 the French raided the Essex coast, which was perhaps the reason why a king's ship, the *Katherine of the Tower*, was lying in Orwell Haven from May to October of that year.[6] Shortly before then six Suffolk nobles had promised the king each to provide a ship with a sufficient number of seamen, forty archers and twenty men-at-arms, two others undertook to provide a vessel between them, and three more each the half cost of a ship with ten men-at-arms and twenty archers.[7] How or where, if the promises were fulfilled, these vessels were used is not known, but the east coast was in much more peaceful condition than the south during the early years of the reign of Henry IV. The Patent Rolls are full of details of piracies committed by the men of the southern ports, while the east coast towns seldom appear as accused, Goseford and Bawdsey in 1404 being the solitary representatives for Suffolk. A squadron of Spanish galleys in French pay wintered in the French ports in 1405, and in the spring of 1406 the commanders arranged a raid in the Orwell, but a sudden gale drove them away when they were lying off the estuary. In the same year the safeguard of the sea was committed on terms to a syndicate of merchants and shipowners, who were given large powers, including authority to impress ships. No doubt they took up some in Suffolk, although we have no details of their proceedings, but, as might have been expected, the plan failed and in December the king resumed his responsibilities. Henry proposed going to Guienne in 1411, therefore in September there was a general arrest of every vessel of thirty tons and upwards throughout England. In the following April the south-eastern portion of Suffolk—Ipswich, Bawdsey, Colneys, Erwarton, and Harwich [8]—was directed to provide a hundred mariners as against thirty from Essex and a hundred from Kent;[9] this may perhaps, but not certainly, be a measure of the relative maritime importance of the counties.

To crush privateering and piracy Henry V, in 1414, instituted officials in every port called conservators of truces who, assisted by two legal assessors and holding their authority from the High Admiral, were to have power of inquiry and punishment concerning all guilty of illegal proceedings at sea. They were to keep a register of the ships and seamen belonging to each port, and acted as adjudicators in such cases as did not go before the admiralty court.[10] They seem, so far as related to judicial functions, to have been a link on the civil side between the earlier keepers of the coast and the vice-admirals of the coast created in the sixteenth century. That the statute was strictly enforced and helped to keep a little peace at sea is shown by the fact that two years later the king consented to some modification of its stringency by promising to issue letters of marque when equitable. In 1435 it was entirely suspended, being found 'so rigorous and grievous,' said the Commons, taking advantage of a weak rule; in 1451 it was brought into force again for a short time, and once more renewed by Edward IV.

Henry V began his reign with the intention of having a great fleet of his own. The custom of general impressment was now expensive both to the shipowner and the crown, slow and inefficient,

[1] Pat. 10 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 29.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, viii, 172.
[3] Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. 5, m. 34.
[4] Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, 322.
[5] *Rot. Parl.* v, 138.
[6] Exch. Accts. Q. R. bdle. 43, No. 7.
[7] *Proc. of P. C.* (first ser.), i, 106 (9 Feb. 1400–1).
[8] *Sic.*
[9] Rymer, *Foedera*, viii, 730.
[10] 2 Hen. V, cap. 6.

and the continual complaints of the merchant class, as voiced in Parliament, were not to be neglected. The system could not be, and was not, at once abolished, but it became much less frequent during the fifteenth century, and there is quite a modern note in the establishment of cruisers round the coast in 1415, four vessels being stationed between the Isle of Wight and Orfordness and three from Orfordness northwards.[1] The great fleet of upwards of 1,400 vessels, required for the campaign of Agincourt, included a contingent from Suffolk, but very many were hired in Holland and Zealand, either because the resources of the kingdom were insufficient, or Henry resolved not to tax them unduly. In 1416 Orwell Haven was the place of assembly of a large fleet, and the numerous occasions when it served for such a purpose, although they have not called for notice here, must have greatly assisted the business growth of Ipswich as well as of Harwich. Another big fleet was required for Henry's passage to France in 1417, but out of one list of 238 vessels 117 belonged to Holland and Zealand. Many of the English ports were unrepresented, and it may be surmised that for political reasons the king preferred to hire foreign ships as transports rather than to disturb English trade. For this service, however, Dunwich, Covehithe ('Cooshith'), Orford, and Blythburgh each sent one ship.[2] An important branch of English maritime traffic in the fifteenth century was the transport of pilgrims to enable them to perform their devotions at the shrine of St. James of Compostella. They could only be carried in licensed ships, and nobles and merchants seem to have been equally eager to obtain a share in what must have been a profitable trade. Most of the ships so employed belonged to the southern ports, but any taken up for the purpose must necessarily have been of considerable size judged by the standard of that age. For Suffolk there are very few entries in long lists extending over many years, and Ipswich and Southwold are the only ports that appear.[3] A late licence, of the reign of Richard III, entitled Thomas Rogers, keeper of the king's ships, to convey pilgrims in four vessels, and one of them was of Woodbridge.[4]

After the death of Henry V one of the first proceedings of the Regency was to sell off the Royal Navy by auction, but the loss was not felt at once because there was no French force capable of contesting the dominion of the sea. There were arrests of shipping in 1428 and 1430, but there was now a general feeling that in this method 'the long coming together of the ships is the destruction of the country.'[5] Vessels were still impressed for the transport of troops, but the cruising service was handed over to contractors who undertook to keep the sea with a certain number of ships and men for a specified time. Of course the contractors desired to obtain as much money and go to as little expense as possible, and in 1442 Parliament, dissatisfied with the results, prepared a scheme by which a squadron was to be made up of selected ships from various ports, but none came from Suffolk. There are existent several lists of ships taken up for the transport of troops in 1439, 1440, 1443, 1447, and 1452.[6] Seeing that they only represent a portion, large or small, of the merchant marine, they show that, notwithstanding war and weak government, it was still flourishing, some of the vessels being of 300 and 400 tons. The large ships, however, all belonged to the southern counties; those from Suffolk, with the exception of one of 160 and another of 140 tons, owned at Ipswich, were all small. During these years Dunwich sent five vessels, Walberswick six, and Easton, Kirkley, and Southwold each one. A vessel of 240 tons, described as of Orwell, must have belonged to Ipswich or Harwich.

Sea power played no great part in the Wars of the Roses, but we get some indication in the Paston letters of the insecurity of territorial waters when such legal trammels as had existed were relaxed. On 30 April, 1350, the duke of Suffolk sailed, exiled, from Ipswich to meet his death in the Straits of Dover, and it need not be imputed to cowardice that his Ipswich crews did not raise a hand to save him. Writing in March of the same year, Agnes Paston notices several occurrences showing how 'perlyous dwellyng be the se cost' was then,[7] and although her letter refers to Norfolk, the coast of Suffolk must have been equally dangerous. The Walberswick Account Books show payments in 1457 and 1463 for powder and cannon shot, and in 1469 for labour in throwing up entrenchments. In 1460 the earl of Warwick, then at Calais, was expected to make a descent in Suffolk, and orders were given to take the necessary precautions.[8] From the fact that in 1463 it was necessary to seize all ships laden with stores intended to supply Edward's enemies the existence of a Lancastrian party in the county may be inferred.[9]

In 1461 Suffolk was invited to join with Essex and Hertfordshire and follow the example of the north by raising a squadron at their own cost to act against the French and Scots. Edward IV was not ignorant of the value of a fleet and slowly set about the re-creation of a Royal Navy. His method was to buy ships rather than to build them for himself. In 1462 he held 'two parts' of the *Margaret* of Ipswich; later he purchased one-fourth more from the London possessor,[10] and

[1] *Proc.* of *P. C.* (first ser.), ii, 145.
[2] *Rot. Norman.* (ed. Hardy), 1835, pp. 320–9.
[3] Rot. Franc. *pass.*
[4] Harl. MSS. 433, fol. 171.
[5] *Proc. of P. C.* (first ser.), v. 102.
[6] Exch. Accts. Q. R. bdle. 53, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 39; bdle. 54, Nos. 10, 14.
[7] *Paston Letters* (ed. 1872), i, 114.
[8] Pat. 38 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 21.
[9] Ibid. 3 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 11*d*.
[10] Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. 2, m. 4.

subsequently he must have bought the remaining shares, for the *Margaret* appears in the lists as a king's ship. There were several arrests of ships in 1475 for the French war; one of them—from Newcastle to Bristol—must be almost, if not quite, the last example of the general arrest affecting the whole country. The growth of the fishery is shown by the struggle for the profitable privilege of supplying convoys for the fishing fleets. In 1472 a vessel at anchor in Orwell haven was carried off by a Sandwich ship hired by the people of the east coast for the protection of the fishermen during the season; but that seems to have been an exceptional incident.[1] In 1482 the convoyers were appointed by the king, and the persons designated were authorized to arrest and imprison any others who ventured to undertake similar work.[2] In the same year commissioners were nominated to examine the accounts of the convoyers of 1481, collecting rough statistics of the state of the trade and the number of men employed in it;[3] and in 1484 the accounts of the convoyers of 1482 were similarly supervised.[4] There are several commissions for convoy of the same character during the reign of Henry VII,[5] but the custom soon fell out of use as the Navy grew larger, and men-of-war were more often in the North Sea. Some sailing directions assigned to the reign of Edward IV show that the principal sands, channels, and landmarks for navigation along the coast of East Anglia were much the same as now.[6]

There must have been many wrecks upon the dangerous Suffolk coast during these centuries, but few of such casualties appear in the records perhaps because the Crown had granted away most of its rights along the coast. The right of wreck was coveted by manorial lords and corporations both for profit and, incidentally, as evidence of exemption from the inquisition of the High Admiral. Legally, if man, dog, or cat escaped alive from a ship it was no wreck, but if the cargo once came into the hands of those ashore there was small chance of recovery. Every corporation used what influence it possessed to obtain local jurisdiction in admiralty matters, not only as a question of dignity and profit, but even more in order to escape the arbitrary and expensive proceedings of the Lord Admiral's deputies, who brought much odium upon their master. Ipswich obtained admiralty jurisdiction by the charter of 28 March, 1446;[7] in 1536 it was found by inquisition that the bailiffs of Ipswich were exercising jurisdiction at Walton and fining people for non-appearance. The wives of fishermen were 'attached in Ipswich with their horses and take their fish from them.'[8] The burgesses of Dunwich claimed that their rights had been granted to them by John, and an inquisition of 21 Henry III found that they were then exercising right of wreck.[9] The same inquisition tells us that Orford was enjoying similar powers, and at Aldeburgh, Thorpe, and several other places the right to wreck of the sea was then in private hands. Very little of the Suffolk coast remained subject to the pecuniary profit of the High Admiral; the fact that the duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, held this office during his brother's reign may explain why there was some inquiry in 1465 into the powers under which individuals and corporations in Norfolk and Suffolk were acting to the injury of the duke's emoluments.[10] Any results concerning Suffolk that may have followed are unknown, and no evidence has been found of similar disputes for more than a century. Southwold acquired its like immunities in the reign of Henry VII.[11]

In 1481 a squadron was equipped to act against Scotland, and the *Carvel* of Ipswich, Captain Thos. Coke, was one of the five merchantmen selected to join the king's ships.[12] The reign of Henry VII is almost barren of maritime incident, but some Suffolk ships were used as transports when the earl of Surrey invaded Scotland in 1497. Three came from Walberswick, two from Aldeburgh, two from Dunwich, and one each from Southwold, Orford, Easton, and Sizewell.[13]

With the reign of Henry VIII the era of arrests and impressment of shipping may be said to have terminated. The port towns were sometimes to be called upon to provide ships, but such towns were usually associated in order to lessen the expense and eventually the county as a whole contributed to the cost. Improvements in building and armament had now differentiated the man-of-war from the merchantman; the latter was of little use in fleets except 'to make a show,' and to have required the ports to furnish real men-of-war would have ruined them. It was one of the purposes of Henry's life to create a national Navy, and there was not a year of his reign that did not witness some accretion to its strength. Such merchantmen as he required were hired without the exercise of the prerogative. It is not until the reign of Elizabeth that we find in force the further development of the right of impressment, the demand for fully armed ships at the cost of the ports and counties, the principle upon which the ship-money levies were based. The first war with France

[1] Pat. 11 Edw. IV, pt. 2, m. 11*d*.
[2] Ibid. m. 7*d*.
[3] Campbell, *Materials for a History of . . . Henry VII*.
[4] *Sailing Directions . . . from a Fifteenth Century MS.* (Hak. Soc.), 1889. For Orwell Haven see *V. C. H. Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'
[5] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 231.
[6] Gardner, *Hist. Account of Dunwich*, 114.
[7] Ibid. 22 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 2.
[8] Ibid. 2 Rich. III, pt. 1, m. 2.
[8] Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. 831.
[10] Lansd. MSS. 171, fol. 186.
[11] Pat. 10 June, 1505.
[12] Rymer, *Foedera*, xii, 139.
[13] Chap. Ho. Bks. vii, fol. 60 et. seq.

of 1512-13 was fought almost entirely by men-of-war, and although there were some twenty hired ships in pay as tenders and victuallers none can be traced as belonging to Suffolk. It need hardly be said that although impressment of ships had practically ceased, impressment of men continued, and Aldeburgh, Southwold, and Ipswich helped to make up the crews of the king's ships.[1] Shipwrights and caulkers were pressed in Ipswich, Dunwich, Southwold, and Lowestoft, to come to the new dockyard at Woolwich to help in the building of the *Henry Grâce de Dieu*.[2] Ipswich and Dartmouth sent more shipwrights than any others of the ports and, so far as Ipswich is concerned, the number available is a sign that the great shipbuilding industry which was so striking a feature of its local history from the end of the sixteenth century was already established. The famous Pett family, which provided master shipwrights in the royal dockyards for upwards of a century, probably came from Harwich but some branches of the family lived at Ipswich.[3] War with France and Scotland recommenced in 1522 and Ipswich sent some auxiliary ships to join the fleet. The proposed, and possibly executed, erection of a blockhouse at Lowestoft in 1528[4] is evidence of the importance of the roads as an anchorage.

The Iceland fishery, which had flourished during the early part of the fifteenth century, had almost died out in consequence of a statute of 1430 (8 Hen. VI, cap. 2) forbidding Englishmen to repair to Iceland or Denmark, but only to North Bergen ; this was enacted in fear of the king of Denmark and in consequence of the riotous and piratical behaviour of English fishermen and traders. In 1451, however, Walberswick was sending thirteen vessels and twenty-two sperling boats to Iceland, the Faroes, and the North Sea,[5] and in 1484 a proclamation prohibiting ships to go to Iceland without convoy shows that the fishery was still carried on. The first Parliament of Henry VIII repealed the Act of 1430 (1 Hen. VIII, cap. 1), and for a time, at any rate, the fishermen can have given little cause for complaint for in 1523 the king of Denmark wrote to Henry encouraging a larger trade.[6] The extent to which it had been taken up along the east coast may be judged from a passage in a letter written by the earl of Surrey to Wolsey,[7] in the same year, where he reports that he had heard that the Scots were fitting out a squadron to intercept the Iceland fleet in which, if they succeeded, Norfolk and Suffolk he said, would be ruined and all England left without fish. In 1528 the Iceland fleet numbered 149 vessels ; Ipswich is grouped with five Essex ports, and fourteen ships sailed from them; Woodbridge sent three, Aldeburgh, Sizewell, and Thorpe, six, and Dunwich, Walberswick, Southwold, Easton, and Covehithe, thirty-two.[8] The last five places followed the Iceland trade more vigorously than that of the North Sea proper, in which only eight boats were employed; but Ipswich, with Harwich and Manningtree, sent twenty, Aldeburgh four, and Lowestoft six.[9] More than half these boats frequented Scotch waters. The temporary improvement in the conduct of the fishermen does not appear to have endured, at any rate near home, for in 1535 James V wrote to Henry that 'the English who go to Iceland for fishing take slaves and plunder in the Orkney Isles.'[10] But, however irregular their conduct they also fished, and by 1526 the quantity brought home was so great that it was found possible to remit a portion of that taken for the king under the right of purveyance.[11]

There is a return of 1533 giving the number of vessels come back from the fishery that year, from which we find that seven entered Lowestoft, twenty-two Dunwich, one Orford, and seven Orwell Haven, which here probably stands chiefly for Ipswich.[12] The average tonnage was from forty to sixty tons, except those at Orwell, which run from 60 to 150 tons. In 1536 Robert Kingston of Dunwich, the master of an Aldeburgh vessel, was presented at an Admiralty Court for leaving six sick men behind him in Iceland.[13] It would seem that at this period Dunwich, fallen from its former estate as a commercial port, secured temporarily a new prosperity in the Iceland traffic. From an action at law in 1535 relating to a Southwold ship we learn that she was hired for £120 for an Iceland voyage ; in an illustrative case quoted in the depositions, it was said that the profit earned by another boat was upwards of £700, and would have been more but for the defaults of the master.[14] Occasionally persons of higher social standing than those who made the trade their occupation were tempted by the large profits to join in it ; in 1545 there is an account of the expenses of a vessel belonging to Sir Thomas Darcy which he sent to the fishery.[15] From a national point of view it would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the Iceland, North Sea, and Newfoundland fisheries. The Atlantic and North Sea were the breeding and training grounds of the men who, in the reign of Elizabeth, destroyed the maritime pretensions of Spain.

[1] Chap. Ho. Bks. ii, fols. 7–10.
[2] Ibid. v, 179.
[3] See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (pt. 2), 4016.
[5] Gardner, op. cit. 145.
[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 2783.
[7] Ibid. 3071.
[8] Ibid. iv, 5101.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid. viii, 1153.
[11] Ibid. iv, 2220 ; Add. MSS. 34729, fol. 63.
[12] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1380.
[13] Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. 831.
[14] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 1020.
[15] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. i, 603. She was manned from Dunwich.

About 1539 Henry feared a combination of the continental states against the kingdom. The new navy, although more powerful than any England had ever yet possessed, more powerful than even its creator dreamed it to be, was as yet an untried weapon. The preceding centuries were fraught with the lesson that English battles were best fought on the English seas, but there was a natural inclination, especially in an age which was tending towards formalism in military science, to fall back upon the orthodox defences of castles, sconces, and bulwarks to prevent a landing or to support a defending force. As early as 1535 the idea of fortifying the strategic points round the coast was in the air, for Cromwell then noted in his 'Remembrances' that a small tax formerly paid to Rome might well be diverted 'towards the defence of the realm to be employed in making fortresses.' That the subject was then under consideration explains the existence of a map of 1533–4 showing proposed fortifications at Harwich and Landguard, although there is some doubt as to the value of this map as evidence in point of date.[1] If it is reliable there must have been some particular reason, because at the time, and for some years afterwards, Calais and Dover were the only places upon which money was being spent lavishly, and the fortification of the coast generally was not commenced until 1539. Early in that year commissioners were appointed 'to search and defend the coasts,'[2] and Lowestoft, Aldeburgh, and Landguard were designated as requiring defences.[3] On 27 March the earls of Oxford and Essex, who were in superintendence in the eastern counties, wrote to Cromwell that 20,000 men might be put ashore at Landguard and that a 'substantial blockhouse' was necessary there.[4]

The French ambassador, writing to his sovereign in May, thought that most of the places where a foreign force might land would be in a state of defence by the end of the summer, but in reality the work did not progress nearly so quickly; in 1540 most of such bulwarks as had been erected were still unarmed, but Lowestoft possessed one gun. A contemporary map[5] shows a three-gun battery commanding the Stanford Channel and another that of St. Nicholas Gat; the sites of these batteries have long been below low-water mark. As there is an appointment of a gunner for Lowestoft in March, 1542,[6] the map may be assigned approximately to that year, and as Landguard is indicated by a conventional circle it shows that the fort there was yet unbuilt. Possibly there were also entrenchments thrown up at Mismer Haven.[7] In 1547 there is a reference to the fort or forts at Landguard and to the six gunners permanently stationed at each of them.[8] There seem to have been 'houses' at Langer Point and Langer Rood; Major J. H. Leslie, the historian of Landguard,[9] considers the latter, now Garrison Rood, an excellent position militarily. From a later paper[10] it appears that the blockhouse at the point was built by 1545 but that at Langer Rood was probably somewhat later or not then garrisoned. Silas Taylor, who wrote his history of Harwich in 1676, says that there was then remaining a bastion of one of the Henry VIII blockhouses which was situated at or near the old burial-ground. At first all the coast defences, except those within the Cinque Ports, were placed under the control of the Lord Admiral and regulations were drawn up for their government,[11] but they soon passed out of his hands. Probably it was considered unwise to entrust a subject with so much power.

War with France and Scotland broke out again in 1543, and in June the North Sea fleet was collecting in Orwell Haven, when Henry visited Harwich. Besides being the best harbour south of the Humber, that of the Orwell was also the nearest to the fertile eastern counties, an important point in relation to the victualling of the fleets. North Sea squadrons were in commission in 1542-3-4; for that of the last year, operating in Scotch waters in conjunction with the invading army under the earl of Hertford, Lowestoft supplied fifteen ships, Aldeburgh nine, Dunwich sixteen, Walberswick eleven, Southwold ten, and Ipswich ten.[12] All these must have been used as transports and storeships, but as no doubt a sufficient number of vessels was left to carry on trade the figures indicate an active maritime industry. Four of those from Lowestoft, one from Aldeburgh, one from Southwold, and two from Ipswich, were of 100 tons or more, the largest being one of 160 tons belonging to Ipswich; the largest Dunwich ships were only of 60 tons. On 6 July, 1543, an action was fought off Orfordness between a French squadron and one under Sir Rice Mansel. The French, fifteen or sixteen in number, had conveyed troops to Scotland in June; war was declared subsequently, and on their voyage back they were intercepted by Mansel. The French took one ship and the English two, but Mansel chased them back to the Forth. Probably

[1] Cott. MSS. Aug. I, i, 56.

[2] For Suffolk:—Lord Wentworth, Sir Humphrey and Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Edmund Bedingfield, Sir John Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Jermyn, Sir Wm. Drury, Sir Wm. Waldegrave and Sir John Jerningham.

[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, pt. 1, 398, 655.

[4] Ibid. 615.

[5] Cott. MSS. Aug. I, i, 58.

[6] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 220 (37).

[7] See *post*, p. 221.

[8] S. P. Dom. Edw. VI, i, 22.

[9] *Landguard Fort*, Lond. 1898.

[10] S. P. Dom. Edw. VI, xv, 11.

[11] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (pt. 2), 785; Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. 129.

[12] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix, (pt. 1), 140 (6).

Suffolk, like other counties, was depleted of seamen and fishermen to man the royal fleets during this war; as a consequence certain hundreds were allotted to Lord Wentworth in 1545 for the defence of the coast in the absence of the maritime population.[1] In February, 1547, Sir Andrew Dudley was in command of a fleet then lying in Orwell Haven, ordered to intercept the supplies passing from France to Scotland, but it does not appear that he had any merchantmen with him. His flagship, the *Pauncye*, afterwards took the *Lion*, a Scotch man-of-war, but the prize was lost in Harwich harbour 'by negligence,' says Edward VI in his Journal.[2]

The question of piracy and wrecking becomes more noticeable during the reign of Henry VIII, not because the offences were more prevalent—there were probably fewer cases than during preceding centuries—but because suppression was taken in hand more seriously. Henry was determined to make his kingship feared and respected at sea as he made it feared and respected on land. No single life could have been long enough to see complete success, but the steps he took mark a great advance in the organization of repressive measures and only the application or extension of them was left to his successors. It had been found that the existing system of trial for piracy was nearly useless, the offender having to confess before he could be sentenced, or his guilt having to be proved by disinterested witnesses, who naturally could seldom be present at sea. By two statutes, 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 4, and 28 Hen. VIII, cap. 15, such crimes were in future to be tried according to the forms of the common and not as hitherto of the civil law. Probably for the better administration of these statutes and for other reasons—namely the execution of a treaty with France of 1525 concerning maritime depredations, the strict protection of the king's and Lord Admiral's rights in wrecks and other matters, the registration of ships and men available and the levy of seamen, the inspection and certification of ships going to sea touching their armed strength and the peaceful nature of the voyage, the exaction of bonds from captains and owners as security for good conduct and the safe-keeping of prizes and prize goods—it was deemed advisable to have round the coast permanent representatives of the Lord Admiral, who should be of higher social standing and armed with greater authority than were the deputies who had hitherto visited each county or district collecting the Lord Admiral's profits or maintaining his rights. The officers in question, the vice-admirals of the counties, were, in their civil functions, the successors historically of the keepers of the coast and the conservators of truces of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there is not one of the duties of the vice-admirals which cannot be paralleled among those performed by the earlier officials. We have seen that there had been occasional appointments for Norfolk and Suffolk of officers who held posts very similar to those of the vice-admirals,[3] but now, instead of acting temporarily and only in one or two districts, they became a band of crown officials stationed round the whole coast, backed by the power of the Tudor despotism and continued without any interruption during which their authority might diminish by intermission.[4]

The scheme did not come into operation simultaneously over all England, but developed out of necessity and according to opportunity. The first nomination known by precise date is that for Norfolk and Suffolk, but Cornwall may have even been earlier, and in view of the long established reputation of the southern county for the lawless practices customary on its coast there is some significance in the fact that the East Anglian appointment is of about the same date, although the exact reasons are unknown to us. The first vice-admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk, appointed by the then Lord Admiral, Sir William Fitzwilliam, by patent for life 20 August, 1536, was William Gonson, long connected with the naval administration; he is styled 'our commissary, vice-admiral, and deputy in the office of the vice-admiralty.'[5] Gonson was well known to Henry and it is likely that the nomination was the king's rather than Fitzwilliam's; it may also be due to Henry's favour that, unlike his successors, he was granted all fees and profits free from any account to the Lord Admiral. Very shortly after the general institution of the vice-admirals the perquisites were shared with the Lord Admiral, and they had to give bond to render their accounts half-yearly. This duty was often ignored, and about 1553 ordinances were drawn up by which they were to regulate their conduct and that of their subordinate officers.[6] The post was usually held by country gentlemen for whom it was a source of dignity and profit; in Suffolk, as elsewhere, all the best-known county names appear in the lists. Norfolk and Suffolk were not divided into separate vice-admiralties until late in the reign of Elizabeth, and until the separation the office was almost an appanage of the Wodehouse and Southwell families.

[1] *Acts of P. C.* 12 May, 1545. [2] Cott. MSS. Nero C. x. [3] *Ante*, p. 202.

[4] The patents of appointment were from the Lord Admiral, sometimes for life and sometimes during pleasure.

[5] Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. Ser. II, 224. I am indebted to Mr. R. G. Marsden, to whose learned researches the history of the evolution of the office of vice-admiral is mainly due, for bringing Gonson's appointment to my notice. Mr. Marsden has also given generous help in the legal and local history of the coast.

[6] Admir. Ct. Inq. i.

In 1547 the total cost of the Essex fortifications, in which Landguard was always included, was nearly £800 a year.[1] In 1551 the Privy Council decided that there was 'a number of bulwarks and other fortresses upon the sea coast and otherwheres within this realm which stood the king's majesty in very great charges and in no service at all nor could serve at any time to any purpose;'[2] therefore it was resolved to disestablish some and reduce others. In pursuance of this resolution Landguard was partially or entirely dismantled in June, 1553, and the ordnance sent up to the Tower.[3] The end of the Henry VIII defences may perhaps be read in the confession of John Jenyns before the Privy Council that he 'pulled down two bulwarks at Langer in Suffolk side beside Harwich.'[4] Dr. Lingard thought that the disarmament of the coast forts was only a device of Northumberland's to supply himself with guns and other necessaries for the dynastic revolution he was plotting. In July, 1553, the duke's fleet watched at Orwell Haven and along the coast to prevent Mary's escape, had that course entered her mind. The county was not called upon for much service during the queen's reign, but in 1557 we were once more at war with France and Scotland. Sir John Clere was in command of a squadron in the North Sea, but as it was doubted whether he was strong enough to protect the Iceland fishing fleet a reinforcement of armed merchantmen was ordered for him, for which Ipswich, Lowestoft, and Aldeburgh had each to provide one vessel, and Dunwich and Southwold together, one.[5] With the Lord Admiral, in the Channel, were two small Lowestoft vessels as tenders.

The reign of Mary sent many of the outlawed and discontented to the refuge of the sea, and the more or less continuous warfare existing in western Europe during the reign of Elizabeth tempted many such men to continue their vocation. Therefore the plague of piracy, and its first cousin privateering, was virulent during the latter reign, although a number of cases which the sufferers called piracy were really seizures of enemy's goods in neutral ships, and were justly questions for the judge of the Admiralty Court. The east coast was less guilty than the south in supporting pirates and purchasing their plunder; it also suffered less from their depredations, but it was by no means free from either class of circumstance. The peace of 1564 and the protests of neighbouring powers forced Elizabeth to take more energetic action, and a circular letter to the vice-admirals of counties called their attention to the suggestive fact that although many pirates had been taken not one had been executed.[6] In August, 1565, a letter was addressed to the vice-admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk, exhorting him to increased vigilance and to search the villages on the coast for goods recently landed.[7] In November of the same year commissioners were nominated for each county with large powers, and they were to appoint deputies at every creek and landing place.[8] As the pirates had friends, agents, partners, and informants in nearly every port the proceedings of the commissioners were not of much avail; as an example, we find Robert Arnold of Walberswick ordered to appear before the duke of Norfolk, at Kenninghall, for using abusive language about them,[9] and there were no doubt many others who thought like Arnold but escaped punishment. The business became further complicated when the prince of Orange issued letters of marque, many of which were taken out by Englishmen, and many of his ships had Englishmen on board. The Orange privateers were an element of *la haute politique*, and Elizabeth did not hold it advisable entirely to crush them even if it had been in her power to do so. Subsequently the Spanish Netherlands followed the precedent of the Dutch and sent out privateers, the beginning of the affliction of 'Dunkirkers,' which plagued the coast for more than a century, while Englishmen also obtained letters of marque from the Huguenot leaders in France. Pirates and privateersmen used the English ports, secretly or openly, with an almost complete indifference to the commissioners; in 1569 Martin Frobisher, the famous seaman, was arrested for a prize brought in to Aldeburgh and sent to the Marshalsea prison.[10] Frobisher's light-hearted proceedings at sea, which were often nearly or wholly piratical, several times brought him under arrest, and in this aspect he presents himself in connexion with more than one of the counties, but he always escaped unscathed.

In the spring of 1577 there was an especial outburst of piratical energy on the east coast, from which Norfolk and Suffolk suffered severely, and the queen ordered ships to be sent to protect the coasting trade.[11] In September new commissioners were appointed and still more stringent methods

[1] S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, i, 22.
[2] *Acts of P.C.* 26 Feb. 1550–1.
[3] Ibid. 11 June, 1553; S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, Add. iv, 45.
[4] *Acts of P.C.* 4 June, 1558. Jenyns seems to have had a legal claim of some kind (ibid. 29 April).
[5] S.P. Dom. Mary xi, 38; *Acts of P.C.* 13 July, 1557.
[6] *Acts of P.C.* 23 Dec. 1564.
[7] Ibid. vii, 244.
[8] Ibid. 8 Nov. 1565; S.P. Dom. Eliz. xxxvii, 71, i. The commissioners for Suffolk were Sir Owen Hopton, Sir Robert Wingfield, Edward Grimston, and John Blennerhassett. The state paper gives a full list of the ports, creeks, and landing places of the county; the ports were Gorleston, Lowestoft, Easton, Southwold, Walberswick, Dunwich, Aldeburgh, Orford, and Ipswich. In 1597 the Lowestoft men objected that the place was not a port nor a member of any port (see *post*, p. 223).
[9] *Acts of P.C.* 11 Dec. 1565.
[10] R. G. Marsden, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxi, 538 et. seq.
[11] Cecil MSS. 11 May, 1577.

of repression adopted ;[1] the aiders and abettors ashore were now to be prosecuted and fined, and the fines were to go towards recouping the victims ; the takers of pirates were to have a proportion of the goods found on board, and commissions were to be granted to private persons to send out ships pirate-hunting.[2] The commissioners set to work energetically, and soon succeeded in finding misdemeanants in Suffolk. Within a month a number of Aldeburgh burgesses, who, surprised at the new departure, at first 'utterly refused' to pay, were fined for dealing with pirates ; they subsequently thought better of it and offered what they considered 'reasonable' compositions.[3] By December the commissioners had compiled a long list of receivers all over the county ; among the offenders, as an actual pirate, was John Flicke of Woodbridge, probably a relative of Robert Flicke, well known in naval history as a commander in the queen's fleets.[4] In another list Flicke appears as paying £3, with sixteen other delinquents, fined from £3 to £45,[5] and one list of Suffolk fines for 1577 amounts to £182 from fifty-nine persons, of whom thirteen lived at Ipswich.[6] Probably matters had not become worse in 1578, but the commissioners had found out more, and in March forwarded another catalogue of forty-four receivers, many of whom were apparently well-to-do people.[7]

In 1579 Aldeburgh was searched, with the result that an inventory of pirates' plunder found in the houses was sent up to the Council.[8] The accused were sometimes recalcitrant ; in January of this year two burgesses of Southwold and one of Dunwich refused to pay the fines charged on them, and, in consequence, were sent for to London and 'ordered to attend here upon their lordships until discharged.'[9] Obviously this might be made a more expensive punishment than the original fine. There is incidental evidence that the abettors and protectors of Elizabethan pirates were sometimes of much higher social standing than the persons who merely looked to a profit in buying their booty. We get a hint of one such case in the same year when five gentlemen, living near Woodbridge, were ordered to appear before the Privy Council to answer an accusation that Anthony Newport, a notorious pirate, had escaped apprehension by their connivance.[10] By an Order in Council of 16 December, 1582, jurisdiction in matters of piracy was suspended for three years in those towns possessing Admiralty rights in order to avoid the conflict of authority which occurred with the piracy commissioners in such places. This measure can hardly have had much effect, for in 1586 pirates were resorting quite openly to Gorleston, which was in the Yarmouth jurisdiction, to revictual.[11] It seems that when abroad the pirate or privateer was, as might be expected, even less burdened with ethical scruples than when in English waters. About 1593 Edward Glemham, who belonged to a Suffolk family, was cruising in the Mediterranean, and actually 'pawned'[12] several of his crew at Algiers in exchange for provisions. They were still in slavery when the matter came before the Council in 1600 ; Glemham was dead and had left little property, so that the queen authorized the Lord Mayor and the Trinity House to collect money for the redemption of the men.

The bounty system inaugurated by Henry VII, by which an occasional tonnage allowance was made to the builders of new ships suitable for service in war, had, under Elizabeth, settled into a grant of 5*s.* a ton on all vessels of 100 tons and upwards. The expansion of trade and the attraction of privateering stimulated shipbuilding everywhere, while the bounty conduced to an increase of size in new vessels. For a time Ipswich, which by reason of the plentiful supply of timber in the neighbourhood, became the shipyard of London, prospered exceedingly by the demand. Besides the stimulus of war there were economic reasons for a revival of the shipping trade under Elizabeth, but during the middle of the century there appears to have been a decline of commerce with a consequent decrease of shipping. A paper, probably belonging to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, enumerates a long list of vessels 'decayed' since 1544 ; during the period reviewed Ipswich and Harwich had lost the use of five ships of 600 tons, Walberswick one of 140, and Aldeburgh one of 200 tons.[13]

The part that Suffolk took in the Spanish war was the supply of men, ships, and money. On the south coast there were recurrent panics of imminent invasion, but Suffolk did not feel the actual

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxv, 32. For Suffolk : Lords Wentworth and North, Sir Robt. Wingfield, Sir Wm. Waldegrave, Nicholas Bacon, Robert Jermyn, Edw. Grimston, and others, including the bailiffs and recorder of Ipswich.

[2] Add. MSS. 34150, fols. 61, 64. In 1559 the judge of the Admiralty Court held that all goods must be restored to the owners (S.P. Dom. Eliz. vi, 19) ; therefore this must refer to property belonging to the pirates or unclaimed. There had been some doubt whether accessories ashore could legally be prosecuted (*Acts of P.C.* 6 June, 1577).

[3] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxv, 49.

[4] Ibid. cxix, 6, 13, i.

[5] Add. MSS. 12505, fol. 333.

[6] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxxxv, fol. 15.

[7] Ibid. cxxiii, 3.

[8] Ibid. cxxxi, 38.

[9] *Acts of P.C.* 16 Jan. 1578–9.

[10] Ibid. 26 April, 1579.

[11] Ibid. 26 Sept. 1586.

[12] Ibid. 10 Mar. 1599–1600. Adjudications upon several of Glemham's captures exist among the Admiralty Court papers.

[13] S.P. Dom. Mary, i, 23.

effect of war until the military strength of Spain was destroyed, and privateering, the last expedient of the defeated, taken up with vigour. When that happened the eastern counties, flanked by the privateering nests of Sluys, Dunkirk, and Newport, experienced the fullest effects. For nearly forty years, however, the resources of Suffolk were devoted to the increase of the national fleets and armies, and we have better means of estimating what those resources were in the way of shipping than for any earlier period. From at least the reign of John it had been usual to call upon the officials of the ports for returns of the ships and men available for service; most of the earlier ones are lost, but several, complete or fragmentary, remain for the Elizabethan period. Usually the details only deal with vessels of 100 tons and upwards, as smaller ones were not considered useful for fighting purposes. War with France and Scotland existed in 1560, which was the cause of the first Elizabethan list of March of that year.[1] The return for Suffolk gave 415 'mariners and sailors,' and but four vessels of 100 tons and upwards, two belonging to Walberswick and two to Southwold, the largest being of 140 tons. The number of seamen—the distinction between mariners and sailors is obscure and unnecessary to discuss here—is evidently only that of those ashore at the date of inquiry, and the list of ships is obviously incomplete since Ipswich is not included. The next report, made in January, 1565–6,[2] gives a total of 1,161 masters, mariners, and fishermen, 68 ships, and 436 crayers and boats. In men Southwold leads the county with 174 mariners and fishermen, Dunwich is next with 166, Aldeburgh follows with 155, and Walberswick is fourth with 122 men. Ipswich had only 18 masters and 66 men; but Lowestoft, from Kirkley to Corton, 115 men. These figures are only general, because the coast on each side of a town was included in its return. Of ships of 100 tons and upwards Ipswich possessed three, Walberswick two, and Dunwich, Southwold, and Lowestoft each one, the largest of 140 tons, belonging to Southwold. Aldeburgh, including Thorpe, had the largest number—89—of fishing boats, and the district from Southwold to Easton followed with 84.

In July, 1570, a general embargo was ordered, and at the moment it was found that in Norfolk and Suffolk there were 1,660 men at sea and 600 at home;[3] another list of the same date enumerates 1,156 Suffolk seamen with their places of residence.[4] By far the highest number—320 masters and men—lived at Aldeburgh, Southwold was second with 192, and Dunwich third with 108. In 1572 Thomas Colshill, surveyor of customs at London, compiled a register of coasting traders belonging to the ports.[5] The Suffolk section may be thus arranged :—

	100 tons and upwards	From 50 to 100 tons	From 20 to 50 tons	20 tons and under		100 tons and upwards	From 50 to 100 tons	From 20 to 50 tons	20 tons and under
Ipswich	5	12	10	11	Southwold . . .	1	2	4	10
Woodbridge . . .	2	—	4	8	Walberswick. . .	—	2	3	13
Aldeburgh. . . .	1	8	13	12	Gorleston . . .	—	—	—	1
Orford	—	1	1	1	Lowestoft . . .	—	1	7	8
Dunwich	—	1	3	2					

In 1576 there was a list drawn up of ships of over 100 tons built since 1571, in which Southwold appears with one of 170 tons, Ipswich with one of 160 and two of 120, Aldeburgh with two of 140 and 150, and Orwell with one of 150 tons.[6] A year later there is another list of men and 'ships, barks, and hoys,' but probably only of those at home at the time[7]: —Ipswich, six ships and 190 men; Woodbridge, six and 180 men; Orford, five and 25 men; Aldeburgh, fifty-four and 120 men; Dunwich, fourteen and 80 men; Walberswick, four and 60 men; Southwold, twenty and 100 men; Pakefield and Kirkley, four and 46 men; and Lowestoft, four and 60 men. The next full return is of ships of 100 tons and upwards.[8] In this Harwich and Ipswich are coupled with eleven vessels of 1,230 tons, of which the largest was 150 tons; Bawdsey and Woodbridge possessed one of 100 tons; Orford and Aldeburgh, nine of 1,110 tons, of which the largest was 140 tons; and Walberswick or Southwold, one of 100 tons. References occur in the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors which show that shipbuilding was proceeding apace, and the next list of 1582[9] supports the information they gave Philip II. Fifteen ships of 100 tons or more, including two of 200 tons, were owned at Aldeburgh, eight at Ipswich, two at Southwold, and one at Orford. Of craft between 80 and 100 tons Ipswich had six, Aldeburgh, four; and Southwold and Lowestoft, each two. Of under 80 tons there were 60 vessels in the county,

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xi, 27.
[2] Ibid. xxxix, 17.
[3] Ibid. lxxiii, 48.
[4] Ibid. 15.
[5] Ibid. Add. xxii. He excluded fishing craft.
[6] Ibid. cvii, 68. Harwich occurs independently.
[7] Ibid. cxx, 1.
[8] Ibid. xcvi, fol. 267; 6 Feb. 1576–7.
[9] Ibid. clvi, 45.

Dunwich and Southwold each possessing ten and Ipswich twelve. The number of men available was 98 masters and 1,184 sailors. A paper of uncertain date, but of about 1590,[1] gives Aldeburgh twenty-four fishing boats of 20 tons each, of which sixteen were new within eight years; Walberswick and Dunwich seven each, whereof four and five respectively were new; Southwold three and Lowestoft, two. All these were of 20 and 25 tons, and there were many smaller ones as well. The system of registration must have rendered it difficult for the men to escape the Navy net when they were required to serve. Thus on 7 March, 1589–90 the deputy-lieutenants, vice-admirals, and justices in all the counties were ordered to register the ages, names, and dwelling places of all seamen, fishermen, and gunners between sixteen and sixty years of age before 25 March ensuing, while the officers of the ports were to send similar returns of those absent at sea. On 28 April the deputy-lieutenants and the vice-admirals of Suffolk were thanked for their diligence in carrying out the order; 800 men remained impressed, 400 from Gorleston to Dunwich, and 400 from Dunwich to Ipswich, and of these 310 were to be allowed to go fishing and to Iceland. It is to be presumed that for the rest the original order remained in force; that is that they were not, on pain of death, to leave their districts.

The shipping in these lists owned at Ipswich is not remarkable for extent, but the real prosperity of the town was based on the considerable building trade, which is noticeable during this and the succeeding reigns. It was probably no new thing,[2] but it certainly increased greatly under the favourable economic conditions which followed 1588. We obtain some guide to the number of ships on which the five-shilling bounty was paid, by the orders for payment, or allowance on the customs, among the 'Exchequer Warrants for Issues'; but there is no doubt that many, if not most, of these warrants are lost. During the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign Woodbridge ran Ipswich closely; in 1566 the bounty was paid on two Woodbridge-built ships, and on another in 1568, while Ipswich also launched three between 1560 and 1570. It is, however, possible that those constructed at Woodbridge were really the work of Ipswich builders. In 1571 we meet with the first indication in these papers of shipbuilding to the order of London owners, when the *Julian* of 120 tons and the *Minion* of 250 tons were constructed for Olyff Burre, a Southwark coppersmith, who was a large owner of merchantmen and privateers. In 1572 Burre built another 150-ton vessel in the Orwell, and in 1575 two more were launched, but the owners' names are not given. The Ipswich reputation must have steadily improved, and the town reaped the full benefit of the demand for ships towards the end of the reign. In 1595 three were launched for London owners, and in 1596 five more.[3] In 1598 the *Matthew* of 320, in 1599 the *Elbing Bonaventure* of 300, and in 1603 the *Providence* of 300 tons were paid for by the warrants. Other Suffolk ports had some share of the building trade. In 1595 the *Cherubim* of 240 tons came from Orford; Aldeburgh, too, built some vessels, five, belonging to Alexander and William Bence, earning the bounty in 1596. Several generations of the Bence family produced shipowners and shipmasters.

John Wylkinson is the only Ipswich builder named in the warrants; another, mentioned in 1572, is Robert Cole, who had liberty to build at the Old Quay on payment of twopence a ton to the town.[4] A third, William Wright, asked compensation in or about 1590 for a ship sunk by order of Drake in 1589, and in his petition deposed that since 1563 he had built twenty-six ships, all of 100 tons or more, besides many smaller vessels.[5] The town must have maintained a thriving business during the reign of James I, although there are only occasional allusions to its chief industry. In 1614 an author, writing about the fishery, pointed out that Ipswich was the best place in which to build fishing 'busses' to compete with the Dutch, because there were more shipwrights there than in any other six towns in England;[6] it was already famous for its cordage, and was supplying canvas for the Navy in 1587.[7] In 1618 the committee of the East India Company conferred with Browning of Ipswich about a ship of 500 or 600 tons for the eastern trade, and in February completed the contract.[8] In 1619 the company again employed Browning,[9] who seems to have had a yard also at Woodbridge, where probably his larger ships were built. The strength and influence of the Ipswich shipbuilding interest is shown by the fact that, in 1621, the report that the Ipswich men intended to promote a Bill for the dissolution of the London Shipwrights' Company caused the representatives of that company to implore the protection of a secretary of state.[10] At Walberswick a series of shipbuilders, extending for over a century, are referred to:—Thomas Pryme in 1587, William Crispe in 1634, Robert Boulton, senior, in 1641, and John Cowling in 1687.[11]

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxxxv, 37.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 203, 211.

[3] It should be understood that these dates are those of the payments of the bounty; the ships may have been built long before, but there is no way of ascertaining the exact year.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 254.

[5] Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. 986, No. 70.

[6] T. Gentleman, *England's Way to Win Wealth*, 1614. Gentleman himself was a shipowner, and received the bounty on a 200-ton ship in 1600 (S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxiv).

[7] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxviii, 25.

[8] S. P. Col. 16 Jan. 1617–18.

[9] Ibid. 25 May, 1619; 26 Nov. 1621.

[10] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. i, 111.

[11] Gardner, *Hist. Acct. of Dunwich*, 164.

In 1626 a petition for payment of money owing by the Crown stated that for the past thirty years twelve ships a year had been built at Ipswich, but that 'that trade is now stopped.'[1] Probably this assertion was not literally true, and the situation marked a check rather than a decline. In 1634 Sir Richard Brooke applied for permission to build a quay and dry dock at Downham Bridge, or Reach, as the cheapness of timber in Suffolk made shipbuilding, he said, easy and profitable; he enclosed a certificate from some shipmasters testifying that Downham was a suitable place, and that the great increase of the Ipswich building trade rendered additional dock and quay accommodation necessary.[2] There is other striking evidence of the volume of the shipbuilding industry at Ipswich about this time. A list exists of some 380 ships, built mostly for London owners between 1625 and 1638, the certificate of building being necessary to obtain a licence for ordnance.[3] Of these fifty-nine were built at Ipswich for owners, in one or two instances, as far apart as Newcastle and Sandwich; the builders were Zephonias and Saphire Ford, Robert and Jeremiah Cole, Henry Leaver, and Thomas Wright. Other Suffolk towns shared for a time in the good fortune born of Suffolk oak. Fourteen ships came from Aldeburgh during the same years, and eleven from Woodbridge. The builders belonging to the former town were Henry Dancke, Mathew Friggott, and Benjamin Hooker; to the latter Thomas Browning and William Cary. The largest vessel of all, the *Levant Merchant* of 400 tons, was launched at Woodbridge.

From this period the especial production of ships of the ocean-going class declined. Perhaps timber was becoming scarcer and dearer, and the extended establishment of the Thames yards commenced a dangerous competition. The demand for men-of-war caused by the wars of the Commonwealth brought a new form of the old industry into Suffolk, but it was very limited in extent and did not compensate for the loss of merchant ship construction which became more local. The severest individual blow to Ipswich building was dealt by a Suffolk family, the Johnsons of Aldeburgh. In the middle of the seventeenth century Henry Johnson founded the Blackwall Yard, now the Thames Ironworks Company; he not only pursued the business of shipbuilding on a very large scale, but his and his sons' success encouraged others to establish yards on the Thames, and Suffolk ceased to build for London. The Johnsons became important personages in relation to the Navy; a son, another Henry Johnson, was knighted on 6 March, 1679–80, when Charles II and the duke of York dined with him at the Blackwall Yard.

In 1542 a statute (33 Hen. VIII, c. 2) forbade any subject to buy fresh fish at sea or abroad except in Ireland, Iceland, Scotland, the Orkneys, and Newfoundland. Whether due to legislation or a general tendency of the age, the sea fisheries were pursued with a new energy in the sixteenth century and were henceforward carefully watched and nurtured. The success of the Newfoundland fishery from the western counties may have had some influence by encouraging the employment of capital in those nearer home. How keen the competition was becoming in home waters is shown by a French request about the end of September, 1543, for a safe-conduct for nearly 1,000 boats. This could only have been for the herrings, which are due along the shores of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex in October, and if we remember also the presence of the Dutch the local fishermen may well have been pleased at Henry's refusal.[4] One of the articles of accusation against Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the Lord Admiral, was that he had extorted 'great sums of money' from the owners of the Iceland ships, which shows that the business was profitable enough to bear large expenses.[5] There was some decline under the unsettled conditions existing during the middle of the century. An undated paper of the reign of Edward VI[6] tells us that in 1528–9 there were 140 vessels sailing to Iceland,[7] but now—when the paper was written—only 43; and that, instead of 220 North Sea boats, there were only 80.[8] This falling off did not continue long; a petition of 1568 says that the Norfolk and Suffolk fisheries were a fifth greater than when the statute of 5 Eliz. to which the improvement was attributed, was passed, and probably the petitioners, asking for more, did not over-estimate the growth.[9] There is a general reference in 1580 to the Iceland fishery of Suffolk,[10] and in 1581 we have a Trinity House certificate of the increase of fishing boats since the last Parliament—that is of 1576.[11] Orford was the only place in the county which used more boats; Dunwich with 28, Aldeburgh with 25, Southwold with 8, and Walberswick with 6, were stationary. The year 1584 gives us a petition from John Beycombe of Southwold for himself and other fishermen from Shields to Brightlingsea, a claim which implies some sort of organization,

[1] S. P. Dom. Chas. I, xxxiv, 85, 86.
[2] Ibid. cclxv, 40. The Trinity House, to whom the petition was referred, approved (ibid. cclxvi, 59).
[3] Ibid. xvi, xvii.
[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pt. 2, 259. It was not unusual to agree not to molest fishermen in time of war. The number is that stated by Henry to the Emperor's ambassador and probably an exaggeration.
[5] *Acts of P. C.* 23 Feb. 1548–9.
[6] S. P. Dom. Add. Edw. VI, iv, 56.
[7] cf. *ante*, 211.
[8] Of course the 220 boats sailed from the whole coast, and not from any particular county.
[9] S. P. Dom. Eliz. xlviii, 83.
[10] *Acts of P. C.* 23 Feb. 1579–80.
[11] S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvii, 21. In fishing boats the crews were averaged at eight men and a boy to every twenty tons (ibid.).

complaining that they were mercilessly robbed by Scotch pirates, who were at that time lying in wait for the Iceland fleet of thirty sail.[1] The question of convoy protection clamoured for settlement during this reign seeing that Elizabeth would never do anything at the expense of the Crown if, by delay, she thought she could force her subjects to do it for themselves. In 1575 the Lord Admiral equipped ships for the protection of the east coast, and endeavoured to recoup himself by a rateable charge on those who benefited. From an objection to pay anything made by the Rye men, who sent boats round, we learn that he had done this at the request of Norfolk and Suffolk. In July, 1591, Yarmouth undertook to provide the convoy for a payment of eightpence in the pound (on the value of the fish) from the North Sea men and fourpence from the Icelandmen, but this arrangement did not last long.[2]

The behaviour of the Icelandmen gave rise in 1585 to complaints from the king of Denmark of their misconduct in his ports; he threatened to forbid them to fish, and the customs officers were directed to take bonds for their good behaviour.[3] The subject was again under discussion in 1599, when we find that the English claimed the right of free fishing and trading in Iceland under a treaty of 1490, conditional on the payment of customs and renewal of licences every seven years.[4] The exaction of the composition due to the queen gives us the list of Suffolk vessels sailing to Iceland in 1593.[5] Orford sent two ships, Aldeburgh four (one of the owners being Henry Johnson), Sizewell two, Walberswick two, Dunwich two, and Southwold four ships and twelve 'barks,' of which five belonged to John Gentleman, junior, and Thomas Gentleman. The development of the North Sea fisheries was checked by the ravages of the Dunkirkers towards the end of the reign,[6] and still more, thought Englishmen, by the competition of the Dutch after their truce with Spain. However, from the alarmist pamphlets written during the reign of James I, we gain some information as to the relative importance of the ports as fishing centres. Tobias Gentleman, writing in 1614,[7] describes Ipswich as possessing no fishermen, but many seafaring men; at Orford and Aldeburgh there were forty or fifty North Sea boats and ten or twelve Iceland ships, while Southwold, Dunwich, and Walberswick owned between them about fifty Iceland vessels and twenty North Sea boats. Kirkley and Lowestoft, he says, were 'decayed,' having only six or seven boats, and the Lowestoft people bought fish of the Dutch instead of working for themselves. The English fishermen were handicapped by several disadvantages, one being unskilfulness as compared with the Dutch, but an especial hindrance was the unsatisfactory condition of some of the towns and harbours. Dunwich, he remarks, is 'now almost ruined;' the entrance of Southwold Haven, although the whole trade of the town depended on the Iceland fishery, was so often closed that it frequently happened that the vessels could not get in or out at the proper time. In 1619 a petition relating to Dunwich, Southwold, and Walberswick states that the conjoint value of their fishery had been £20,000 a year.[8]

The evidence concerning these ports is usually contradictory, but some of them evidently possessed a foreign as well as a local trade. The question arose in 1585 whether Aldeburgh or Orford was most suitable for a custom house, and while there were only two Orford owners trading abroad the witnesses deposed to a much greater Aldeburgh trade.[9] One witness said that there were 40 ships and 140 fishing boats belonging to the town, and the lowest estimate was 14 or 15 ships and 100 fishing boats, while nine or ten of the owners traded to Italy and Spain, no doubt with salted fish. A pamphleteer of 1615[10] writes that Aldeburgh formerly had 30 or 40 vessels, of an average of 200 tons, working all the year round in carrying coal from Newcastle to France, and bringing back salt, but there is no hint of this trade nor of these ships in the details of the Exchequer Commission. The Chamberlain's Accounts of Aldeburgh for 1626–8 give the names of forty-eight vessels belonging to the port, but most of them are small ones.[11] A petition of 1628, asking for convoy on behalf of ten towns of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the Cinque Ports,[12] states that 160 Iceland ships and 230 North Sea boats were expected to sail, but of the Iceland vessels the larger portion must have belonged to Norfolk; in 1632 it was estimated that half the number of vessels going to Iceland sailed from Yarmouth.

A combination of fortunate circumstances brought Devon to the front during Elizabeth's reign, but although the eastern counties produced no remarkable leader, they gave the Navy a breed of men strong, steady, and true, fine fighters and fine seamen, who could be relied upon either to command or to serve. Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk was a circumnavigator of renown, but he only copied Drake. The real strength of the east coast men lay in their North Sea training. A contemporary writer said well that 'wet and cold cannot make them shrink nor strain whom the

[1] S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxxii, 72.
[2] S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxxx, 26.
[3] Add. MSS. 34729, fol. 63.
[4] See *post*, 223.
[5] S. P. Dom. Jas. I, 23 Feb. 1618–19.
[6] *The Trade's Increase*, Lond. 1615.
[7] S. P. Dom. Chas. I, xc, 70.
[8] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 318.
[9] Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. xiv, fol. 26.
[10] *England's Way to Win Wealth*, Lond. 1614.
[11] Exch. Spec. Com. 2178.
[12] Redstone, *Ship-money Returns for Suffolk*.

North Sea hath dyed in grain'; the hard men, disciplined to coolness, resource, and endurance by the ceaseless struggle with their dangerous servant were as valuable a national asset as their descendants are to-day, and had no small share in winning that modern mastery of the sea for which the struggle commenced with Elizabeth.

Although several of the expeditions sailing to the north-east put into Orwell Haven, it was for the purpose of communicating with Harwich, and they cannot be said to have had anything to do with Suffolk. John Foxe of Woodbridge was a man of more than local reputation. He was gunner of a Mediterranean merchantman which was taken in 1563 by a Turkish ship.[1] He remained in slavery in Egypt until 1577, when, seeing his opportunity, he transfused some of his own wary courage into 266 fellow-prisoners, killed the guards, seized a galley, and, with 258 survivors, escaped to freedom.[2] He tells the story himself with some touches of cynical humour;[3] the pope rewarded him, Philip II gave him a warrant as a gunner in his service, and even Elizabeth was stirred to award him a pension of a shilling a day 'in consideration of the valiantnes done in Turkey.'[4] Robert Flicke was a Suffolk man favoured, as a commander, by the London merchants. He was commodore of the London squadron of eleven ships with Drake in 1587, and perhaps rear-admiral of the fleet. Flicke was probably a wealthy man, for he subscribed £1,000 towards Drake's 1589 voyage to Portugal, and in 1591 he was selected to command a squadron of six London merchantmen sent to reinforce Lord Thomas Howard at the Azores. William Parker of Woodbridge and Thomas and John Gentleman of Southwold are mentioned in 1582 among the masters of merchantmen available for service in the Navy. Edmund Barker of Ipswich was an officer of Lancaster's flagship in the East Indian voyage of 1591, of which he wrote an account,[5] and a monument in St. Clement's Church, Ipswich, tells us that Thomas Eldred of that town went round the world with Cavendish.

The spirit of the time worked in Suffolk as elsewhere. A letter was directed to the bailiff of Ipswich in 1573, as well as to other officials in the neighbourhood, informing them that the queen would not tolerate the assemblies of men intending to go to sea in armed ships; all preparations were to cease except for service in Ireland.[6] The coast defences were neglected during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign; but the Ridolfi conspiracy of 1571, when there was some idea of landing troops from the Low Countries at Harwich or Landguard, drew fresh attention to the port and it was inspected, but nothing else was done. In June, 1578, Lord Darcy was directed to examine the defective fort 'beside Harwich,' which may mean Landguard, and in January, 1579–80, when the political outlook became very threatening, another survey was ordered. At the same time Sir Robert Wingfield was told to go to Aldeburgh, Dunwich, Southwold, and Lowestoft, where such guns as remained lay dismounted and useless, and persuade the burgesses to replace them at their own expense; Aldeburgh, at least, was bound to do this by an agreement of 1569.[7] Later in the year the justices of the county were directed to put the ordnance of the four towns in condition for service.[8] Consideration was also given to the state of Harwich harbour, which was deteriorating from several causes, one being the existence of a breach in Landguard through which the tide was washing shingle from the north and east. The Ipswich people were considered responsible, but answered that the breach was not within their liberties but within the freeholds of Mr. Fanshawe and others. A commission of inquiry issued in 1582 to report on the harbour,[9] and the consequent regulations ordered the bailiffs of Ipswich to repair the breach. Fanshawe denied responsibility, and added that Landguard had only been used for drying fish within the last forty or fifty years.[10] The deterioration and shoaling had probably been progressing for many years, for a commission of 1565[11] found that Ipswich, then, was 'not so much frequented as heretofore,' the reason being that nothing of more than 60 tons could come above Downham Bridge. The effect of anything that stopped the scour of the tide at the mouth would be felt even in the upper reaches of the river.

The war with Spain caused some thought to be given to the defenceless state of the coast, but the queen, as usual, tried to bargain with her subjects as to how much she and they should respectively accomplish. Wingfield's mission of 1580 had probably proved fruitless, and now he and others were 'to deal' with the towns to induce them to contribute towards the repair and mounting of guns belonging to the queen, which remained in an unserviceable state at Aldeburgh, Southwold, and Lowestoft.[12] As these are the same towns that Wingfield visited in 1580, and as he was to persuade the people 'to better consideration and not be obstinate,' it may be presumed that they had

[1] There is an order of 8 July, 1557, to the Lord Admiral to deliver again to John Foxe of Aldeburgh his ship, the *Mary Fortune*, recaptured from the French (S. P. Dom. Mary, xi, 23).

[2] Eight men died of hunger on board the galley.

[3] Hakluyt, *Voyages* (ed. 1888), xi, 9.

[4] Pat. 28 Jan. 1580.

[5] Hakluyt, *Voyages* (ed. 1888), xi, 272.

[6] *Acts of P.C.* 14 June, 1573.

[7] Ibid. 27 Jan. 1579–80.

[8] S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxxxvi, 11.

[9] See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'

[10] S. P. Dom. Eliz. clix, 19; clx, 8, 9.

[11] Exch. Spec. Com. 2124.

[12] *Acts of P.C.* 17 May, 1586.

proved obstinate in the former year. This time any who opposed him were to be reported to the Council. Apparently little or nothing was done, because eighteen months later, in December, 1587, when it was realized that the Armada was really coming, Captain Turnour was sent into Suffolk to survey the defences, and the Aldeburgh burgesses petitioning at the same time for fortifications were directed to consult with him.[1] The Council expressed the usual hope that the townsmen would bear the cost themselves. There is a report of December, 1587, perhaps by the deputy-lieutenants, on the military condition of Suffolk which shows that Landguard was quite defenceless.[2] The shore was sufficiently steep to enable an enemy 'without help or use of boats to leap on land out of their ships.' Once ashore it was a strong position for them, being cut off from the mainland at every flood tide by the 'fleets' under Walton Cliff. It was intended to throw up an earthen intrenchment with six guns. Orford was undefended, Dunwich and Walberswick were passed over as of little importance, and Aldeburgh was said to have guns, but no intrenchments wherein to place them. Mismer Haven is discussed at some length as 'apt for the enemy to land in,' and it appeared that the remains of former intrenchments there only required repair and re-arming. Southwold was unprotected and marked for an 8-gun battery; Lowestoft possessed two guns, and batteries were designed to occupy the same relative position as those of Henry VIII. A parapet was proposed along the top of the cliff between Lowestoft and Gorleston, with a sconce at Gorleston.

In January, 1588, the deputy-lieutenants and Turnour sent in another report, substantially the same as that of December.[3] Landguard and Lowestoft were the weakest points; Aldeburgh, 'being now a town rich in shipping and otherwise,' required a fort for which the burgesses would contribute. They concluded, in a striking passage, by saying that the people

> from the best to the meanest are ready, according to their own most bounden duties, to bestow their lives in this service for God, her Majesty, and country. And if these necessary defences and succours may be had we shall no doubt fight with the better courage; if not, we shall yet, notwithstanding, do the duties of loyal and truehearted subjects but with greater hazard.

With this may be paired the spirit of the 4,000 Essex men who marched into Tilbury in July, 1588, with empty stomachs and found nothing to eat, but said 'they would abide more hunger than this to serve her majesty and the country.' The Chamberlain's Accounts of Ipswich show that an earthwork was in progress at Landguard in September, 1588; the corporation of Lowestoft built a bulwark in the same year at a cost of £80, for which Elizabeth sent six guns.[4] At Aldeburgh three batteries, carrying twenty guns, were erected.[5]

The experience of 1587, and of later years, showed that the brunt of the fighting had always to be borne by men-of-war, and that armed merchantmen were at best useful only for secondary operations. This, however, was understood in 1588 only by a few seamen; therefore in that year the whole of the English coast was called upon to help, not by a general impressment but by sending a specified number of ships to join the royal fleet. On 31 March, 1588, a general embargo on shipping was proclaimed, the object being not so much to retain the vessels as the men. This was followed the next day by orders to the port towns to furnish ships at their own expense, all to be of more than 60 tons.[6] Ipswich and Harwich were linked for two ships and a pinnace; Orford, Dunwich, and Aldeburgh for one ship; and Lowestoft, with Yarmouth, for a ship and a pinnace. Both now, and on subsequent occasions, many of the ports sought excuses in their poverty either to obtain a reduction in the demand made upon them or to have the county and neighbouring towns joined with them towards the charges. As far as Ipswich and Harwich were concerned, the original order had been changed to three hoys, and on 12 April the bailiffs of Ipswich, who usually constituted themselves the spokesmen for the two towns, expatiated to Walsingham on the difficulties encountered.[7] There had been an auxiliary order that most of the cost should be borne by those who had made profits by reprisals, but the persons liable were all ready to swear that they were losers by their ventures. A week later they wrote again to Walsingham and named one Ralph Morrys, a gentleman of the town, who obstinately refused to pay anything.[8] On 19 April an Order in Council directed that all the places within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of Ipswich were to contribute towards the Ipswich and Harwich ships.

Lowestoft protested that it was very poor, and that many of the wealthiest inhabitants refused to pay, while some had left the town rather than do so. The Council ordered Pakefield, Kirkley, Kessingland, Covehithe, Corton, Gorleston, and South Yarmouth, to assist, recommended the bailiffs to chase the refugee townsmen, and told them to send to London all who continued to refuse payment.[9] Then Aldeburgh followed; the authorities complained that although their ship

[1] *Acts of P.C.* 26 Dec. 1587.
[2] S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccvi, 32.
[3] Ibid. ccviii, 23.
[4] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 415.
[5] Add. MSS. 22249, fol. 53.
[6] *Acts of P. C.* 31 March, 1 April, 1588.
[7] S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccix, 88; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 255.
[8] S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccix, 100.
[9] *Acts of P. C.* 19 May, 1588.

was already in commission, at a preliminary outlay of £590, they had not been able to obtain more than £40 from Orford, Dunwich, Southwold, Walberswick, and Woodbridge, the places appointed to help them.[1] The Privy Council answered that the towns ought to contribute at the rates to which they were assessed for the subsidies, and that those who persisted in not paying were to be sent up to them. These difficulties were not peculiar to Suffolk; they occurred nearly everywhere, but they throw a cold sidelight on the enthusiasm for battle which most historians and all poets describe as inspiring England in 1588. The truth is that, while the ports were no less patriotic than the shires, the demand for ships now bore on them with an unfair severity for several reasons, and as open refusal was as yet impossible evasion or cavils were their only resource.

Of the three vessels assessed on Ipswich and Harwich the first town sent two, the *William*, 140 tons, Captain Barnaby Lowe, and the *Katherine*, 125 tons, Captain Thomas Grymble; Aldeburgh sent the *Marygold*, 150 tons, Captain Francis Johnson, and Lowestoft the *Mathew*, 35 tons, Captain Richard Mitchell. The *Marygold* was dismissed for want of provisions, on 13 June, and the *Mathew*, contemptuously, on the same date as not worth keeping.[2] Three other Aldeburgh vessels, and a 90-ton Lowestoft bark, the *Elizabeth*, joined the fleet as volunteers in the queen's pay, presumably in the hope of picking up some plunder. The *Elizabeth* was one of the vessels used as fireships on the night of 28–29 July, the crucial moment of the campaign.[3] All the Suffolk ships were attached to Lord Henry Seymour's division, watching the Flemish ports, which joined the main fleet off Calais on 27 July, and they were no doubt in the subsequent battle off Gravelines, but, like the rest of the merchantmen, did no useful service. On 1 August, Seymour's division anchored in the Rolling Grounds, where the Lord Admiral, Howard, also arrived on the 7th, after chasing the Armada past the Firth of Forth.

After the Armada crisis many of the corporations and counties showed no desire to liquidate the liabilities incurred, but only a ready ingenuity in finding reasons why the responsibility should be shifted to their neighbours' shoulders. In most cases the ships had been sent to sea before the money for their equipment was collected, the credit of the town or district being pledged to some of the more wealthy inhabitants for the necessary advance of money. In the case of Ipswich and Harwich the vessels were with Seymour in May, while the Ipswich bailiffs were making the before-noticed complaints to Walsingham, and that this was done was owing to two burgesses of Ipswich, John Tye and John Barber, to whom the *William* and the *Katherine* belonged.[4] In December, 1588, the Council were informed by the Ipswich authorities, speaking for Harwich as well as for themselves, that they had levied four whole subsidies and had borrowed money, but yet had £500 more to pay which they were unable to find, especially as some of the places formerly directed to assist them had been excused by the Council and others made their own excuses.[5] The Council directed that the hundreds adjoining the coast were to make up the deficiency. This plan does not seem to have been successful for, in the following January, Tye and Barber themselves addressed the Council, saying that, notwithstanding these orders, they could not get paid.

In 1589 Norreys and Drake led a fleet and army to Portugal to place Don Antonio, the pretender to the crown, on the throne and thus dismember the Spanish empire and end the war. Although the queen gave assistance the expedition was a private adventure on the part of the leaders and their associates; consequently the ports were not called upon for ships, but upwards of eighty were hired on the usual terms of two shillings a ton per month. The port of origin of many of the ships is not given, but at least seven were from Suffolk, including both the *William* and the *Katherine*, commissioned in the previous year. The failure of this enterprise deterred Elizabeth from further undertakings on a large scale until 1596, when the attack on Cadiz took place. The first sign of preparation was on 14 December, 1595, when the county was required to find provisions. A week later, on 21 December,[6] a circular letter asked for two ships, manned, armed, and victualled at local charge for five months. By this time the unfairness of placing the whole charge on the ports was recognized, and of the £1,800 the vessels were expected to cost the Council expected half to be raised on the coast and the other half from the county.[7] The original assessment was intended to be £3,000, therefore the Council had cut down the cost considerably in response to protests, and they further decided that no person should be charged who was not rated at a certain amount of subsidy.[8] Eventually the *Costly* and the *James*, each of 200 tons and twenty guns, and both Ipswich ships, sailed with the fleet as transports at a cost of £1,896, but the troubles of the Suffolk authorities were by no means over. Many people refused to pay and, in November, 1596, three burgesses of Woodbridge appeared before the Council to answer for their contumacy. It had not been uncommon for occasional cases of recalcitrancy to occur in the ports, but a more dangerous spirit is indicated when persons of the position of Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Robert Jermyn were 'giving particular advice contrary to our direction aggravating the matter' against the Privy Council, who had written

[1] *Acts of P. C.* 28 May, 1588.
[2] S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccxii, 34, i.
[3] Ibid. ccxvi, 74. The owner was Thomas Meldrum.
[4] Ibid. ccxxii, 1.
[5] *Acts of P. C.* 17 Dec. 1588.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. xxv, 315.
[8] Ibid. 9 Feb. 1595–6.

seven times in vain to the county authorities.[1] Together with three burgesses of Ipswich Jermyn and Bacon were summoned before the Council. It may be that the revolt of the county magnates was a consequence of the new plan of assessing the whole county, and that they represented a considerable body of opinion. In April, 1597, £740 remained unpaid; in May four Lowestoft men, who apparently represented the town, were before the Council, and they boldly maintained that not only was the rating too high, but that Lowestoft was not a port nor a member of any port, and had always been assessed hitherto with inland towns to the county for military contributions. On the first point their arguments seem to have impressed the Council, for it was agreed to refer the question to commissioners and accept their decision.[2] In November we find the officers and men of the *James* and *Costly* petitioning that they were yet unpaid, at which the Council 'marvelled.'[3] In February, 1600, the Suffolk assessments were still uncollected; the Lord Chief Justice had been directed to confer with the local justices when he went on circuit, and he reported that they found 'the country so unwilling that there is small hope the said money could be gotten in unless there be some strict order taken.' The Council could only apply the usual stimulant of ordering the stubborn ones to appear in London.[4]

In 1596 some of the refractory inhabitants of the West Riding of Yorkshire had demanded to know by what authority these assessments were made. The temper shown there and elsewhere may have caused the government to be chary of making such claims without very real necessity. There were nearly 200 transports with the earl of Essex to the Azores in 1597, but they were all hired in the usual way, and there were no more forced levies from the counties during the reign of Elizabeth.

As piracy died down the scourge of Dunkirk privateering, which was little different, became more and more virulent, and it especially affected the east coast as the nearest cruising-ground to the Low Countries ports, and as offering a harvest of helpless coasters, colliers, and fishing boats. The Spanish government had always hesitated about issuing letters of marque, not for humanitarian reasons, but because there were so few seamen in Spain, and permission, several times given to its subjects, had been in each case speedily withdrawn. The governors of the Low Countries had no grounds for wavering, and as Dunkirk, Sluys, Nieuport, and Ostend fell into their hands they became privateer bases which inflicted terrible injury upon English commerce. As early as 1586 the Council recommended the people of Norfolk and Suffolk to subscribe among themselves to equip two vessels to protect the fishermen from the Dunkirkers who were then marauding among them;[5] the plague grew worse towards the end of Elizabeth's reign because the queen refused to go to the expense of cruising ships while there was any likelihood that a passive *non possumus* would compel her subjects to act for themselves. In 1596 six or seven Dunkirkers were blockading Harwich harbour, and nearly thirty traders had been taken.[6] The losses suffered, not only by Suffolk but also by other counties, caused debates in Parliament in 1601, when one member declared that, within his knowledge, Dunkirk alone began with two and now had twenty privateers at work. No assistance, however, was to be obtained from the government, therefore in 1602 the masters and men of Orford, Aldeburgh, Ipswich, Yarmouth, and the Essex ports expressed their willingness to subscribe five per cent. of their wages towards the expense of convoying.[7]

The accession of James I brought peace with Spain but piracy still continued on a smaller scale, and the contempt shown by the Dunkirkers in taking Dutch merchantmen in territorial waters caused them to be defined in 1605 as the portion contained within a straight line drawn from headland to headland.[8] But international definitions are of little value unless emphasized by battleships, and the outrages of the Flemings continued irrespective of proclamations when the Thirty Years' War commenced. Pure piracy was less prevalent but there was sufficient existing to make it necessary to issue a fresh commission of piracy, for all the counties, in 1608. When, in 1619, a national subscription was called for to restore the haven of Dunwich, Southwold, and Walberswick, one cause of the poverty of the towns was said to be losses by pirates.

When the war with Spain, of 1624, legalized the action of the Dunkirkers they fell with renewed activity on the east coast, which was quite defenceless. Orwell Haven was so open that in August, 1625, Secretary Coke thought that even a few of them would constitute a sufficiently strong force to destroy Harwich and then Ipswich;[9] in 1626 they were expected to attack the unfinished fort at Landguard.[10] In January, 1626, there were four cruisers on the station between Harwich and Yarmouth, but notwithstanding this protection the Aldeburgh men petitioned for ordnance because they were in daily fear of the Dunkirkers who had fired on the town.[11] A month later a privateer took a ship out of Southwold Roads, in sight of the place, driving the townsmen from

[1] *Acts of P. C.* 20, 30 March, 1597.
[2] Ibid. 17 April, 18 May, 28 Dec. 1597.
[3] Ibid. 6 Nov. 1597; S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclx, 111.
[4] Ibid. 9 March, 1599–1600.
[5] Ibid. 10 July, 1586.
[6] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cclix, 73.
[7] Ibid. Add. xxiv, 47.
[8] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, xiii, 11.
[9] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, iv, 77.
[10] Ibid. xviii, 96.
[11] Ibid. xix, 75, 120.

their guns by its fire.[1] As the Southwold authorities stated a few weeks afterwards that the town was unprotected these guns were the old and useless ones referred to later.[2] It was believed, no doubt with some exaggeration, that there was a whole fleet of Dunkirkers off the Suffolk coast. A certificate of 1628 specifies thirteen Aldeburgh ships, of the value of £6,800, lost between 1625 and 1627, of which four had been taken by Dunkirkers; 200 men had been drowned, leaving 300 widows and children.[3] In August, 1626, there were fifty-eight Ipswich ships lying in the Orwell and in Harwich harbour unable to sail for fear of capture, while the Iceland and North Sea fishermen had abandoned their voyages for the same reason. In consequence of a petition from Dunwich and its neighbours in December a convoy of four Newcastle ships, hired for the purpose, was ordered for the fishery in January, 1627,[4] but in March the Ipswich burgesses still reported the Orwell as blockaded and estimated their losses, from capture alone, during 1626 at £5,000.[5] In addition to this the hindrance to free ingress and exit was destroying their shipbuilding trade.[6] The Navy was not large enough to spare vessels in war time for convoy purposes, nor was the administration efficient enough to make the most of what resources were available, therefore in reply to a joint petition from Norfolk and Suffolk of 1628, hired ships were again ordered to be taken up. In this instance the government undertook to pay, but the petitioners were told that if the necessity recurred the ports would have to pay for themselves.[7] Peace with France and Spain brought some relief, but the Dunkirkers—which it should be understood was a generic name for all privateers—were not quelled, and the pause was only for a time until the vastly increased parliamentary Navy policed the four seas effectively.

The peaceful reign of James I gave little occasion for military or naval levies, therefore there are few references to the ports. But there is evidence that in spite of the ravages of the Dunkirkers[8] maritime commerce had steadily increased so far as London and other ports carrying on special trades were concerned. Mr. R. G. Marsden considers that there were upwards of 2,000 trading craft afloat;[9] this number is largely in excess of that existing in the palmiest days of Elizabeth. Mr. Marsden has compiled a list[10] of ships' names occurring in legal and historical documents of the reign of James, and also in various printed sources, in which 36 Aldeburgh vessels are mentioned, 76 of Ipswich, 12 of Orford, 9 of Southwold, 27 of Woodbridge, 2 of Walberswick, and 1 of Dunwich.[11] There must have been many others that sailed through an uneventful career without attracting the attention of the law, the Admiralty officials, or the customs. The tendency of ship tonnage was to increase, in itself a sign of growing trade and larger cargoes; in 1617 the bounty was paid on the *Griffin*, 318 tons of Orford, and the *Anne Bonaventure*, 372 of Ipswich. There was evidently money to spare for speculation because in March, 1611, the Ipswich corporation subscribed £100 'out of the town treasure' for the Virginia Settlement of the London Company.[12]

The profit from wreck and the latent jealousy of the crown anent privileges shorn from the prerogative were causes why the Admiralty rights of the towns were regarded with suspicion towards the end of the sixteenth century. In 1606 the opinion of Coke, the attorney-general, was taken on the jurisdiction exercised by Ipswich, but the claims of the Suffolk towns were more firmly based than were those of some in other counties and no legal proceedings followed. An inquisition of 1628 showed that the Lord Admiral only possessed rights of wreck between Leiston and Aldeburgh, all the rest of the coast being franchised to the corporations or to private persons. The time had passed when the exempted towns were places of refuge for maritime criminals, and the time was coming when preciser legislation more strictly administered was to make their pecuniary privileges of less value. During the eighteenth century the office of vice-admiral was an almost honorary one and the profits from wreck and accessory perquisites became less and less. Local jealousies, however, made these immunities seem of consequence as proofs of former importance, and in 1829 Dunwich and Southwold went to law over the question whether a puncheon of whiskey found floating at sea was within the jurisdiction of the one or the other. The victor, Dunwich, had to pay its own costs of upwards of £1,000. The absurdity of this case may have hastened legislation but there were also more serious grounds for action. The Municipal Corporation Commissioners found that the proceedings of the

[1] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, xxii, 46, i.

[2] *Post*, p. 226.

[3] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxxvi, 55; of these thirteen vessels two were of 350, two of 320, and two of 300 tons. One of the thirteen was a *Mayflower*, and this ship, Mr. Marsden informs me, was not improbably the famous vessel of the Pilgrim Fathers.

[4] Ibid. xlii, 102; xlvii, 23.

[5] Ibid. lvi, 66.

[6] Ibid. lviii, 14.

[7] Ibid. xc, 70; xci, 30, 45.

[8] They mainly haunted particular portions of the coast and large and well armed ships were able to protect themselves.

[9] *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* xix, 311, 'English Ships in the Reign of James I.'

[10] Ibid.

[11] Mr. Marsden informs me that the corresponding figures for the period 1509-47 are Aldeburgh 26, Ipswich 17, Lowestoft 15, Southwold 7, Walberswick 17, Woodbridge 12, Dunwich 10, Orford 2, and Thorpe, Sizewell, and Bawdsey 1 each.

[12] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 256.

Admiralty Court at Southwold were very irregular and were complained about by Lloyds, while in 1835 some of the inhabitants stated, in a petition to the House of Commons, that they were 'an intolerable nuisance.' Eventually all these jurisdictions, except that of the Cinque Ports, were abolished by 5 and 6 Will. IV, cap. 76. The Ipswich corporation held an Admiralty Court on the Andrews Shoal as late as 23 July, 1827.[1]

The first naval armament of moment during the reign of James I was that under Sir Robert Mansell intended to act against Algiers. The western ports were the greatest sufferers from the Mediterranean pirates, but the king thought that all the trading ports, as more or less interested, should bear most of the expense. A circular letter from the Privy Council in February, 1618-19, related that the Algerine and Tunisian pirates had taken 300 ships and many hundreds of men in a few years, but in reality the expedition was more immediately occasioned by European politics than by the sufferings of James's subjects.[2] Ipswich was required to find £150;[3] the other Suffolk ports were to assist Yarmouth, but the mayor complained that Woodbridge had not answered their application, while Lowestoft repudiated any liability and owned nothing but fishing boats. Aldeburgh, Southwold, and Walberswick flatly refused as not being members of Yarmouth, and Orford would only contribute if Aldeburgh did.[4] A month later the mayor wrote that Woodbridge was richer than Yarmouth and its members combined, but that it still refused any payment; the constable of Woodbridge deposed that he delivered the Yarmouth letter to Thomas Boughton, the chief shipowner there, who refused to show it to the townsmen.[5] The Ipswich corporation seems to have paid the assessment without trouble, but in September, 1621, further payments were requested as Mansell's fleet was staying in the Mediterranean (and doing nothing there) longer than had been expected. To this Ipswich and Harwich replied conjointly that they had already contributed more than they were justified in expending considering their losses at sea.[6]

The war with Spain caused preparations for the Cadiz fleet of 1625. It was made up of men-of-war and hired transports, the counties not being required to find any armed ships. The port of origin is not always given in the fleet list, but it contains eight Woodbridge and three Aldeburgh vessels;[7] from another source we learn that Ipswich sent twenty-four vessels, of which one, the *Robert*, Captain Edmond Curling, was lost with all hands.[8] A year later the owners of these ships had received nothing and were petitioning for payment; in 1627, and no doubt long afterwards, they were in the same plight. In 1626 Charles, on the brink of war with France, resolved to follow the precedents of Elizabeth's reign, and called upon the maritime shires for fifty-six ships to join the royal fleet. Harwich, Ipswich, and Woodbridge were associated for three vessels, each to be of 200 tons, and victualled and stored for three months.[9] All the towns immediately represented their poverty in urgent terms, and an offer of the county to bear one-third of the expense was refused.[10] In July the Council reduced the demand to two ships, but this also gave no satisfaction. In September the bailiffs and aldermen of Ipswich passed a formal resolution that they had met several times to consider the Council Order, and had made rates for a levy, but that 'the most part of the inhabitants of this town are not able to undergo the charge thereof, and likewise understanding from the coast towns that they are altogether disabled by reason of their many losses to contribute their proportions,' determined to send a bailiff to London to beg the Council to relieve Ipswich and Woodbridge.[11] Another paper, perhaps a little later in date, says that not a fourth part of the rate had been collected in Ipswich.[12] In February, 1627, Woodbridge petitioned on its own account, and in March the Council directed that the county as a whole was to pay half the cost of the two ships.[13] In April the Ipswich corporation petitioned again and referred sullenly to their outlay for the Cadiz voyage of 1625 as yet unpaid;[14] no doubt this was the explanation of much of the backwardness at Ipswich and elsewhere.

In Lord Willoughby's fleet of 1627 there were seven vessels from Ipswich, one from Aldeburgh, and one from Woodbridge; in Buckingham's Rhé expedition thirteen from Ipswich, two from Aldeburgh, and one from Woodbridge. These were all transports, but evidently there were plenty of vessels available if there was any hope of being paid for them. A list of ships for which letters of marque were granted between 1625–8 shows the *Rainbow*, 160 tons, of Aldeburgh, and *Margaret*, 200, of Ipswich, besides others.[15] A return of 1634 states that in 1628 Ipswich possessed sixty-three vessels of from 100 to 300 tons, and four of from forty to sixty tons; Woodbridge

[1] Clarke, *Hist. of Ipswich*, 161. For the disputes between Harwich and Ipswich concerning Orwell Haven see *V.C.H Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'
[2] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cv, 88.
[3] Ibid. 89.
[4] Ibid. cvii, 26 (12 March, 1618-19).
[5] Ibid. cviii, 81; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 309.
[6] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxx, 42, 43.
[7] Pipe Off. Dec. Accts. 2263.
[8] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, xxxiv, 85, 86.
[9] Ibid. xxx, 81 (June, 1626).
[10] *Hist. MSS. Com.* Wodehouse MSS. 446.
[11] Ibid. *Rep.* ix, App. i, 254.
[12] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, xlii, 132 (undated).
[13] Ibid. lv, 59; *Hist. MSS. Com.* Wodehouse MSS. 449.
[14] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxi, 80.
[15] Ibid. cxv.

seventeen of from 100 to 300 tons, and Aldeburgh fourteen of the same class with twenty-four of from thirty to eighty tons.[1] Dunwich housed eighty-two seafaring men, but petitioned in 1628 that there was only one parish left in the town, which was now too poor to set out anything but small fishing boats, and that most of their men had died in the Rhé expedition. In 1629 there were 1,129 seamen in the county, of whom 250 belonged to Ipswich and 256 to Aldeburgh.[2]

The recurrence of war caused attention to be paid to the coast defences generally and to Harwich harbour in particular as a descent was apprehended there. In August, 1625, Sir John Coke, an influential official then attending to the restoration of the ruined forts in the home counties, wrote forcibly to Buckingham about its importance and its absolute unprotectedness, 'this place then above all others must be considered of.'[3] It was probably in consequence of this letter that the deputy lieutenants of Suffolk were asked for a report upon Landguard and other places. They of course recommended a fort at Landguard, 'where formerly there hath been one, for if the enemy should land there and build a sconce he would command all the harbour.' From Orfordness to Thorpeness there were only eight 'old honeycombed iron pieces,' presumably at Aldeburgh; Dunwich and Southwold had each two old and useless guns.[4] Nothing was done immediately for the coast towns, and a report of 1627 shows that their antique armament still remained, but in the same year ten new guns were sent to Aldeburgh and eight to Southwold.[5] Although these places were supplied with guns they were expected to furnish ammunition for themselves, but Aldeburgh petitioned that it was too poor even to do that.[6]

When Sir John Coke wrote to Buckingham insisting on the immediate necessity of a fort at Landguard he added that, 'if the haste will not expect the ordinary slow proceeding in the Office of the Ordnance,' the superintendence might be entrusted to a Navy Commissioner. This was in August, 1625, and a descent under the Marquis Spinola being daily expected 1,000 militia were encamped there in September.[7] In the result the work was placed in the charge of the earl of Warwick, the lord-lieutenant of Suffolk, and by January, 1626, it was in progress.[8] In October commissioners were sent to survey the new buildings there and at Harwich; they reported that 'great care and judgment' had been displayed, but that another four months' work would be required to finish Landguard.[9] It seems to have been a square with four 'bulwarks,' or bastions, and four curtains, having a circuit of 1,968 feet; the curtain walls were to be eighteen feet high, and two faces of the fort commanded the entrance of the harbour.[10] The fortress was established from 1 July, 1627, but it was sufficiently advanced in 1626 to be armed with forty-three guns, and nineteen more were added in the following year.[11] It was probably planned by Simon von Cranvelt, who was induced by our ambassador in Holland to come over here 'for the making and working of fortifications within this kingdom.' Cranvelt died here, and his representatives were paid £100 in 1626.[12] The earl of Holland was created governor of Landguard for life, with the colonelcy of the garrison of 126 men, by grant of 7 March, 1628, and a fee of £207 11*s.* 8*d.* a year was allowed him for their maintenance. The first incident of interest in the history of the new fort was 'a great mutiny' in June, 1628. Robert Gosnold, the lieutenant-governor, who must have exceeded his powers, made the six ringleaders draw lots, the one who lost being condemned to death. The prisoner was handed over to the civil arm, the process being to transfer him from one parish constable to another until he reached his destined prison. However, the constable of Trimley St. Mary, who perhaps knew more than Gosnold of the law, set the culprit free.

Both men-of-war captains and port commandants were everywhere sticklers for etiquette in the matter of salutes, and the usual collision between the Navy and the Army soon occurred at Landguard. In 1629 Captain Richard Plumleigh, in a king's ship, put into Harwich harbour, and was ordered by the commanding officer at Landguard to strike his flag. Plumleigh, like other captains, thought such a confession of inferiority insufferable, even if the demand had not been for several reasons ridiculously impertinent as coming from this particular army. His description of his proceedings is couched in the right spirit:—

> I told them that without an order from the Council or the Commissioners of the Admiralty, I durst do no such obeisance; they answered that if I refused they would sink me, and that they had warrant from my lord of Warwick so to do. I slighted that authority and replied that I thought myself as able to beat their paper fort to pieces with my ordnance as they to sink me, and bid them take heed how they made the first shot. Upon this we fell to worse words, and at length to some blows, in which they had nothing the better.[13]

[1] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cclxx, 64; cclxxii, 135. It may be noticed that before an English ship could be sold to a foreigner the approval of the judge of the Admiralty Court, of the Admiralty, and of the Navy Commissioners had to be obtained.

[2] Ibid. clv, 31.

[3] Ibid. iv. 77.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Com.* Wodehouse MSS. 443.

[5] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxxxiii, 10; ccxlv, 49.

[6] Ibid. xxix, 114.

[7] Ibid. vi, 44; *Diary of John Rous* (Camd. Soc.) 2.

[8] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, xix, 20; xxxvi, 22.

[9] Ibid. xxxvii, 64.

[10] Ibid. 64. i.

[11] Ibid. ccliv, 41; xciv, 33.

[12] Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 7.

[13] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxlvii, 18.

From the last sentence it may be inferred that shots actually were exchanged. So far as the Navy was concerned, this especial folly soon ceased, but merchantmen were for long expected to salute the king's forts. In 1715 sixty-one masters of merchantmen petitioned that the then governor was in the habit of firing on them for not saluting, or for not going through the process to his satisfaction, and that he made them pay for the cost of the exercise.[1]

Notwithstanding the favourable opinion of the commissioners of 1626, Landguard fort must have been badly built, for in 1635 the walls were falling down, and it seems that the moat and counterscarp had never been completed.[2] There were forty guns, but they were lying dismantled and useless, and the pay of the garrison was £5,600 in arrear, the men being 'weak,' unclothed, and in fear of arrest for debt. No repairs were undertaken, and in May, 1636, it was possible 'to ride into the fort horse and man,' the wall being in a condition which offered no obstacle.[3] The governor, in reporting the state of things rather later, said that there were 150 ships belonging to the haven—presumably to Ipswich and Harwich—and that the county levies were not to be trusted for the defence of the fort.[4] Landguard fell into the hands of the Parliament without trouble; nothing occurred there during the civil war, through which period it was kept in serviceable condition, but after the return of peace it was neglected, and by 1656 had fallen into a ruinous state again.[5] At one moment, however, there had been a possibility of its disestablishment, the question being referred to the committee of the Eastern Association.[6] Beyond the guns of 1627 no further defence was afforded to the Suffolk ports before the Civil War. The threat of royalist privateers off the coast impelled Parliament, in December, 1642, to assign £50, and in the following January another £50, for the purpose of throwing up batteries at Aldeburgh.[7] Later, the town petitioned that it had expended £2,125 10*s.* about its twenty-six guns and the men watching and serving them, there being often occasion to use them against the privateers hovering around. When Cromwell marched into Lowestoft in 1643 he is said to have taken away the guns sent by Elizabeth, but according to a petition of 1663 the Commonwealth built an 8-gun battery, which was shortly afterwards swept away by the sea.[8] In 1656 there were guns at Lowestoft, but no ammunition for them, and on 8 February five Dunkirkers were lying off the town, the inhabitants expecting momentarily that the crews would come ashore and plunder.[9] The nomination of a parliamentary committee in May, 1651, to consider the advisability of building some defence at Gorleston probably marks the date of the Old Fort, or of its reconstruction and re-armament. Guns were in position at Southwold when, in July, 1652, a Dutch fleet was off the place and took two prizes in despite of the town artillery.[10]

Charles had intended an issue of ship-money writs in 1628, but, alarmed by the feeling aroused, he withdrew from the first trial. Forced, however, to choose between facing a parliament or raising money by this method, the ship-money writs of 20 October, 1634, were sent out, Suffolk being linked with Essex to provide a 700-ton ship with 250 men, victualled, armed, and stored for twenty-six weeks' service.[11] As the ships required were larger than those possessed by any port except London, an equivalent in money might be paid to the Treasury to be applied to the preparation of a king's ship, and Suffolk and Essex were therefore given the option of paying £6,615. The total amount for the whole country was £104,252, and there was only £2,000 deficit in the payments. The second writ of 4 August, 1635, for £218,500, was general to the inland counties as well as to the coast, Suffolk being asked for an 800-ton ship or £8,000.[12] Ipswich was assessed at £240, Orford £12, Aldeburgh £8 16*s.* Southwold £8, and Dunwich £4, the rates affording striking evidence of the comparative wealth and importance of Ipswich.[13] The third writ of 9 October, 1636, was again for an 800-ton ship, and for the fourth writ of 1639 the town assessments were the same as in 1635;[14] but it was afterwards proposed to reduce them considerably, the Ipswich rate falling to £90 and Dunwich to £2. In 1639 Sir Symonds D'Ewes was chosen sheriff of Suffolk, and as in his *Autobiography* he describes ship-money as 'a most deadly and fatal blow' to the liberties of the country, he was probably not very eager in applying pressure to laggards in payment. On 21 April, 1640, he wrote to the Navy Treasurer that on that date he had expected to receive £1,000, but feared there would not be £200, and enclosed examples of evasive replies.[15] In June he was accused of slackness, but protested that he had done his best.[16]

All the more considerable English ports, the worst sufferers by Charles's naval mal-administration, stood by the Parliament even in royalist counties; in Suffolk only Lowestoft

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi, App. iv, 131.
[2] Ibid. cccxxii, 59.
[3] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, ccxc, 79.
[4] Ibid. cccxl, 30.
[5] Ibid. Interreg. cxxiv, 6 Feb. 1656.
[6] Commons Journals, 2 Mar. 1646–7.
[7] Ibid. ii, 878, 925.
[8] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 419.
[9] S.P. Dom. Interreg. cxxiv, 38.
[10] Ibid. xxiv, 73.
[11] Ibid. Chas. I, cclxxvi, 1, 64.
[12] Ibid. ccxcvi, 69.
[13] Ibid. cccxiii, 108. It may be that Ipswich paid £450, for the sheriff raised the assessment to that amount; the corporation appealed to the Privy Council (ibid. ccc, 59).
[14] Ibid. cccci, 37.
[15] Ibid. ccccli, 18.
[16] Ibid. cccclvi, 41.

affected adhesion to the king, but much more out of hatred of Yarmouth, which was parliamentarian, than from love of Charles. The county as a whole had no naval history during the Civil War; although privateers, sailing with or without a royal commission, kept apprehension alive on the coast, the attachment of the county to the Parliament rendered it useless to attempt to land supplies which could not be pushed through to the royal armies. Yarmouth and Lowestoft carried on a privateer war of their own, in which Captain Thomas Allin, afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas Allin in the time of Charles II, took a leading part.[1] Suffolk did not really feel the effect of naval operations until the occurrence of the first Dutch war in 1652. Before that event the necessity for strengthening the Navy, not only in view of the threatened quarrel with the Dutch, but also for other reasons, gave occasion to the employment of the private yards in the county for government work in building men-of-war. In 1650 Peter Pett junior, then a Navy Commissioner, contracted to build two vessels, the *Advice*, 42, and *Reserve*, 42, at Woodbridge, the first two war-ships of the modern Navy constructed in Suffolk. The Pett family were still connected with Harwich and Ipswich, and the Woodbridge yard may have belonged to some member of the family, or more probably to Pett himself. The *Basing*, 28, was launched at Walberswick, and the *Maidstone*, 40, and *Preston*, 40, at Woodbridge, in 1654, the first by a government shipwright, the last two by private builders.[2] After the return of peace the national dockyards were equal to the requirements of the Navy, and no men-of-war were built in Suffolk for some years.

The war of 1652–4 was extremely popular with the seamen, and at first volunteers flocked in to man the state's ships. But after the volunteers there was always a residuum who could only be reached by the press system, and in May, 1652, a circular letter to all the counties directed the impressment of all seamen between fifteen and fifty years of age. There was more difficulty as the novelty of fighting the Dutch wore off, and the higher pay of private owners and greater chances of prize-money in privateers exercised counter-attractions, so that in December, 1652, wages were raised in the state's ships and other advantages offered. The immediate result was that men were coming in 'cheerfully and in great numbers,' but the truth was that there were not enough seamen in Great Britain to man both the merchant navy and the large fleets then in commission.

In February, 1653, the agent at Aldeburgh wrote that the sailors of that town had set off to offer themselves as volunteers.[3] At Ipswich men were so scarce that able seamen in merchantmen were obtaining masters' wages,[4] and some, who perhaps conscientiously objected to war, were taking to the plough to avoid the press.[5] The first North Sea battle of the war was fought in September, 1652, off the Kentish Knock. When the North Sea became an area of active hostilities, Orwell Haven, with Ipswich and Harwich, at once sprang into consequence as a base of the first importance, and the Suffolk coast towns also had their value for subsidiary purposes. Notwithstanding the constant going and coming of English men-of-war, Dutch privateers were always on the coast, and in August it was feared that the fishery would be stopped for the year. In May, 1653, Monk and Deane were lying off Yarmouth with the fleet, whence they dropped down to Southwold Bay, and on 2 June was fought the battle of the Gabbards, thirty miles out at sea. Deane was killed, but Monk, who had been joined by Blake, returned to Southwold Bay, and the sick, wounded, and prisoners were landed among the Suffolk ports. The financial difficulties which finally ruined the Commonwealth were already acute, and the money still owing for former quartering of the sick and wounded rendered the inhabitants unwilling to admit others. There were, of course, very few hospitals in England, and the sick men were received in private houses where they were supposed to be nursed and obtain the attention of the surgeons. On 10 July Monk wrote to the Admiralty Commissioners that great complaints were made by the bailiffs of Ipswich, Dunwich, Aldeburgh, and Southwold that they received no money with which to pay for the care and housing of the sick, 'whereby the inhabitants begin to be weary of them.'[6] Monk added that he had been compelled to pledge his personal credit at Southwold for assistance. Four days later the bailiffs of Southwold wrote to the Navy Commissioners that they had provided for 600 sick and wounded in the town at a cost of £30 to £40 a day.[7] One distinguished invalid—Robert Blake—was landed at Walberswick on 5 July 'in a very weak condition, full of pain both in his head and left side, which had put him into a fever, besides the anguish he endures by the gravel, insomuch that he has no rest night or day, but continues groaning very sadly.'[8] For him there was no suitable accommodation to be found at Walberswick. After the war there was at least one bill of £1,883 5*s.* 4*d.* for the maintenance of prisoners and the sick owed at Aldeburgh, and £3,838 at Ipswich.[9]

In spite of the hindrance of war, the Iceland and other fisheries maintained themselves fairly well during the troubled years following 1642. In 1649 four hired merchantmen were detailed to convoy the Iceland ships, and in the same year Lowestoft and other ports petitioned for a guard for

[1] Gillingwater, op. cit. 110.
[2] See Appendix of Ships.
[3] S. P. Dom. Interreg. xlvii, 82.
[4] Ibid. 52.
[5] Ibid. xxxv, 97.
[6] Ibid. xxxviii, 34.
[7] Ibid. 55.
[8] Ibid. 22.
[9] Ibid. xlii, 27 Feb. 1653–4; lxii, 133.

the mackerel boats.[1] Southwold and Aldeburgh joined with Wells and Yarmouth in 1656 in a petition direct to Cromwell to the effect that they had thirty-five Iceland fishing ships at sea under insufficient convoy, and asked that it should be strengthened, as they had already lost many vessels taken by the Dunkirkers.[2] Lowestoft had little trade, and was therefore the more ready to engage in politics; in 1656 there was supposed to be a plot in the town and neighbourhood to receive a royalist force from over-sea.[3]

Following the Dutch war came the war with Spain and the operations in the West Indies. The struggle with Holland had been comparatively popular to the end, but the general knowledge of the unhealthiness of the West Indies, and the terrible losses from sickness among the troops and crews under Penn and Venables, rendered it impossible to obtain men without a rigorous use of the press-gang. The sympathies of the local officials were with the men, for, with the new spirit of freedom permeating all classes, impressment was no longer regarded as something almost inevitable: to be evaded if possible, but if not, to be accepted as unavoidable. Moreover, many of the magistrates and officials round the coast were engaged in maritime trade, and it was contrary to their commercial interests to have their districts swept bare of sailors. The lieutenant in command of a press-gang landed at Aldeburgh reported that he was abused by the bailiffs and constables and stoned by the people, who routed his men.[4] At Southwold the bailiffs and constables assisted the seamen to escape, and arrested a soldier of the troop of horse acting with the impress officers: 'the officers of the town were so base that they (the impress party) could not get a man. In fact, as our people searched one part of the town they got into the other, although they searched with candles.'[5] At Ipswich the press-gang was 'much abused by the townsmen, and the constables were afraid to assist.'[6] These incidents happened in 1656, and although there was no tropical service to be feared in 1659 the same repugnance existed, though for different reasons. In February, 1659, Captain Edmund Curtis of the *Newcastle* saw the bailiffs of Ipswich, who told him that there were but few seamen in the town; to which he replied that that could not be true because there were 100 ships in the river fitting for sea. The next day, unknown to the bailiffs, Curtis sent up a press gang; the townsmen attacked the gang, rescued their prisoners, and brought the man-of-war's men before the bailiffs, who disarmed them and sent them back to the *Newcastle*.[7] A month later another officer appeared at Ipswich; he reported that the men 'fly into the woods and up the hills as from the face of an enemy, leaving some of their ships and boats under sail adrift. . . . I do not know the grounds of their great disaffection for the service.'[8] The reasons were plain enough: besides the personal interests of the local officials in saving the men, the Commonwealth was now in such financial straits that it could not feed the crews serving in the state's ships, far less pay them. It may be remarked here that the use of Ipswich canvas in the Navy extended greatly during the Commonwealth, and, as long as the Admiralty could afford to pay, must have afforded profitable occupation to many in the town.

The east coast was the first part of England to be lighted systematically, and its priority was no doubt due to the needs of the continuous collier traffic passing to and fro. Here and elsewhere, there was a long struggle for monopoly between the Trinity House and private speculators, both parties to the contest being moved by the hope of profit rather than the requirements of navigation. The early history of the Suffolk lights is very uncertain; that at Lowestoft, at first called the Stamport as showing the entrance to the Stamport or Stanford Channel, was the earliest to be erected. It has been assigned to 1609, and this date is probably correct as there is a petition for it, signed by many Suffolk seamen, referred by the Privy Council to Sir Thomas Crompton, Judge of the Admiralty Court, who died in 1608. This petition is followed by others, which can be assigned to 1608–13, complaining of the weight of the Trinity House charges, so that the light must then have been working.[9] A paper of 1621 says, however, that it was built by Thomas Bushell, who may have been the mining engineer of that name.[10] It seems that it was put up in or very soon after 1609, because on 30 May of that year the Privy Council addressed a circular to the customs officers of all the ports between London and Newcastle, stating that beacons, buoys, and lights were wanted 'at Stamport near Lowestoft,' and that it had been agreed between the Trinity House and the principal shipowners that all vessels belonging to such ports should pay 4*d*. a voyage, which was to be collected with the customs.[11] According to this it must have been under the control of the Trinity House from the beginning, and Bushell's connexion with it is shadowy. Only one light, the lower, was erected originally, but the fact that the Stanford Channel frequently shifts in position within certain limits soon made apparent the necessity for a second light. Therefore in 1627

[1] S. P. Dom. Interreg. i, 12 May, 1649; iii, 28 Dec. 1649.
[2] Ibid. cxxviii, 44.
[3] *Thurloe S. P.* v, 407, 512.
[4] S. P. Dom. Interreg. cxxii, 131; cxxiv, 11.
[5] Ibid. cxxiv, 12; cxxxiv, 18.
[6] Ibid. cxxxv, 40.
[7] Ibid. cci, 14, 21.
[8] Ibid. ccii, 14.
[9] Cott. MSS. Otho E, ix, fols. 446–52.
[10] S. P. Dom. Jas. I, cxix, 121.
[11] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 242.

Walter Cooke and William Ewins were sent to design two new lighthouses, the high, which was intended to be fixed, while the low lighthouse, being a small timber structure, could be moved to follow the alterations in the Stanford Channel, the two lights leading in line over it.[1]

In 1663 there is a reference to the negligence of the lightkeeper,[2] and in 1676 the high lighthouse was rebuilt.[3] According to Gillingwater it was not reinstated in quite the same position, but replaced a beacon formerly on the site it now occupies. Colonel Baskerville, travelling in the eastern counties in 1681, noticed that at Lowestoft 'we rode along by two watch, or light, houses one for candle, and in the other a great fire made with coal.'[4] As the Lowestoft lights were always under the control of the Trinity House they escaped the fierce criticism levelled against the private lights by the parliamentary committees of the first half of the nineteenth century. The low light was converted to oil in 1730,[5] and the high light in 1796.[6] In 1815 the Stanford lightship, at the north end of the Newcome Sand was established, and the three lights were producing about £3,300 a year net revenue in 1822, under the patent of 1815, by which they were then held.[7] In 1832 the low lighthouse was rebuilt as a timber lantern on a brick foundation; in 1866 it was replaced by an iron structure, and the high lighthouse was rebuilt in 1873.

Towards the end of 1627 the bailiffs of Aldeburgh petitioned for a lighthouse;[8] if they meant one for the town they were destined to be disappointed, but if Orfordness was near enough to satisfy them they were not to have long to wait. There had been a suggestion of Orfordness in 1618,[9] but the proposal was not taken up although the Aldeburgh burgesses may have kept it in mind. The exact date of the establishment of the light is doubtful. In February, 1634-5, the king was petitioned to authorize a lighthouse at Orfordness.[10] In April Sir John Meldrum, a large speculator in lighthouses, who was in constant litigation with the Trinity House about them, writes of Orfordness as erected;[11] a possible explanation is that a patent had been promised, but not having passed he had put up a temporary light to ensure possession. The patent is dated 13 April, 1637;[12] it recites that Sir John Meldrum and Sir William Erskine had erected lighthouses at Winterton under a patent of James I, that Erskine's interest had passed to Gerard Gore of London, that Meldrum had built two at Orfordness, and now petitioned the king to grant the proprietorship in them and in Winterton to Gore, with whom, presumably, Meldrum had come to some pecuniary arrangement. Gore's lease was for fifty years at a rental of £20 a year; he was entitled to charge 1*d.* a ton, outward and inward, on merchantmen, but only ½*d.* on colliers and fishing boats. In 1641 the Hull seamen trading to the Baltic protested against being compelled to pay the dues for Orfordness;[13] in 1663 Gore was called upon to appear before the Trinity House for neglecting the lights,[14] and this is practically all that is known of his period of possession. By a patent of 15 October, 1661,[15] a new lease was granted to Sir Edward Turner for sixty years if Gore's concession was void, but only for thirty-three years if the first grant ran to its natural termination. In all the patents there was a restriction that no other lights were to be put up within two miles of Orfordness or Winterton, the two stations always going together. By a patent of 30 January, 1695, William III, in consideration of a fine of £750 and the usual yearly payment of £20, granted to Richard Neville and George Davenant, as trustees and executors of Ralph, Lord Grey, a term of sixty years from the end of Gore's patent if Turner's was void; if Turner's was not void it was to run for thirty-five years from 13 April, 1720. A comparison of these dates shows that Gore's term ran to the end, that then Turner, or his representatives, held the lights until 1720, and that they came into the possession of Henry Grey of Billingbear as residuary legatee of Lord Grey.[16] Henry Grey, in view of his expenditure of £2,000 in reconstructing and repairing—one of the buildings having been washed away by the sea in October, 1730—prayed for a longer term.[17] An affidavit from the collector of the dues certified the truth of Grey's statement, and added that the lighthouses had been left in a ruinous condition by the former proprietor. No doubt Grey had influence, for he obtained without difficulty a further grant of thirty-six years from 1755 at a rental of £20 a year.

Shortly afterwards the ownership passed by marriage into the Aldworth-Neville (Lords Braybrooke) family. They obtained a further extension by patent of 6 November, 1765, and this

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 243. [2] Ibid. 252. [3] Ibid. 256; *Parl. Papers* (1861), xxv, 404.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, Portland MSS. ii, 267. The low light used candles.
[5] *Parl. Papers* (1861), xxv, 404. [6] *Ann. Reg.*
[7] Pat. 1 June, 55 Geo. III, pt. 9; *Parl. Papers* (1822), xxi, 497.
[8] Coke MSS. i, 335. Thirty-two vessels were lost off the port on the night of 28 October, 1627.
[9] Lansd. MSS. 162, fol. 255. [10] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 245.
[11] S. P. Dom. Chas. I, cclxxxvi, 28.
[12] Pat. 13 Chas. I, pt. 15. It mentions that Orfordness was increasing by deposit from the sea.
[13] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 76.
[14] Ibid. vii, App. i, 252. By a misprint, or an error in transcription, he is called Alderman Grove. Few of the Trinity House MSS. are original documents.
[15] Pat. 13 Chas. II, pt. 25. [16] Treas. Bd. Papers, cclxxv, 13.
[17] Treas. Papers and Bks. 8 Jan. 1730–1.

lease expired in 1826. By that time Parliament was giving close attention to these extraordinary bounties of tens of thousands of pounds to private individuals for which very indifferent service was rendered in return. For 1823-5 Lord Braybrooke's net profits on Winterton and Orfordness, the two still being held together, were £13,414 a year,[1] and a parliamentary committee of 1822 had recommended that as these leases expired the lighthouses should be transferred to the Trinity House. Therefore in 1826 the Treasury at first refused to renew Lord Braybrooke's lease, but eventually, when his lordship pleaded family difficulties of various kinds, he obtained a renewal for twenty-one years from 1828, nominally to allow him time for settlement. On this the committee of 1834 drily remarked that they could not find an 'adequate explanation' of the favour shown to Lord Braybrooke, and that the renewals at Orfordness and other places after the reports of the committees of 1822 and 1824 had been 'highly objectionable and improper.' If there was no explanation that would bear inquiry the interpretation of the Treasury complaisance was no doubt perfectly well understood by the committee. The tolls were reduced one-half by the lease of 1828, and half the profits were reserved for the crown. The Act of 6 and 7 Will. IV, c. 79, s. 42 vested all the English lights in the Trinity House, with power to purchase those in private hands; Lord Braybrooke's remaining term was bought 1 January, 1837, for £37,896, the interest of the crown in Orfordness and Winterton being valued at £108,041, which the Trinity House also had to pay.[2] Both lights at Orfordness were lit with oil in 1793, and the high lighthouse, or perhaps both, were rebuilt in the same year, but not in the same relative position.[3] Owing to the encroachments of the sea the low lighthouse had to be abandoned in August, 1888,[4] and since then the two lights have been shown from different heights in the same tower.

Pakefield lighthouse, intended to show the channel between the Newcome and Barnard Sands, was first lit 15 May, 1832, no tolls being charged for it;[5] since 1897 it has been replaced by an iron hut on the cliff south of Pakefield. The first Landguard light consisted of a lamp placed in a window of the barracks on 1 October, 1848, and this was transferred to a wooden frame building at the point in 1868; the jetty light was established in 1878, and the beacon lights in 1896. Felixstowe (Dock) south pier light was established in 1877, the north pier in 1896, the promenade pier 1905; Shotley pier 1894; Cork lightship 1844; Shipwash lightship 1837, connected by telegraph with the shore 1894; the permanent lighthouse in the centre of the town at Southwold was established in 1890, a temporary light in the town having been used since 1888, as well as the East Cliff lights, established in 1881; the pier light at Southwold was first shown in 1900;[6] Lowestoft north and south piers 1847, jetty extension 1898, Claremont pier, 1903; Gabbard lightship 1888; Corton lightship 1862, replacing the Stanford light-vessel of 1815; Gorleston south pier upper light 1852, lower light 1887.

The early history of beacons, buoys, and seamarks is obscure. The last, in the shape of church towers and clumps of trees in prominent positions, are of course the first in point of time, and Leland notices that the tower of St. Nicholas, Gorleston, was a seamark. For several of the counties there are sixteenth-century grants of beaconage and buoyage to private individuals, but none is known for Suffolk. Beacons, and seamarks generally, were under the control of the Lord Admiral until 1594, when they were transferred altogether to the Trinity House, and by 8 Eliz. cap. 13, which had given the Trinity House modified powers, anyone taking down a steeple, tree, or other known seamark, was liable to a fine of £100, or to outlawry if he did not possess so much. On a coast so constantly traversed as that of Suffolk, the church towers must have been seamarks as soon as erected, and in all sailing directions nearly every one that can be observed from the sea is used as a guide in navigation. The havens also must have had beacons put up by the inhabitants to lead through the fairways, but the earliest known by precise date is that at Bawdsey, which is referred to in an Admiralty suit of 1552.[7] The brick tower used as a seamark, now known as Bawdsey beacon, is not earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was rebuilt in 1831. A sixteenth-century map shows two timber beacons, or seamarks, at Aldeburgh fitted with lanterns for use at nights although such use was probably only occasional.[8] Two harbour beacons at Woodbridge Haven were advertised in the *London Gazette* of January, 1683-4, and there was a seamark on Eye Cliff at Southwold.[9] Others were in position at Pakefield and Felixstowe before 1750, but have probably a much greater antiquity than that date connotes. Two fairway beacons at Landguard were placed in 1857, and two more at Woodbridge in 1859. Orford Castle was certainly used as

[1] *Parl. Papers* (1834), xii, p. xlvi. At this date there were fourteen lights in the hands of private persons who received from them very nearly as much as the Trinity House obtained from the fifty-five under its control.

[2] Ibid. (1845), ix, 6.

[3] Ibid. (1861), xxv, 404. They were 1,439 yds. apart.

[4] *Naut. Mag.* Sept. 1888; Adm. *List of Lights*, 1889.

[5] *Parl. Papers* (1834), xii, 334.

[6] *Naut. Mag.* Oct. 1890; May, 1898; Admir. *List of Lights*, under dates.

[7] Admir. Ct. Exam. vi, 29 April, 1552. This may possibly have been a seamark.

[8] Cott. MSS. Aug. I, i, 64.

[9] Gardner, *Hist. Account of Dunwich*, 188.

a seamark in the sixteenth century, and no doubt for centuries previously; in consequence of its utility in that respect the government, in 1809, prevented its demolition by the marquis of Hertford.[1] An Order in Council of 5 January, 1606, directed to the customs officers along the east coast, authorized a levy of one shilling on every hundred tons of shipping arriving at ports between Newcastle and Yarmouth to be paid to the Trinity House for buoys and beacons between Lowestoft and Winterton.[2] This was probably the first essay at buoying the sands forming Lowestoft Roads. In 1621 two Trinity House officials visited the district for inspection and reported that they had sounded the Stamport or Stanford Channel, and laid a buoy on the middle ground.[3]

The outbreak of the second Dutch war again brought Suffolk into the area of naval activity. From a report of January, 1664-5, we learn that there were thirty-two Ipswich ships suitable for use as armed merchantmen, twenty-seven of them being of from 200 to 300 tons.[4] It was added that there were many more good ships although not adapted for war purposes. In consequence of the want of space at Harwich there was a victualling office for the Navy at Ipswich, and the 'king's cooperage' is marked on a map of 1674.[5] In May, 1665, the duke of York was lying in Southwold Bay with the English fleet, and on 3 June he fought the Dutch and won a victory some thirty miles off Lowestoft. Upwards of 2,000 prisoners were landed at Southwold;[6] in August 1,600 of them were at Ipswich, besides 300 sick and wounded from the fleet.[7] Although the treatment of the sick and wounded was miserable everywhere, large payments were made during the course of the war for the hospitality afforded them at the different ports: Southwold received £5,900, and Ipswich £8,500; Southwold, Woodbridge, Ipswich, and Sudbury were also paid for the support of Dutch prisoners.[8] The English were generally successful during 1665, but the local trade appears, as usual, to have suffered by privateers. In February, 1666, Lowestoft petitioned for guns, but the townsmen added that they had suffered so greatly that even if sent they were unable to find the money necessary to build a battery and mount them.[9] At Southwold there were nine guns, but only four of them were mounted, and there were only a few rounds of ammunition;[10] at Aldeburgh there were twenty guns, but no men to work them.[11] Two more great battles were fought in June and July, 1666; in August between 600 and 700 sick men were landed at Southwold, and the number had risen to 1,000 by 1 September.[12]

Hostilities on a large scale then ceased for 1666, and the negotiations which ended in the Peace of Breda were commenced. In the interval nearly all the fleet was put out of commission, and in the event of the war continuing Charles intended to rely on commerce warfare. The Dutch were eager for peace, but thought that the best way to obtain it was to stimulate the plenipotentiaries at Breda by acts of war. When news came to London that the Dutch fleet was going to sea a circular letter of warning was sent round the counties on 29 May, 1667, but this had been preceded by an order of 6 April to the deputy-lieutenant of Suffolk to have the militia ready at an hour's notice.[13] In 1663 Albemarle had ordered Landguard to be dismantled,[14] perhaps as a short answer to a petition from eighty-three of the garrison that they were starving, and, if not relieved, must quit the fort.[15] The Master-General of the Ordnance protested against the abandonment, and a year later steps were taken to strengthen the batteries.[16] An Order in Council of 20 May, 1664, directed that twenty guns were to be sent down, and further defences were planned in 1666, but probably these intentions were rendered sterile by want of money.[17] The duke of York visited Landguard in March, 1667, and an undated order that the fortifications were to be finished with brick and stone, and outworks made, may have been the consequence of his inspection;[18] if so it may be considered certain that these additions were not executed before the Dutch raid. On 7 June the Dutch were at anchor inside the Gunfleet, and the eastern counties feared an immediate attack, but the enemy's operations in the Thames and Medway gave a respite, which was utilized to make preparations locally. There was no time to bargain with owners, and an Order in Council of 16 June directed the Navy Board to press all vessels suited for use as fireships that could be found in Harwich, Ipswich, and the adjacent ports; this, so far as the present writer knows, is the last time that the sovereign's prerogative of impressing ships was resorted to. Twenty-six vessels were taken up, of which thirteen belonged to Ipswich and one to Woodbridge. The coast towns—Lowestoft, Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldeburgh—complained that they were left defenceless because the county levies were being drawn towards Landguard, and at Aldeburgh the

[1] *North Sea Pilot* (ed. 1869), 182.
[2] Ibid. 240.
[3] King's Prints and Drawings, (B.M.), II Tab. End, 39 (20).
[4] Add. MSS. 22920, fol. 136.
[5] Aud. Off. Decl. Accts. 1820–483.
[6] Ibid. clxii, 51.
[7] S. P. Dom. Chas. II, cxxviii, 50.
[8] S. P. Dom. Chas. II, cxlix, 78.
[9] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* Wodehouse MSS. 467.
[10] Ibid. clxvii, 164; clxx, 17.
[11] Ibid. 76.
[12] S. P. Dom. Chas. II, lxxxviii, 91.
[13] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xv, App. ii, 301.
[14] Ord. War. Bks. iii, 64.
[15] W.O. Ordnance, Warrants, 15 Aug. 1666.
[16] Ord. War. Bks, iii, 137.
[17] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 242.
[18] S. P. Dom. Chas. II. cx, 57, i.

inhabitants were deserting the town.[1] On 21 June forty Dutch ships were in sight of Southwold, which was 'in a very distracted condition.'[2] By the end of June preparations to repulse a Dutch assault were well advanced; Harwich was occupied by regulars and the harbour defended against an entrance from the sea,[3] the Suffolk militia was encamped on Walton heights, and Landguard sufficiently garrisoned. According to Sir Charles Lyttelton, who was governor in 1672, the commandant of 1667, Captain Nathaniel Darell, had 1,000 men, as well as 100 Ipswich seamen to work the guns.[4] This was, no doubt, an exaggeration, but Darell had both soldiers and seamen, because on 29 June he wrote to the earl of Arlington, the Secretary of State, denying that the two services were on such bad terms that the place must fall if attacked, and incidentally repudiating the accusation that he was a papist.[5] At Aldeburgh there were three companies of foot and one or two troops of horse.[6]

On 30 June the earl of Oxford told Arlington that the Dutch, if they were coming at all, had delayed too long, and would be unable to effect anything if they appeared.[7] Some members of the Dutch Government had been very desirous in 1666 that an attack should be made on Harwich, a testimonial to the value of the new dockyard; but their information, correct or incorrect, as to the strength of Landguard had caused the design to be dismissed as too perilous, although the real cause for hesitation should have been not Landguard but the English fleet. That fleet was now, for the moment, non-existent, and Ruiter, after his operations in the Thames and Medway, held a council of war on 30 June, when proposals to attack Portsmouth or Plymouth were discussed and discarded in favour of Harwich and Landguard. Vice-Admiral Evertz and Rear-Admiral van Nès had already, for a week, been cruising along the Suffolk coast and blockading the mouth of the Thames with their squadrons; on 1 July Ruiter joined them with the main body of the fleet. Early on the morning of 2 July the Dutch, 80 strong, were off Aldeburgh putting the townsmen in fear that a landing there was intended;[8] at 11 a.m. they were off Felixstowe, and at one o'clock 47 sail were off Landguard and 8 or 9 in the Rolling Grounds.[9] An English observer notices that by two o'clock 1,000 troops were landed. This was in accordance with the plan decided upon at the council of war, by which the assault upon Landguard was to be made by 1,000 soldiers and 400 seamen, while Evertz and van Nès cannonaded the fort from two sides with their squadrons.[10] The landing force was under the command of Colonel Dolman, who is said to have been an English traitor.[11] In the result the two admirals did not come into action; all the buoys and beacons had been removed, and van Nès, who should have entered the harbour, went aground on the Andrews. Ships had been sunk in the fairway,[12] which no doubt made the passage look uninviting to the Dutch, and by the time that van Nès was ready to go forward, sounding from boats, the tide was ebbing and the wind had fallen. Evertz was hampered by the sands and shoal water that cover the eastern front of Landguard and extend along Felixstowe Bay, so that he did not come within effective range at all.

The accidents to the two admirals deranged the original design to deliver the assault under cover of their fire. The troops and sailors were landed without difficulty at Felixstowe, and while the main body formed up to advance on Landguard some five hundred men were detailed to hold in check the militia lining Felixstowe cliff, who used their muskets valiantly. Time was lost in waiting for Evertz and van Nès to co-operate, but when it was realized that that was hopeless it was decided to proceed without them, Ruiter himself accompanying the soldiers within musket range of the fort. The first assault was made about five o'clock, and seemed to an onlooker 'long and tedious,' although that description is probably not one which would have fitly described the passing time to the actors in the drama. It lasted about three-quarters of an hour; the storming party of seamen came on boldly with scaling ladders, hand grenades, and cutlasses under cover of the fire of their comrades.[13] The garrison kept up a steady fire, and were greatly helped by two small ships lying in the Salt Road, inside the harbour, which sent their shot into the shingle scattering it in showers among the Dutch, although the effect was probably more moral than material. The assailants were so daunted that they fell back in disorder, seeking cover in any inequalities of the ground. There can be no doubt that if there had been any English force to follow up the success the repulse would have been converted into a rout. As it was, the Dutch officers had time to rally their men, and, about seven o'clock, led them on again to an assault, but the heart had been taken out of them and this second attempt, lasting a quarter of an hour, was a

[1] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, ccvi, 47.
[2] Ibid. 126.
[3] See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'
[4] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cccxiii, 174.
[5] Ibid. ccvii, 112. There is corroborative evidence of the presence of the Ipswich seamen (W. O. Ord. Warrants, iii, 3 July, 1667). See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, p. 294, for a plate of Harwich and Landguard, 1710–14, which must substantially represent the appearance of the fort in 1667 except that there is no reference to a wet moat in any account of the attack.
[6] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, ccvii, 10; ccviii, 24.
[7] Ibid. ccvii, 131.
[8] Ibid. ccviii, 24.
[9] Just outside the harbour.
[10] Brandt, *Vie de Michel de Ruiter*, 424.
[11] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, ccviii, 72.
[12] See *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 'Maritime Hist.'
[13] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, ccviii, 28, 55.

very weak affair. The Dutch official return of their loss was seven killed and thirty-five wounded;[1] on the English side only one man was killed in the fort and two were wounded, including the governor, Darell. By the time the Dutch had retreated to Felixstowe the tide was out, and they could not get their boats off until 2 a.m. of 3 July; a desultory combat was kept up with the militia, who, however, were not able to hinder the re-embarkation. Ill-luck still followed the Dutch, for when they sailed three of their ships went aground on the Whiting shoal, but in revenge they were able to affright Aldeburgh again, for on 11 July six vessels appeared off the town, and, as the earl of Suffolk had dismissed the militia, the people were 'much depressed.' A varying number of Dutch ships was at anchor off Aldeburgh for five or six weeks.[2] In view of the absolute beggary of the military departments it is rather surprising to find that Landguard was so well equipped for defence as events showed it to have been. The credit of the government was so bad after this war that the captain of a cruiser calling at Aldeburgh in 1668 was obliged to leave six barrels of powder with the bailiffs as security for the provisions supplied to him.

The third Dutch war was not fought like the preceding ones. It was unpopular in itself, and rendered more so by our alliance with France, recognized by national instinct as the true enemy. The distrust and dislike of the French were intensified by the character of their assistance, and after the first battle which they and we were supposed to have fought side by side the popular London street phrase addressed to a hesitating combatant was: 'Do you fight like the French?' There could hardly have been much fear of invasion, or even of a raid, but beacons ready to be fired were established between Easton and Landguard.[3] Notwithstanding this precaution Landguard was allowed to remain in a dilapidated state. A new governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, came in April, 1672, and found the place 'in the most miserable condition of any fort in Europe.'[4] Lyttelton, who seems to have been unable to recognize the difference between the maritime conditions of 1667 and 1672, feared an attack; in May he wrote that he had only sixty men, and that the fort was under-gunned, 'Unless, as I was once told, we have too many already to lose.'[5] Just a year later Captain Edward Talbot, who then took the command, wrote to the Master-General of the Ordnance that the drawbridge had fallen in, and that, altogether, he had never seen such a state of ruin.[6] In May, 1672, the duke of York was lying eight or nine miles out in Southwold Bay, Aldeburgh and Southwold being the watering-places for the fleet. On the 28th the battle of 'Solebay' was fought, within sight of Aldeburgh, and volumes of smoke from the war-ships were driven along the coast as far as Essex.[7]

As war with France was considered imminent in 1677, Parliament granted an especial sum for the construction of thirty large men-of-war. All were built in the government yards except four given out to contract with Sir Henry Johnson, of the Aldeburgh family, and launched from his Blackwall yard. Again, in 1691, Parliament gave money to build twenty-seven ships, and a list of the private yards at that date able to construct vessels of sixty guns and upward shows that there was none in Suffolk. The Revolution of 1688 did not affect the county from a maritime point of view, and the subsequent wars only brought those annoyances to which all the coast counties were exposed. Suffolk produced some seamen during the second half of the seventeenth century who did good service in the Navy. Admiral Sir Thomas Allin, who commanded the van in the battle of 25 July, 1665, and who was twice commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, Rear-Admiral Richard Utber, and his two sons, Captains Robert and John Utber, Admirals Sir John Ashby and Sir Andrew Leake, who were both leading seamen in their generation, and Vice-Admiral James Mighells, were all Lowestoft men. A humbler hero was Robert Cason, the master of an English merchantman, who, in 1690, was awarded a medal and chain of the value of £60 in recognition of his splendid defence of his ship against French privateers. From 1688 until 1697 Admiral Henry Killigrew was governor of Landguard, being the only sailor-governor it ever had. It was a titular but salaried post, and the officer in real authority was the lieutenant-governor; Francis Hamon had been given that appointment by James II to put an end to the embezzlement of stores that went on, from which we may infer that the garrison did not neglect the opportunities offered by their isolated situation.[8] In 1692 the armament of Landguard was sixty-two guns, and in 1709 it was intended to rebuild it to correspond with new fortifications designed at Harwich.[9] In the interval the most distinguished *littérateur* the British Army has ever possessed, Captain Richard Steele, commanded a company of foot in the garrison between 1702 and 1704, and shortly after his arrival wrote representing that the barrack rooms were in such bad repair as to be open to the weather.[10] Steele, himself, lived at a farmhouse at Walton.

[1] Brandt, op. cit. 425.
[2] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, ccix, 49; ccx, 102; ccxiii, 10 Aug.
[3] Ibid. cccxiii, 34; cccxxiii, 144.
[4] Ibid. cccvi, 31, 111.
[5] Ibid. cccxiii, 174. There was but one trained gunner, with one arm, belonging to the garrison.
[6] Leslie, *Hist. of Landguard*, 55.
[7] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cccx, 16.
[8] Ibid. Will. and Mary, 8 July, 1692.
[9] Treas. Papers, cxii, 39.
[10] Aitken, *Life of Rich. Steele*, i, 81.

The hope of freedom which had caused resistance to impressment under the Commonwealth had long died out into resignation, and we find few notices of the individual hardships and subterfuges which accompanied the exercise of the custom. Occasionally a press-gang made a big mistake, and then the incident comes under notice in official papers. In 1692 Mr. Jeremiah Burlingham, an alderman of Dunwich, was pressed, but immediately released in virtue of a sharp order from the Secretary of State to the Admiralty. Inquiry followed, and it was found that Burlingham had been pressed by the procurement of Samuel Pacy, 'Esquire,' and John Benafile.[1] What sordid drama of self-interest or passion lies behind the bare facts cannot of course now be discovered. On the other hand favourite captains had little difficulty at any time in obtaining crews. Luttrell tells us 'two hundred seamen lately come out of Suffolk went in a body . . . and voluntarily offered their services to the earl of Danby at St. James's to go on board the *Resolution*.[2] Danby, afterwards second duke of Leeds, was a man of intelligence and devoted to experiments in improving shipbuilding, but he was a better captain than admiral.

From the evidence before a committee of 1692 there seems to have been a flourishing local trade with London, nine or ten hoys from Woodbridge going to and fro every week and double as many from Ipswich and Aldeburgh. Defoe says that Ipswich still retained a large shipbuilding trade during the reign of Charles II. chiefly in colliers built so strongly that their average life was fifty or sixty years.[3] That trade, he says, was ruined by Parliament suspending the clauses of the Navigation Act in favour of Dutch prizes, which could thus be obtained more cheaply than English ships, so that instead of 100 belonging to the town as in 1668 there were hardly forty when he visited the place. He notices that there was an 'inexhaustible' store of timber round Ipswich, and if there were many storms like that of 1692, when 140 out of 200 light colliers going north were wrecked on the Suffolk and Norfolk coasts, there must still have been a demand for the especial Ipswich industry. Defoe's statement as to the extent of the Ipswich building trade at the Restoration period is borne out by an order of January 1665–6 to press 134 shipwrights in nine ports when we find Ipswich rated for more men than any of the other towns.[4] The rapid increase of the Navy necessitated by the wars which followed the Revolution enforced the use of private yards and Suffolk again built for the Admiralty, although on a small scale. William Hubbard of Ipswich, and Isaac Betts and Andrew Munday of Woodbridge, were the builders employed.

During the eighteenth century smuggling was a regular industry in Suffolk, success in which must have compensated the inhabitants living near the coast for many a bad fishing season. In early centuries smuggling had been mainly confined to the secret export of prohibited goods; in 1592 the customs officers at Ipswich complained to Burghley about the extent to which corn and butter were secretly exported from Suffolk to Holland, the exciting cause of their general indictment at the moment being the fate of a searcher at Harwich who had recently been thrown overboard while examining a vessel.[5] Smuggling in the modern sense only arose with the heavy and indiscriminate taxation rendered necessary by the wars of expansion which commenced with the Commonwealth. As the government guard of the coast increased, so did the methods and combinations of the smuggling associations, trading companies in organization, whose head offices were at Ostend, Flushing, Calais, or Dunkirk. When the danger and expense grew greater it did not pay these companies to run small cargoes—that is to say, anything less than the lading of a 50-ton cutter, while they much preferred to use craft of from 100 to 200 tons, strong enough to fight if overhauled. Eventually their vessels, built for speed and well armed, ran with almost the regularity of a cargo liner of to-day and sometimes engaged revenue smacks and even man-of-war cutters. The Suffolk coast was a favourite one on which to run cargoes, for it offered facilities in landing absent in Essex while it was little farther from the continental ports. The institution of revenue sloops about 1698 was not of much avail, if only because the Customs Commissioners and the Admiralty disputed as to which body was to provide them, and the latter department had quite enough on its hands without having to protect the revenue.

The government alternated between sloops and riding officers ashore, or a combination of the two, and with equally little success. The Peace of Utrecht threw many seamen out of employment, of whom a large proportion naturally took to smuggling, and when the spirits and tea were landed they were taken inland by gangs of farm labourers and others, sometimes 300 strong. A witness before a parliamentary committee of 1746 confessed that about 1720 his vessel was one of six which ran their cargoes in a single night on Aldeburgh beach and had 300 men waiting for them. Many of the customs officers were amenable to threats; more still had their price, and in 1722 the Commissioners of Customs obtained a schedule of the rates paid to the officers by smugglers

[1] S. P. Dom. Will. and Mary, 2 Sept. 1692; Admir. Sec. Min. viii, 10 March, 1692–3. The Admiralty was always very careful to confine its action to the poor and helpless and never, if possible, allowed a case in which the right of impressment was likely to be argued to come into court.

[2] Luttrell, *Diary*, 24 Feb. 1690–1.

[3] Defoe, *Tour Through Great Britain*, Lond. 1724, i, 57.

[4] Add. MSS. 9311, fol. 94.

[5] Cecil MSS. iv, 570.

and masters of merchantmen for goods of different values.[1] If an officer could neither be bribed nor terrorized the ruffians who feared him did not hesitate at torture or murder; in 1727 they caught one such near Snape and cut off his nose.[2] In July, 1732, the Customs Commissioners represented to the Treasury the excessive smuggling in Suffolk and asked that more cavalry should be stationed round the coast to assist the officers. By way of emphasizing their request the comptroller at Southwold reported a desperate fight by his men with a gang of forty smugglers.[3] Two years later Mr. Walter Plummer, member for Appleby, told the House that he had recently been in Suffolk, where the smugglers rode about forty or fifty strong, 'and give such excessive wages to the men that will engage with them that the landed interest suffers considerably by it.'[4] While waiting for the smuggling vessel a labourer would receive 2s. 6d. a day, and a guinea a day while running the cargo inland.[5] It was no wonder that, compared with the eighteenpence a day they could earn on the land, the lavish pay of the smugglers brought the farm hands down in crowds to help. It was noticed publicly in 1735 that the customs officers in Norfolk and Suffolk had given up the struggle and ran away when they met a gang,[6] but the official papers give us the same information two years earlier.[7] At Ipswich, in 1733, the smugglers were 'very numerous and so insolent in the town and country that they bid defiance to the officers and threaten their lives.' One smuggler passing through Ipswich, on his way to London to give information, was murdered there in December.

Ill-considered legislation was all in favour of the smugglers; the customs officers, afloat or ashore, were not entitled to any pensions for themselves or their families if disabled or killed, so that they had every inducement to save their lives. By law a captured smuggling vessel should be burnt, therefore when taken at sea it was more profitable to the captors to remove the cargo and receive a gratuity to let the vessel escape. Later yet, the law made it more advantageous to the revenue officers to take only part of the cargo and save themselves the trouble and risk of prosecution which had to be carried on at their own expense. In time of war Suffolk smuggling became even more frequent than during peace because, although somewhat farther than Kent or Sussex from the ports of embarkation, it was less covered by men-of-war. During hostilities there was usually more or less fear of invasion in Kent and Sussex; consequently the south-eastern coast was always vigilantly watched by small war vessels who, although not averse from running goods for themselves, could not be trusted to deal kindly with business rivals. Nor, either then or much later, were they very eager to help anywhere. Captain Chamier relates that while cruising between Orfordness and Yarmouth he brought-to a smuggler in bad weather. The smuggler took his chance and the opportunity of a squall to run ashore at Lowestoft, where he landed his cargo but lost his vessel and two lives. As for Chamier, 'I took the liberty of going to bed again and allowing my friend to make the best use he could of his local knowledge.'[8]

In 1745 war existed with France and Spain; invasion by the former was anticipated, and the revenue boats were taken off their stations and collected at the Nore to act as tenders to the squadron assembled there for the protection of the east coast. In view of the free hand thus afforded it is not surprising to find Suffolk more prominent than ever in the daily record of smuggling. In November Admiral Vernon and Mr. Sparrow of Ipswich wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty about the 'numbers and insolence' of the smugglers and, writing with Sparrow, Vernon may be presumed to have referred to Suffolk as well as to his immediate station in Kent. The Admiralty sent on this letter to the Treasury, who replied rather hopelessly that if the Admiralty could suggest any fresh remedies they should be adopted.[9] Sparrow, at any rate, may have been thinking of a case that had just happened at Beccles, where a man the smugglers had reason to dislike had been taken from his bed, whipped, and then abducted. It was estimated that during the second six months of 1745, there had been 4,551 horseloads run in Suffolk,[10] and it was proposed, without apparently any appreciation of the whimsical side of the suggestion, to form an association of which the members should bind themselves to buy nothing of smugglers 'without real necessity.'[11] Between 11 and 31 July, 1745, three cargoes were run at Benacre, and two at Kessingland, the customs officers being present but afraid to interfere. In 1741, however, one smuggler was hanged at Ipswich for the murder of an officer of the town who had arrested him. In part from sympathy, and in part from fear, juries rarely convicted a smuggler accused of injuring or killing a customs officer, but their interest in their own safety may have been more keenly excited when ordinary town officials were victims. Another reason why smugglers got off and prosecutions were compounded may be found in applications from voters 'who cannot be refused.'

In 1780 there were two revenue cruisers attached to Harwich and one to Yarmouth, the next station north being Boston. The Harwich vessels also worked to the south, therefore this was a

[1] Treas. Papers, ccxl. 81.
[2] Ibid. cclxi. 7.
[3] Treas. Papers and Bks. cclxxix, 62, 77.
[4] *Gent. Mag.* July, 1734.
[5] The duty on tea was then 4*s.* 9*d.* a pound, while the smugglers bought it in Holland at 2*s.*
[6] *Gent. Mag*, 21 August, 1735.
[7] Treas. Bd. Papers, cclxxxviii, 53.
[8] Chamier, *Life of a Sailor*, ii, 255.
[9] Treas. Min. Bks. 19 Nov. 1745.
[10] *Gent. Mag.*
[11] Ibid. 1746, p. 615.

long reach of coast to be watched by three vessels, especially when the duty on brandy was nine shillings a gallon and the smugglers could afford to sell it for three. The lapse of years had brought no improvement, and a parliamentary committee of 1783 reported that the trade was carried on 'with the most open and daring violence in every accessible part of the coast.' As an example, in the same year, a smuggling cutter went aground near Orford and when the revenue officers appeared the smugglers fought and at first drove them off. Returning reinforced to the attack they seized part of the cargo, but an armed gang broke into the storehouse the same night and carried off the goods.[1] In 1784 a seizure was made near Woodbridge after a savage fight, wherein half a dozen officers and all the smugglers, headed by 'the noted George Cullum of Brandestone,' were wounded. As a rule 'the majesty of the law' was inoperative, and ashore, at any rate, there was usually insufficient physical force; in June, 1778, a gang of 140 smugglers worked a cargo near Orford, when there were six customs officers present, who could do nothing but look on. In theory the revenue officers could require the assistance of troops; in practice the soldiers did not like the work and commonly came too late to be of use. In view of the open way in which the smugglers transacted their business they could hardly have required many hiding places, but one under the pulpit of Rishangles church is assigned to them.[2] The story of concealment, or storage, in churches is common to several counties and may be true of Suffolk and Cornwall. The smugglers were often accused of giving information abroad; it is certain that our government, especially during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, often obtained it from them, and some of them were protected from prosecution for that reason.

The close of the Napoleonic war saw the beginning of the end of smuggling. The exhaustion of the Treasury induced the ministry to try new methods of repression, and there were now men available in any number to line the coast. In 1818, at the suggestion of Captain William McCullock, R.N., the 'coast blockade' of Kent and Sussex was instituted, forming a chain of posts within hail of each other, and, in a modified form, the system was extended to the remaining counties. In Suffolk several of the disused martello towers were handed over to the coast blockade service. The Navy men were not open to the intimidation, and were less amenable to the bribery that had coerced or persuaded their civilian predecessors; therefore an era of evasion and trickery succeeded the frank violence with which cargoes had previously been run. It had been intended that the 'blockade' should be performed entirely by seamen of the Navy, but the hardships, and the severe restrictions as to social intercourse with their neighbours locally, caused them to show so much distaste for it that, before long, civilians of all kinds and trades had to be enrolled. The results were not satisfactory; desertion and collusion became prevalent, and in 1829 the formation of a mixed civilian and naval force, under the name of coastguard, was commenced. At first this body was under the control of the Customs department, but in 1831 it was transferred to the Admiralty and became naval in organization. Before 1845 it was maintained purely for revenue protection, but in that year a regulation was made that every seaman appointed should bind himself to serve in the fleet upon an emergency, and this was the first step in the fashioning of the present coastguard. The change was completed by 19 and 20 Vict. cap. 83, which authorized the Admiralty to maintain a force of 10,000 men as a reserve for the Navy, composed of men who had served in it and were liable to be called upon to rejoin it. From May, 1857, the districts were placed under the command of captains of the Navy, and the coastguard is now far more a military than a revenue force.

It was considered, in 1716, that the English forts, compared with the continental standard, were over-gunned; in consequence Landguard was reduced, by a warrant of 6 July, from sixty-three to twenty guns, but as deviations from the order were permitted, it is doubtful whether it was fully put into effect.[3] The construction of a new fort, rather nearer the estuary, was begun in 1717, and finished in 1720;[4] this mounted twenty guns, and ten more were added in 1745. In 1752 it was furnished with ten 32-pounders, twenty-five 18-pounders, and fifteen 6-pounders; there was barrack accommodation for 200 men.[5] The war with the revolted colonies (1776–83) caused the construction of supplementary works, completed in 1782;[6] lines were thrown up inside the 'fleet,' which formerly made the point an island at high tide, but which now served as a moat for the new defences, and batteries were built north and south of the fort. Most of these works were maintained until 1815, but have now disappeared. It was perhaps as well that the fort was never attacked, for in 1811 the area within was filled up with wooden buildings, and three powder magazines adjoined the kitchen.[7] That the hospital was so foul and unhealthy that sick men were usually sent to Harwich was, at that date, no doubt considered a minor detail. There were twenty-five guns in the fort, which contained five bastions and forty-one casemates.[8] Another battery outside—Beauclerk's—mounted eleven 42-pounders, but the north and south batteries of 1782 are not mentioned in 1811. In 1865 the armament consisted only of five guns for saluting purposes,

[1] *Ipswich Journal*, Feb. 1783.
[2] *Eastern Counties Mag.* ii, 81.
[3] W. O. Ordnance, Establishments, i.
[4] Leslie, op. cit. 67.
[5] Add. MSS. 22875.
[6] Leslie, op. cit. 78.
[7] W. O. Ord. Estimates, xxx.
[8] Ibid. Engineers, cxlvii.

but the fortress was rebuilt and re-armed between 1871 and 1876. A fort, commanding the harbour, was also constructed at Shotley.

The Suffolk deep-sea fisheries appear to have declined after the Restoration. A petition to Parliament of about 1665, from Lowestoft, Pakefield, and Kirkley, said that their subsistence depended on the cod and herring fishery, that they were now very poor, and that half the owners had ceased to send out boats. The decrease was common to the whole coast, so that in 1670 a company was formed under the patronage of the king, and endowed with exceptional privileges, for the purpose of restoring the fisheries. At this time Pakefield and Kirkley possessed fourteen sea-going fishing boats, Lowestoft twenty-five, Southwold eight, Aldeburgh and Corton each two. and Dunwich one. Southwold and Aldeburgh each owned three Iceland ships.[1] There were several capitalist associations formed towards the end of the seventeenth century with the object of revivifying the fisheries, but they all failed, and private enterprise declined with them. In 1720 Lowestoft had five Iceland ships, but only one in 1748, which was so unsuccessful that Gillingwater, who wrote in 1790, says that it was the last.[2] A witness before a parliamentary committee of 1785[3] attributed the cessation of the Iceland fishery to the vexatious salt regulations, 'millstones about the neck of the fishing trade.' The Dogger Bank fishery, begun about 1714, was no doubt also a factor in the diminution. The wars of 1739–63 do not seem to have exercised much injurious influence, seeing that on 5 June, 1744, the Lowestoft owners advertised that the mackerel fishery was not stopped as reported. Between 1772 and 1781 the average number of Lowestoft herring boats was thirty-three a year,[4] but sixty-nine was that of Southwold between 1760 and 1770.[6] During the war of American Independence, Louis XVI ordered that fishermen were not to be molested, but the French government showed no such chivalrous consideration during the Revolutionary War. The risk and losses thus caused were accountable for a further decrease, so that in 1798 there were only twenty-four Lowestoft herring boats, but Yarmouth and Lowestoft between them possessed forty or fifty mackerel boats.[6] In 1750 'The Society of the Free British Fishery,' with a capital of £500,000, was incorporated under the aegis of Parliament. It went the way of its predecessors, but its interest for us lies in the fact that Southwold was the head quarters of the association, wharves and storehouses being erected there, and as many as fifty-three fishing 'busses' belonging to the company lying in the port in 1753.[7] In 1786 Ipswich attempted to join in the Greenland whale fishery by sending two ships, but the enterprise was relinquished in a few years.

Notwithstanding certain disabilities Ipswich maintained its position as a port. We find that in 1729 three vessels owned there were taken up for the Admiralty, of which two were of 350 and one of 270 tons;[8] in 1731 and 1734 others of 320, 350, and 400 tons are mentioned as belonging to the place. The Orwell, however, was gradually silting up, and in 1744 there was no depth, even at high water, at Ipswich quays, so that vessels of any size were compelled to load at Downham Bridge. There was a shipbuilding yard at Downham belonging to John Barnard, who shortly afterwards removed to Harwich on account of its superior advantages for his trade. In 1741 the *Hampshire*, 50, was launched at Downham, and the favour enjoyed by a builder working for the Admiralty is indicated by a Navy Board order of 12 February, 1740–1, that another builder, Mr. Goody, was to be informed that if he persisted in employing shipwrights who had left Barnard, and their work on the *Hampshire*, his protections would be withdrawn.[9] When the *Hampshire* was built there were 14 ft. of water at Downham at low tide,[10] but in order to be able to build big ships without inconvenience, Barnard induced the Admiralty to lease Harwich dockyard to him. His principal yard at Ipswich was on the left bank of the river below the bridge, and this is shown as then existent in a map drawn in 1674. By 1764 there were four building yards, two of them being those called the Halifax and Nova Scotia yards on the right bank of the Orwell at Stoke, both eventually, together with Barnard's original yard, held by the Bayley family. The fourth yard may have been occupied by a builder named Stephen Teague; in 1763 William Barnard and William Dodman held the Nova Scotia yard. In 1804 Prentice, Godbold, and Rayment were the Ipswich builders besides the Bayleys. The latter built several East Indiamen, the largest being the *William Fairlie*, 1,348 tons, launched in 1821 from the Halifax yard.[11] The East India Company's shipbuilding was in the hands of a ring of Thames builders so that outsiders, whatever their merits, obtained little of it.

[1] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 91. [2] Ibid. 109. [3] *Reports* (1785), xxvii, 61*b*.

[4] Gillingwater, 94. Until the middle of the eighteenth century boats from the south coast came to hire, or 'host,' themselves during the herring season to Lowestoft owners; the custom ceased when the Lowestoft boats again increased in numbers. There were forty-eight in 1775 (ibid. 80).

[5] *Parl. Papers* (1798), I, 141. [6] Ibid.

[7] Gardner, *Hist. Acct. of Dunwich*, 196.

[8] Navy Bd. Min. 2544, 20 Feb. 1728–9.

[9] Each private builder was given a certain number of 'protections' sheltering his men from impressment.

[10] Navy Bd. Min. 2554, 22 August, 1740. [11] India Off. Mar. Rec. Misc. 529.

At Woodbridge there were no dry docks, and the men-of-war launched from there were built, as was usual, on slips;[1] in 1804 there was only one builder—Dryden—working there. Other Suffolk shipbuilders in the same year were William Critton of Aldeburgh and Southwold, Johnson of Lowestoft, Abbot of Orford, and Williams of Walberswick. This is a very short list compared with Essex, and in view of the number of merchantmen built at Ipswich, it is at first sight surprising that so few men-of-war came from there. The probable explanation is that Ipswich builders were so fully occupied with private work that they did not care to tender often for small men-of-war, and that the Orwell was too shallow to permit the launch of third and fourth rates, upon which the most profit could be made. The other places in Suffolk where building was possible suffered under every difficulty militating against the convenient construction, launch, and fitting of men-of-war, whether such places were situated on rivers or on the coast.

During the long and almost unbroken peace which followed the treaty of Utrecht the only interesting circumstance relating to Suffolk is the presence of a Lowestoft man, Thomas Arnold, as first lieutenant of the *Superbe*, 60, in the battle of Cape Pasaro in 1718. The Spanish flagship, the *Royal Philip*, struck to the *Superbe* and *Kent*. Arnold brought home her flags, which for long afterwards, were used at weddings to decorate the streets of Lowestoft. Another Suffolk hero during the Seven Years' war was Captain William Death of the *Terrible*, a London privateer. The *Terrible*, of twenty-six guns, took a prize on 23 December, 1756, after a severe action. On the 28th, when much damaged, and with a crew of about only 150 effectives, she fell in with the *Vengeance*, 32, and 360 men, just out from St. Malo. The *Terrible* was taken, but only after the captain and nearly half his men had been killed, and when there was hardly an unwounded man left standing; the *Vengeance* is said to have lost two-thirds of her crew.[2] A Lloyds subscription was raised for the widows and orphans.

The state of war which, except for one interval of peace, existed between 1739 and 1763, rekindled the fears of the coast ports, and they all applied for means of defence. A return of 1774[3] shows that there were six guns at Southwold, probably sent in response to a petition of 1745,[4] and mounted at Gunhill. There is a tradition that, taken at Culloden, they were sent by order of the duke of Cumberland in gratitude for the warm reception he received when he landed at Southwold in 1746. The objection to this story is that the official answer of 16 January, 1745–6, acceding to the request, is in the ordinary form in which such replies were couched when guns were sent from the Ordnance Office; that there is no reference to the duke of Cumberland; that the ordnance was probably sent towards the end of March or beginning of April, when guns were also sent to Aldeburgh and other places, while Culloden was not fought until 16 April; and that the duke did not return from Scotland by sea but came by road. In 1819, however, when the coast batteries were being dismantled, the Ordnance Office is said to have admitted that the guns were the gift of the duke and belonged to the town.[5] It is possible, therefore, that in one of his many journeys from the Continent, later than 1746, stress of weather may have driven his ship into Southwold instead of Harwich, and that such a gift was made, confused by lapse of time with the Ordnance Office guns. Aldeburgh obtained eight guns in April, 1746, the townsmen complaining that French privateers took prizes in sight of land. In 1744 one ran into the roads under English colours and signalled for a pilot; when a boat went out the privateer fired into it, killing and wounding three men.[6] She was afterwards captured by H.M.S. *Hound*, and it would have been in accordance with international law to have hanged her crew as pirates. Pakefield was supplied with two and Lowestoft with six guns; in every case it was made a condition that the towns should build the batteries and provide ammunition. At Lowestoft the battery at the south end of the town was thrown up in 1744, and, according to Gillingwater,[7] two of the guns were removed in 1756 to a new battery at the north end on the beach. During the American war the south battery was rebuilt by the government in 1782 on a larger scale, so that it mounted nine guns; there were fourteen in the north battery, but some of them were considered useless.[8] About 1781 a 4-gun battery had been placed at Pakefield, and a 6-gun battery was also built on Gorleston heights.

The year 1745 brought a keen apprehension of a descent from Dunkirk. Admiral Vernon was in command in the Downs with a subsidiary squadron, under Commodore Thomas Smith, at the Nore, whose especial duty it was to guard the Thames, Essex, and Suffolk. In December Vernon called the attention of the Admiralty to the defenceless state of the Suffolk coast, and, in consequence, Smith was directed to visit the harbours and immediately take what steps he could to remedy the deficiencies.[9] As we know, there was no descent on the east coast, but the same fear

[1] *Suffolk Traveller* (1764), 106.

[2] See the *Suffolk Garland* (1818), p. 127, for a song on the subject. The *Vengeance* was taken in 1758 by H.M.S. *Hussar*, 28.

[3] Ho. Off. Ord. v. 29.

[4] Wake, *Southwold and its Vicinity*, 260.

[5] Ibid. 266.

[6] *Ipswich Journal*, 21 July, 11 August, 1744.

[7] *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 422.

[8] W. O. Misc. Var. $\frac{80}{84}$.

[9] Admir. Sec. Min. lii, 3 December, 1745.

recurred with every war. In 1779 a combined French and Spanish fleet was in command of the Channel for some weeks, and, although its real objective was known to be the south coast, the Admiralty were prepared, as a measure of precaution, to extinguish the Orfordness among other lights. The American war produced a press-gang incident at Ipswich, ordinary enough in its details except that it ended in murder. On 12 December, 1778, a press party from Harwich searched the 'Green Man,' an Ipswich public-house; the townsmen came to the rescue, there was a fight, and the proprietor of the public-house died from his injuries in a few hours. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Lieut. Fairlie, the officer in command, and sixteen of his men, a verdict repeated when they were tried at the Sessions. The Admiralty, of course, exerted every means to save them, and brought the case up to the King's Bench on a technical point, which was won, and the Ipswich verdict quashed.[1] During the war of American Independence there was a strong party in England in sympathy with the colonists. Perhaps the antipathy they aroused rendered the loyalists still more loyal, and was the reason that the Suffolk supporters of the government desired to prove their ardour by presenting the country with a 74-gun ship. A meeting was held at Stowmarket on 5 August, 1782, and a circular sent out, signed by the sheriff, inviting subscriptions. Admiral Lord Keppel, who was a Suffolk seaman in so far as he possessed a seat in the county, subscribed £300, and at first promises came in quickly. But the cost of a 74-gun ship ready for sea was nearly £100,000, and the enthusiasm of the county was not exchangeable for such an amount. Clarke[2] is responsible for the statement that there was no intention of proceeding with the gift unless twelve other counties followed the example of Suffolk, but there is no suggestion of such a condition in the original circular;[3] so far from that, the undertaking was held up as one which was to serve as a model for the rest of the kingdom. In the result, only some £20,000 was promised, and the peace of 1783 was a welcome reason to drop the scheme.

A plan of Aldeburgh in 1779 shows four batteries and a redoubt, but their general condition in 1781 was criticized very unfavourably.[4] It was a very critical period of the war; the fleets and armies were acting at the periphery of the empire and the centre was only defended by militia. Regiments or companies of this force were stationed at Ipswich, Woodbridge, Landguard, Aldeburgh, Southwold, and Lowestoft. Gorleston and Corton were added after the Dutch declared war in 1780 when there was a still more instant expectation of invasion. It is said that the government had information of an intended descent in 1782; consequently the coast was patrolled by cavalry during the summer nights and a system of alarm by rockets was tried on 18 July.[5] After some experiments an alarm was conveyed from Bawdsey to Caister, a distance of fifty miles in eleven minutes.

When the Revolutionary War broke out the great need was for men. Years of ever-widening commerce and of naval victory had their effect eventually in atttracting thousands of men to the sea, but at first the supply of sailors was altogether insufficient to man the royal and merchant navies. Therefore besides the impress system, always working, and a suspension of certain sections of the Navigation Acts, Parliament sanctioned in 1795 and 1796, an experiment analogous to the ship-money project of Charles I by requiring the counties each to obtain a certain number of men for the Navy who were to be attracted by a bounty to be raised by an assessment charged in every parish like other local rates.[6] In 1795 the county was called upon for 263, and in 1796 for 341 men, comparing with 244 and 316 for Essex, and 460 and 337 for Norfolk. The ports also were required to procure men, an embargo being placed upon all British shipping until they were obtained. Aldeburgh was assessed for nineteen men, Ipswich fifty-eight, Southwold twenty-one, and Woodbridge eighteen. In 1798 the need for men was greater than ever; Ireland was in revolt, the discontent which had flamed into the mutinies of 1797 was still smouldering in the fleets, the French armies were terrorizing the continent, and the battle of the Nile was not won until August. In Suffolk preparations were made to meet invasion; on alarm being given by means of red flags, all stock was to be driven inland, wheeled vehicles removed, and gangs of labourers set to break up the roads and barricade them with trees. There was an evening of enthusiasm at Ipswich in October, when on the 16th, a ball was given to celebrate the victory of the Nile, Lady Nelson, who was received by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, a distinguished veteran of the American war, being present.

In view of the persistent fear of invasion and the want of men, all protections from the press for fishermen and others were suspended in May, 1798, and by an Order in Council of the 14th of that month a new force, the Sea Fencibles, was created. It was raised with the intention of meeting an invading flotilla by another of the same character and for the purpose of manning the coast batteries; it was to be composed of fishermen and boatmen as well as the semi-seafaring dwellers of

[1] Clarke, *Hist. of Ipswich*, 109; Admir. Sec. Min. lxxxvi, 15 December, 1778; *Ann. Register*, June, 1779.
[2] *Hist. of Ipswich*, 110.
[3] B. M. *Suffolk Newspaper Cuttings*, 1304 m., fol. 34.
[4] Add. MSS. 15533; W. O. Misc. Var. $\frac{30}{64}$.
[5] Gillingwater, op. cit. 432.
[6] 35 Geo. III, c. 5; 37 Geo. III, c. 4.

the shore who were not liable to impressment. The order applied to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, but had especial reference to that stretch of coast, extending from Norfolk to Hampshire, which fronts the continental centre, and is always particularly exposed to attack. The men were to be volunteers and the principal inducement offered was that, while enrolled, the seafaring members were free from the liability to be impressed; they were under the command of naval officers and were paid a shilling a day when on service. In 1798 there were two districts for Suffolk, but one included part of Norfolk, as it extended from Cromer to Southwold; it was served by one captain, four lieutenants and 322 men. The other district reached from Southwold to Shotley with seven officers and 346 men.[1] If, which is doubtful, it was worth anything it was a cheap defensive force, the cost for Suffolk for the year ending 17 March, 1801 being only £2,694 12*s.* 4*d.*[2] By that year the total number enrolled in Suffolk had risen to 1,142 men, of which Gorleston supplied 250, Lowestoft 234, Pakefield 44, Woodbridge 120, Aldeburgh 89, Southwold 203, and Walton 99.[3]

When Napoleon collected his army and flotilla in Boulogne and the neighbourhood in 1801 the tension became acute and on 24 July St. Vincent wrote that the French preparations were 'beginning to wear a very serious appearance.' On the same day Nelson, just returned from the Baltic, was commissioned as commander-in-chief between Orfordness and Beachy Head. Besides a squadron of men-of-war the Sea Fencibles were placed under his authority. A sixty-four gun ship and smaller vessels were held ready in Hollesley Bay, and armed Thames barges placed at the mouths of the Orford and Woodbridge rivers. It was now proposed to use the Sea Fencibles to man the stationary ships and the flotilla at sea, but as early as 30 July Nelson found that 'they were always afraid of some trick,' in other words, of being impressed for foreign service instead of being allowed to go ashore when the immediate need was past.[4] Moreover, although they all expressed their readiness to fight when the enemy appeared, they said that to leave their work indefinitely would mean the ruin of their families.[5] Of the Gorleston men only twenty volunteered to go to sea, forty-eight offered themselves from Lowestoft and Pakefield, forty from Southwold, eight from Aldeburgh, but twenty-eight out of thirty from Orford.[6] The district captain thought that the men would come forward on occasion, but there seems to have been an implicit condition in their minds that they should be judges of the occasion, for when the Orford volunteers were sent for they refused to serve except practically within sight of their homes. Sir Edward Berry, who was commanding in Hollesley Bay, wrote that the Sea Fencibles were 'a set of drunken good for nothing fellows, and I beg that none of them may be sent to the *Ruby*.'[7] By 13 August the district captain reported that scarcely any volunteers had appeared except fourteen from Woodbridge, and his remedy was to discharge the others from the Sea Fencibles and press them in the usual way. Bad as is this record it is better for Suffolk and Essex than for Kent and Sussex, from which no volunteers at all could be obtained. On the same 13 August Nelson gave his opinion that if the French put to sea they would be destroyed before they got ten miles out and that all danger of invasion was over. The reluctance of the Sea Fencibles was, therefore, of little importance. When the war was renewed in 1803 the force was reconstituted in deference to popular fears, but among professional men it was regarded with contempt as a refuge for skulkers in the lower grades, and for officers who were paid better for doing nothing on shore than their comrades were for working at sea. The outer ring of fleets, with a great volunteer army at home, were relied upon for security until Trafalgar extinguished the possibility of invasion.

Hollesley Bay was much used as a man-of-war anchorage during the wars which began in 1793, but it had its risks and from 1807 Yarmouth and Lowestoft Roads were the head quarters for the squadron on the station. The River Alde has some deep water pits inside, and in 1813 it was proposed to form a new harbour, by a cutting at Orfordness, capable of receiving seventy-four gun ships. The project was abandoned because the formation of a bar was considered certain.[8] The operations in the North Sea rendered the speedy conveyance of intelligence of importance, therefore from 1798 signal stations were established round the coast. The places selected were, Further Warren near Bawdsey; Orford Castle; Felixstowe; Eastern Point, Orford Haven; Red House Warren near Aldeburgh; Beacon Hill, Dunwich; Yoxford; Easton Cliff; Gunton near Lowestoft; and Kessingland. Later, all these stations, except Yoxford and Orford Castle, were links in a semaphore telegraph system between Yarmouth and London.[9]

In 1796 it was proposed to defend the exposed portions of the coast, where a hostile landing was comparatively easy, by the erection of martello towers, adapted from a type of fortification

[1] *Parl. Papers* (1857–8), xxxix, 337. [2] Acct. Genl. Reg. xxi. [3] Add. MSS. 34918, fol. 223.
[4] Nicolas, *Letters and Despatches*, iv, 432 (Nelson to St. Vincent).
[5] 'They are no more willing to give up their work than their superiors.' Nelson to St. Vincent, 9 August.
[6] Add. MSS. 34918, fol. 122. [7] Ibid. fol. 142.
[8] Suckling, *Hist. of Suffolk*, i, v; B.M. *Suffolk*, 10351, c. 24.
[9] Admir. Sec. Misc. dxci; Admir. Acct. Gen. Misc. Var. 109,

which had given our men-of-war much trouble in Corsica. They were recommended by Lord St. Vincent as useful to support such defending force as might be at hand at the moment of descent, but their construction was not begun until after the renewal of the war in 1803. In Suffolk their erection was commenced in 1808,[1] and those in the county were lettered from L to Z, with three more, AA, BB, and CC. They were armed either with three 24-pounders on traversing platforms or with one 24-pounder and two 5½-in. howitzers; except M, O, P, S, U, Z, and BB, they also had batteries in front of them, mounting from three to seven 24-pounders.[2] At Aldeburgh there were three batteries on the beach, and at Lowestoft north, centre and south batteries, the last mounting twelve guns, dated from 1805.[3] Of the towers, L and M were at Shotley; N at Walton; O and P at Landguard; Q, R, and S along Felixstowe Bay; T, U, and V at the mouth of the Deben; the others, except CC, which was just south of Slaughden Quay, were along Hollesley Bay. After the war M, W, X, Y, and Z, were let to private tenants; V was sold in 1820 to Lord Dysart, to whom the ground belonged, and BB in 1822; some of the towers were used by the coast blockade.[4] All three batteries at Lowestoft had been disarmed and the ground let on lease; in 1822 the tenant of the centre battery was under arrest for stealing pigs.

About 1797 there was a movement to establish a lifeboat at Lowestoft for the memory of a great storm in 1770, when thirty vessels were driven ashore on Lowestoft Sands and all the crews drowned, was still vivid.[5] Dunwich was considered to be another suitable place 'if it were sufficiently inhabited by seamen.' According to the *Annual Register* boats were stationed at Lowestoft and Bawdsey in 1801, but if that is so it is difficult to understand why one of the fourteen boats voted by Lloyds in 1802 was also sent to Lowestoft as well as one to Aldeburgh.[6] However this may be, the results at Lowestoft were not satisfactory—'motives have been suggested but they are too disreputable to be believed'[7]—and it was decided to remove the boat elsewhere if the Lowestoft men continued to hang back. In 1821 a lifeboat was built at Ipswich by public subscription and stationed at Landguard;[8] how long this boat continued there is not known, but a new one was supplied by the Admiralty in 1845. In 1825 the 'Suffolk Association for saving the Lives of Shipwrecked Seamen' was founded, and this body placed boats at Sizewell Gap and Woodbridge Haven in 1826. Manby's mortar apparatus was supplied to Orfordness and Lowestoft in 1809, the year after its first practical trial at Winterton; no further issues were made until 1815 and 1816, when Kessingland, Easton, Dunwich, and Aldeburgh were similarly equipped.

No Suffolk built man-of-war became especially famous in naval annals, but the earlier ones were stoutly built vessels for they were worked hard and long before they came to their end. Those whose names commemorated Commonwealth victories were rechristened at the Restoration, but as the Royalists had no victories to recall the new names lacked particular significance. It will be noticed[9] that the *Advice*, *Basing*, *Maidstone*, and *Kingfisher* all fought desperate actions with Algerine squadrons and their experience is emphatic of the dangers of the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. In the case of the *Kingfisher* the lieutenant, Ralph Wrenn, who fought the ship after Kempthorne was killed, was awarded a gold medal and chain. Of the *Maidstone's* (*Mary Rose*) action there is a picture in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, and her captain, another Kempthorne, afterwards became an admiral. John Ashby, another captain of the *Mary Rose*, became one of the leading admirals of the second rank during the earlier part of the reign of William III. Edward Russell, subsequently Lord Orford and the victor of La Hogue, some time commander of the *Reserve*, is the only one of the captains who rose to fame and high rank, although some of the others became notorious if not famous; for even among these few ships we find illustrations of the low standard of discipline and personal honour characterizing the majority of naval officers during the Restoration period. In 1669 Captain Wilshaw, of the *Preston*, was forgiven a fine of £282 10*s.* laid upon him for embezzling prize goods. A year earlier the crew of the *Reserve* petitioned to be transferred to some other ship, as Captain Gunman sold the provisions and ammunition to foreigners, used the *Reserve* as a merchantman, and flogged them if any of the goods he shipped were missing. The redeeming quality of these men was that although ignorant, lazy, drunken, and dishonest they were usually staunch fighters and, genially as they regarded each other's ethical transgressions, they were severe enough when sitting in court-martial on a fellow captain who had lost his ship to the enemy, a severity which was the saving salt during an epoch of which the tendencies might have been permanently ruinous to naval efficiency. The depositions of the court-martial on the loss of the *Mary Rose* show that Captain Bounty wasted three days waiting off Plymouth for his wife and went far out of his course because paid to convoy a Genoese merchantman, thus falling in with a French squadron. But he fought for seven hours to save the English traders in his charge, and did enable them and his consort the *Constant Warwick* to escape. He was

[1] Add. MSS. 21040, fol. 2.
[2] W.O. Ord. Engineers, cxlvii.
[3] Ibid. Rents, xxxviii.
[4] *Ante*, p. 237.
[5] B.M. *Suffolk Cuttings*, 1304 m. fol. 183.
[6] Martin, *Hist. of Lloyds*, 215.
[7] *Ipswich Journal*, 13 Oct. 1804.
[8] B.M. *Suffolk Cuttings*, 10351, g. 1.
[9] Appendix of Ships.

cashiered, but it was for ill-conduct in going out of his course and not for want of courage. The crews were as eager for plunder as their officers and as unscrupulous in obtaining it. On 19 April, 1665, the master and many of the men of the *Basing* were court-martialled for brutality to the crew of a Frenchman they had searched. The master was cashiered and the men were sentenced to be flogged round the fleet.

There is little to be said about the later ships; they were mostly small vessels engaged in police work in the Narrow Seas, which they did fairly successfully. The *Cruiser*, built from the plans of Sir William Rule, the then Surveyor of the Navy and not usually a very fortunate designer, proved to be very fast, as is shown by the long list of prizes under her name; a list not complete, for she took other vessels of too small force to be worth recapitulating. Several other sloops were built on her model, and in 1823, five years after she had been sold out of the Navy, the Admiralty directed, in one order, six more to be constructed on her lines. The *Transit* was from the plans of Mr. R. H. Gower, an officer of the East India Company living at Ipswich, but was spoiled, he maintained, by alterations made by the Navy Board while she was being built. From 1804 onwards all the men-of-war were built by the Bayleys.

The *Ganges*, a wooden 84-gun ship built at Bombay in 1821 and used as a training ship for boys at Devonport between 1865 and 1898, was transferred to Harwich harbour in 1899; two of the earlier ironclads, the *Minotaur* and *Agincourt*, became tenders to her in 1906. From 1 January, 1904, Felixstowe Dock became the local head quarters of a torpedo boat and destroyer flotilla.

APPENDIX OF SHIPS

Chronological List of Men-of-War built in Suffolk, with Details of Commissions to the Close of the Napoleonic War [1]

Abbreviations used :—C. and C. = Convoy and cruising duties; Ch. = Channel Fleet; W.I. = West Indies; E.I. = East Indies; N.A. = North America; Nfd. = Newfoundland; Med. = Mediterranean; N.S. = North Sea; G.S. = Guard ship; H.S. = Hospital ship; A.O. = Admiralty Order; P.O. = Paid out of Commission.

Advice (4th rate), 545 tons, 42 guns; built at Woodbridge 1650. Services: C. and C. 1654–60 (c. Fr. Allen); C. and C. 1663 (c. Wm. Poole); battles of 3 June, 1665 (c. Poole) and 25 July, 1666 (c. Chas. O'Brien); C. and C. 1667 and P.O.; Med. 1670 (c. Ben. Young), in July, in charge of convoy with *Guernsey*, engaged seven Algerines off Cape de Gatte, 24 k. and w. including capt. Young killed; Med. 1671–2 (c. Hen. Barnardiston); Fleet battles 1672 (c. Dominick Nugent)–3 (c. John Dawson); Ch. 1674; G.S. Portsmouth 1678–9 (c. Wm. Holden); Ch. 1688 (c. Hen. Williams)–9 (c. John Grenville, 2nd lt. Rich. Kirby), battle of Bantry Bay, 1 May, 1689; C. and C. 1690–2 (c. Ed. Boys and Chas. Hawkins); W.I. 1693–4 (c. Wm. Harman), operations on coast of Española, Harman killed; C. and C. 1695 (c. Ed. Acton); E.I. 1696–8; C. and C. 1699 (c. Jas. Greenway); N.A. 1700–2 (c. Wm. Caldwell); C. and C. 1703 (c. Salmon Morris); N.A. 1704–6 (c. J. Lowen), in June, 1704 captured a privateer of 18 guns taken into Navy as *Advice Prize*; Nfd. 1707–9 (c. Peter Chamberlain); C. and C. 1710–11 (c. Lord Duffus). Taken off Yarmouth 27 June, 1711, by six French privateers, 60 k. and w.

Reserve (4th rate), 533 tons, 42 guns; built at Woodbridge 1650. Services: Nfd. 1654 (c. Robt. Plumleigh); C. and C. 1655; Nfd. 1656; C. and C. 1657–9; Nfd. 1660; Med. 1663–4; Fleet battles 1665–6 (c. John Tyrwhitt); C. and C. 1667–8 (c. Christ. Gunman); C. and C. 1670–2 (c. Thos. Elliott and Jasper Grant); repairing during 1673; Med. 1674–5 (c. Edw. Russell); Nfd. 1676; Med. 1677; Ch. 1678 (c. David Lloyd); Nfd. 1679 (c. Lawrence Wright); C. and C. 1681–2 (c. Hen. Priestman); Ch. 1684–5 (c. Geo. Aylmer); G.S. Portsmouth 1686–7 (c. Dom. Nugent); Ch. 1688; Med. 1691 (c. Thos. Crawley); C. and C. 1692–4 (c. Jas. Launce); W.I. 1696–7 (c. John Moses); Nfd. 1702 (c. Rich. Haddock); C. and C. 1703. Foundered in Yarmouth Roads in the Great Storm of 27 Nov., 1703; c. John Anderson and 174 men drowned. See also *ante*, p. 242.

Maidstone (4th rate), renamed Mary Rose at Restoration; 556 tons, 40 guns; built at Woodbridge 1654. Services: Med. 1654–7 (c. Thos. Adams), action of Tunis 4 April, 1655, Santa Cruz 20 April, 1657; C. and C. 1657–60 (c. Thos. Penrose); E.I. 1662–4 (c. Jos. Cubitt); Ch. 1665–6, battle of 3 June, 1665 (c. Wm. Reeves), battles of June and July, 1666 (c. Thos.

[1] Names of captains are within brackets. It should be remarked that only the chief movements of vessels are given. A ship may have been for some years on a foreign station, and during her commission have come home several times for repairs; such intervals are not noticed in the list of services, nor, if occupied in more than one employment in a year is any other than the principal one usually named.

Darcy); C. and C. 1667–8; Med. 1669–71 (c. John Kempthorne and Wm. Davies), on 29 Dec., 1669 Kempthorne fought seven Algerines off Gibraltar, 30 k. and w.; Fleet battles 1672–3 (c. Thos. Hamilton); Med. 1674–5 (c. Wm. Capon); C. and C. 1678 (c. Chas. Talbot); Nfd. 1679; Med. 1681–4 (c. John Ashby); Ch. 1685 (c. John Temple); W.I. 1686–8 (c. Ralph Wrenn); W.I. 1691 (c. John Bounty), taken by French 12 July, 1691, when outward bound. See also *ante*, p. 242.

PRESTON (4th rate); renamed ANTELOPE at Restoration; 516 tons, 40 guns; built at Woodbridge 1654. Services: C. and C. 1654–9 (c. Ph. Gethings and Robt. Robinson); Med. 1660; Med. 1663–4 (c. Robt. Clark); Ch. 1665–6, battle of June, 1665 (c. John Chichely), on 4 Sept., took *Seven Oaks*, 54, battles of June and July 1666 (c. Freschville Holles), raid in Vlie in August; C. and C. 1667–8 and P.O.; C. and C. 1671 (c. Roger Strickland); Fleet battles 1672–4 (c. Rich. White and Gustavus L'Hostein), in Sept. 1672 took a Dutch man-of-war and two merchantmen; C. and C. 1678 (c. Hen. Priestman); Nfd. 1679; Med. 1680–2 (c. Jas. Storey) and P.O.; Ch. 1688 (c. Hugh Ridley); C. and C. 1689 (c. Hen. Wickham); Ch. and W.I. 1690, battle of Bantry Bay 1 May, 1690; W.I. 1691–2 (c. Josiah Crow). Sold by A.O. 11 July, 1693.

BASING (5th rate), renamed GUERNSEY at Restoration; 245 tons, 28 guns; built at Walberswick, 1654. Services: C. and C, 1654–60 (c. Alex. Farley and Rich. Hodges); Nfd. 1661; C. and C. 1662–4 (c. Humph. Coningsby); Ch. 1665 (c. John Utber), attack on Bergen, 2 August, 1665, c. Utber killed; C. and C. 1666–71 (c. Thos. Fisher, Thos. Bridgman, Argentine Allington, and Rich. London), in July, 1760, with *Advice*, engaged seven Algerines off Cape de Gatte, and Allington killed; C. and C. 1672 (c. Leon. Harris); Ch. 1673, battle of 28 May; C. and C. 1674 (c. Chas. Royden); Salee, 1675; C. and C. 1676–7 (c. Jas. Harman); Med. 1678, on 19 March, 1677–8, engaged an Algerine of 50 guns, 9 k. including Harman; C. and C. 1679–81 (c. Math. Tennant); W.I. 1682–4; C. and C. 1685, and P.O.; Ch. 1688 (c. Thos. Ashton); made fireship by A.O. of 12 Jan. 1688–9; Ch. 1689 (c. Robt. Arthur); W.I. 1690–3 (c. Ed. Oakley). Condemned and sold by A.O. 26 Oct. 1693. See also *ante*, p. 243.

KINGFISHER (4th rate), 663 tons, 46 guns; built at Woodbridge 1675. Services: Med. 1675 (c. David Trotter); Med. 1677–82 (c. Morgan Kempthorne, and Edw. Wheeler), action in May 1681 with eight Algerines, 46 k. and w. including Kempthorne killed; C. and C. 1685 (c. Thos. Hamilton); N.A. 1686–7; Ch. 1689 (c. Thos. Allen); Ireland 1690 (c. John Johnson); Nfd. 1691; C. and C. 1692–5 (c. Jasper Hicks); E.I. 1696–7; C. and C. 1702–5 (c. Anth. Tollett). Made hulk at Harwich by A.O. 17 Aug. 1706. See also *ante*, p. 242.

MILFORD (5th rate), 385 tons, 32 guns; built at Ipswich 1695. Services: C. and C. 1695–7 (c. Thos. Lyell). Taken by French privateers in the North Sea, 7 Jan. 1696–7, 60 k. and w. Retaken 1702 but not again used in the Navy.

HASTINGS (5th rate), 381 tons, 32 guns; built at Woodbridge 1698. Services: C. and C. 1698 (c. Rich. White); E.I. 1699–1701; C. and C. 1702–3 (c. Rich. Culliford and John Kenney); Guinea 1704–5 (c. Ph. Stanhope); C. and C. 1706–7 (c. Fr. Vaughan). Wrecked off Yarmouth, 9 Feb. 1706–7, 26 men saved.

LUDLOW (5th rate), 381 tons, 32 guns; built at Woodbridge 1698. Services: C. and C. 1699 (c. Hen. Lumley); W.I. 1700–1; C. and C. 1702–3 (c. Wm. Cock). Taken by two French 32-gun ships, 16 Jan. 1702–3.

GREYHOUND (5th rate), 494 tons, 40 guns; built at Ipswich 1703. Services: C. and C. 1703–4 (c. Chas. Langton and Wm. Stephenson); W.I. 1705–7 (c. Wm. Herriot); C. and C. 1708–11 (c. Jas. Stewart). Wrecked off Tynemouth, 26 Aug. 1711.

BIDEFORD (6th rate), 423 tons, 24 guns; built at Ipswich 1740. Services: C. and C. 1740 (c. Robt. Allen), 1741 (c. Lord Forester), 1742 (c Hon. Geo. Dawnay), 1743 (c. Sheldrake Laton), took the *Sta. Familia*, 14, in 1742; W.I. 1744–8 (c. C. Powlett). Broken up by A.O. 8 Aug. 1754.

HAMPSHIRE (4th rate), 854 tons, 50 guns; built at Ipswich 1741. Services: C. and C. 1742–3 (c. Thos. Limeburner and Edw. Legge); Ch. 1744 (c. Hon. Geo. Murray); Med. and W.I. 1745–6 (c. Lionel Daniel); C. and C. 1747–8 and P.O.; Ch. 1755–6 (c. Coningsby Norbury); St. Helena 1757; C. and C. 1758; W.I. 1759–62 (c. Arthur Usher), on 18 Oct. 1760, destroyed *Prince Edward*, 32, and *Duc de Choiseul*, 32, privateers, off Cuba; reduction of Havannah 1762. Broken up by A.O. 29 Aug. 1766.

GRANADO (bombship), 270 tons, 8 guns; built at Ipswich 1742. Services: As sloop, C. and C. 1743–8 (c. Arthur Upton and Wm. Parry). In 1747 the crew petitioned that she was so bad a seaboat that she was always wet. As bomb, Ch. 1758 (c. S. Uvedale), bombardment of St. Malo; W.I. 1759; C. and C. 1760 (c. John Botterill); W.I. 1761–3 (c. Thos. Frazer), reduction of Martinique 1762. Sold by A.O. 1 June, 1763.

CORMORANT (sloop), 304 tons, 14 guns; built at Ipswich 1776. Services: E.I. 1776–9 (c. Geo. Young and Wm. Owen); Lisbon 1780 (c. J. W. Payne); N.A. 1781 (c. Chas McEvoy). Taken off Charlestown by the French fleet under Comte de Grasse on 24 Aug. 1781.

SAVAGE (sloop), 302 tons, 14 guns; built at Ipswich 1778. Services: C. and C. 1778; W.I. 1779–80 (c. Thos. Graves); N.A. 1781 (c. Chas. Stirling), taken by the American ship *Congress* in Sept. 33 k. and w., retaken immediately afterwards, with the *Congress*, by H.M.S. *Solebay*; N.A. 1782 (c. Edw. Crawley); C. and C. 1783 and P.O.; C. and C. 1786 (c. R. R. Burgess), 1787–90 (c. J. Dickinson), 1791 (c. P. Frazer), 1792 (c. Alex. Fearon), 1793 (c. A. Fraser), took *Custine*, 8, on 24 Feb. 1793; Downs Station 1794–1802 (c. Geo. Winckworth, N. Thompson, and W. H. Webley). H.S. Woolwich, 1804–5. Sold 1805.

CHAMPION (6th rate), 518 tons, 24 guns; built at Ipswich 1779. Services: Ch. 1779–80 (c. C. P. Hamilton); W.I. 1781–4 (c. T. Wells and A. Hood), present at Sir Sam. Hood's action with de Grasse at St. Kitts, 25–7 Jan. 1782, and at Rodney's victory of 12 April, 1782, took *Ceres*, 16, on 19 April, 1782; C. and C. 1786–90 (c. Wm. Domett and S. Edwards); C. and C. 1796–9 (c. Hen. Raper and G. E. Hammond), present at Sir Home Popham's attempt on Ostend, 19 May, 1796, took *Anacreon*, 16, on 26 June, 1799; Med. 1800–2 (c. Lord Wm. Stewart), retook H.M.S. *Bulldog*, 18, on 16 Sept. 1802; N.S. 1803–5 (c. R. H. Bromley), engaged batteries off Ostend, 23 July, 1805, when 5 k. and w.; N.A. 1806; Ch. 1807–8 (c. K. Mackenzie and J. C. Crawford); C. and C. 1809 (c. R. Henderson). R.S. Sheerness, 1810–16. Sold 1816.

SPITFIRE (sloop), 421 tons, 16 guns; built at Ipswich 1782. Services: As fireship, Ch. 1782 (c. Robt. Mayston); Nore, 1783; Ch. 1790–1 (c. R. Watson and T. Fremantle). As sloop, C. and C. 1792 (c. J. Woodley), 1793 (c. P. C. Durham), on 13 Feb. took *L'Afrique*, 1794 (c. J. Cook), 1795–6 (c. A. Morris), 1797–1801 (c. M. Seymour), 1802–3 (c. Robt. Keen), took *Les Bons Amis*, 6, on 2 April, 1797, *L'Aimable Manet*, 14, on 1 May, 1797, *Wilding*, 14, on 28 Dec. 1798, *Resolve*, 14, on 31 March. 1799, *Heureux Société*, 14, on 17 April, 1800, *Heureux Courier*, 14, on 19 June, 1800; Ireland 1804; N.S. 1806 (c. H. S. Butt); Leith Station, 1808–10 (c. J. Ellis); C. and C. 1811–14. Convict H.S. Portsmouth, 1818–20. Sold 1823.

MEGÆRA (fireship), 425 tons, 14 guns; built at Ipswich 1783. Services: Ch. 1794–5 (c. Hen. Blackwood), 1796 (c. A. C. Dickson), 1797–8 (c. G. J. Shirley), 1799 (c. Geo. White), 1800–2 (c. H. West); N.S. 1804–5. Sold 1817.

CRUISER (sloop), 384 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1797. Services: N.S. 1798–1800 (c. Chas. Wollaston), took *Jupiter*, 8, 27 April, 1798, *Deux Frères*, 14, on 21 May, 1799, *Courageux*, 14, on 13 July, 1799, *Persévérant*, 14, on 23 March, 1800, *Filibustier*, 14, on 25 March, 1800; Copenhagen, 1801 (c. Jas. Brisbane); c. Brisbane sounded and laid down buoys in the Middle Ground to replace those removed by the Danes and was commended by Nelson in his official report; N.S. 1802–6 (c. John Hancock), took *Contre-amiral Magon*, 17, on 18 Oct. 1804, *Vengeur*, 14, on 13 Nov. 1805; Copenhagen, 1807 (c. P. Stoddart), action with Danish flotilla on 22 Aug., took *Jena*, 16, on 6 Jan., took *Brave*, 16, and recaptured two merchantmen on 26 Jan.; Baltic, 1808–12 (c. G. C. Mackenzie); N.S. 1813–14. Sold by A.O. of 1 Dec. 1818. See also *ante*, p. 243.

DARING (gunbrig), 177 tons, 12 guns; built at Ipswich 1804. Services: N.S. 1808–10; west coast of Africa (Lt. W. R. Pascoe), 1812–13. Destroyed 1 Feb. 1813, to prevent capture by the enemy.

IMOGEN (sloop), 282 tons, 16 guns; built at Ipswich 1805. Services: Med. 1806–13; Irish Station 1814. Sold 1817.

ORESTES (sloop), 280 tons, 16 guns; built at Ipswich 1805. Services: C. and C. 1805–14 (c. Hon. G. Powlett and J. R. Lapenotière); took *La Dorade*, 10, on 9 May, and *Loup Garou*, 16, on 27 Oct. 1810. Sold 1817.

HEARTY (gunbrig), 183 tons, 12 guns; built at Ipswich 1805. Services: Ch. 1805–6; Portsmouth Station 1807–8; Baltic 1809; N.S. 1810–14. Sold 1816.

JULIA (sloop), 248 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1806. Services: C. and C. 1806–7 (c. Robt. Yarker); W.I. 1808–11 (c. Chas. Kerr and Robt. Dowers); N.A. 1812. Wrecked off Tristan d'Acunha, 2 Oct. 1817; 55 men drowned.

SAPPHO (sloop), 384 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1806. Services: Copenhagen and N.S. 1807–8 (c. Geo. Langford), took the (Danish) *Admiral Yawl*, 28, 2 March, 1808; W.I. 1808–14 (c. Wm. Charlton and T. Graves).

PEACOCK (sloop), 386 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1807. Services: C. and C. 1807–8 (c. Wm. Peake); N.S. 1809–11; C. and C. 1812; W.I. 1813. Taken and sunk by U.S. man-of-war *Hornet*, 20, on 24 Feb. 1813; the *Peacock* lost nine men drowned and thirty-eight k. and w. including c. Peake, killed. The *Hornet* lost one man killed and two wounded. The *Peacock* had long won the admiration of lady visitors by the 'spit and polish' resplendence of her get-up. The guns were kept brillantly polished but apparently the gunnery left much to be desired.

BARRACOUTA (sloop), 385 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1807. Services: E.I. 1808–14 (c. Geo. Harris, Wm. Wells, and Sam. Leslie). Sold 1815.

Drake (sloop), 237 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1808. Services: W.I. 1808 (c. J. Fleming); N.S. 1809–14 (c. Eyles Mounsher), took *Tiksit*, 18, on 9 April, 1810. Wrecked Nfd. 1822. Many drowned.

Jasper (sloop), 237 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1808. Services: C. and C. 1808 (c. W. W. Daniel); Portugal 1809–10; Portsmouth Station 1811; Portugal 1812–14. Wrecked at Plymouth 20 Jan. 1817. Only four men saved.

Onyx (sloop), 237 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1808. Services: N.S. 1809–10 (c. C. Gill and Wm. Hamilton), recaptured H.M.S. *Manly*, 16, on 1 Jan. 1809; Med. 1811–13; W.I. 1814. Sold 1819.

Rosario (sloop), 236 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1808. Services: C. and C. 1809–14 (c. B. Harvey), took *Mamelouck*, 16, in Channel 10 Dec. 1810.

Transit (cutter), 214 tons, 11 guns; built at Ipswich 1809. Services: Coastal, see *ante*, p. 243.

Beaver (sloop), 236 tons, 10 guns; built at Ipswich 1809. Services: Downs Station (c. E. O'B. Drury), 1810–12; N.S. 1813–14. Sold 1829.

Nimrod (sloop), 382 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1812. Services: W.I. 1813; N.A. 1814. Sold 1827.

Espeigle (sloop), 382 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1812. Services: W.I. 1813–14 (c. J. Taylor). Sold 1833.

Jaseur (sloop), 382 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1813. Services: C. and C. 1813 (c. G. E. Watts); N.A. 1814. Condemned 1842; broken up 1845.

Harlequin (sloop), 382 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1813 Services: Irish Station 1814. Sold 1829.

Harrier (sloop), 386 tons, 18 guns; built at Ipswich 1813. Services: C. and C. 1814. Sold 1829.

Esk (sloop), 458 tons, 20 guns; built at Ipswich 1813. Sold 1829.

Leven (sloop), 457 tons, 20 guns; built at Ipswich 1813. Broken up 1848.

Dee (sloop), 447 tons, 20 guns; built at Ipswich 1814. Sold 1818.

INDUSTRIES

INTRODUCTION

THOUGH the industries of Suffolk cannot be said as a whole to owe much to the soil of the county, there are one or two interesting exceptions. The manufacture of flints at Brandon is the oldest of all British industries. It was carried on in the remotest prehistoric times with the help of implements differing in material, but not essentially in form from those used at the present day. The Brandon flints were said to be the best in the world for use on fire-arms, and as late as the Napoleonic Wars the demand for them was so great as to find employment for a large part of the population.

An account published in 1846 states that the industry was no longer so prosperous as it had formerly been when seventy or a hundred were employed. But even then, although similar deposits, at Purfleet, Greenhithe, and Maidstone had ceased to be worked, there was still sufficient demand for the Brandon flints to encourage the formation of a company consisting of 138 shareholders of £25 each, whose agent received the flints when made at a certain rate per thousand and supplied the orders of the outside world:

> The flints are obtained (says the authority above quoted) from a common about a mile east of Brandon. The chalk is within 6 feet of the surface. The men sink a shaft 6 feet and then proceed about 3 feet horizontally, and then sink another shaft lower in the chalk about six feet, and sometimes they fall in with a floor of rich flint at this depth; if not, they work again 3 feet horizontally, and sink another shaft 6 feet, and so they progress, perhaps for 30 feet, when generally they meet with 3 or 4 floors of flint, at every floor of which they excavate horizontally several yards. It is found in large blocks, like septaria, which the men break into pieces sufficiently portable to hand from stage to stage, and a man being placed at each stage so formed, the flint is passed from hand to hand till it reaches the surface. It is then cut and worked with great skill in the required form.[1]

The invention of the percussion cap struck a severe blow at this thriving industry, but it still survives in a small way to supply the needs of primitive man in other continents to whom civilization has not yet extended the blessings of the percussion cap. The flints are also used for the purpose of architectural decoration. The population of Brandon now devote most of their attention to another natural product of this otherwise barren district, the rabbit, whose skin is turned into glue, and whose fur is prepared for the use of the hat manufacturer.[2] If the rabbit is not quite as inherent in the soil as the flints, it was at least very much at home there in the thirteenth century, especially along the western border, where the rights of warren seemed to the lords of manors worth claiming and to the juries of the hundred worth disputing,[3] and on the coast, where poaching seems to have been common at that time.[4] In the seventeenth century Reyce speaks with something approaching enthusiasm of the 'harmless conies which do delight naturally to make their abode here,' and adds:

> For their great increase with rich profit for all good housekeeping hath made everyone of any reckoning to prepare fit harbour for them with great welcome and entertainment; from whence it proceeds that there are so many warrens here in every place which do furnish the next markets, and are carried to London with no little reckoning.[5]

In Arthur Young's day there was, he says, a warren near Brandon said to yield above forty thousand rabbits in a year. He adds:

> Estimating the skin at sevenpence and the flesh at threepence (in the country it sells at fourpence and fivepence), it makes tenpence a head; and if ten are killed annually per acre, the produce is eight and fourpence.

But Arthur Young's feelings as an agriculturist appear to have led him to under-estimate the profits of rabbit-farming. He rejoices that great tracts of warren have been ploughed up, and that the price of skins has fallen from 12*s.* a dozen to 7*s.*[6]

Since that time the fur-dressing industry has been continuously carried on, though its prosperity has varied with the changes of fashion. In 1846 it was said that more than 200 had formerly been employed, but that in consequence of the introduction of the silk hat, the number was reduced to fifty. The danger of the silk hat

[1] Kelly, *Direct. of Suff.* 1846, p. 1374; 1875, p. 742.

[2] White, *Direct. of Suff.* 1855, p. 681; and Kelly, *Direct.* 1900, p. 59.

[3] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 143.

[4] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 433.

[5] Reyce, *Breviary of Suff.* (ed. Hervey), 35.

[6] Young, *A Gen. View of the Agric. of Suff.* 220.

driving out the felt appears to have soon passed, and the industry got back to its old level. In 1875 the principal employer alone, Mr. William Rought, found work for 200 hands, and this firm is still in existence, having been established for more than half a century.[1] The manufacture of whiting has also been carried on at Brandon for nearly a century, if not longer.

In certain districts the soil of the county yields a beautiful white clay from which bricks, tiles, and ornaments are made in imitation of stone. Woolpit brick began to be widely used in the middle of the eighteenth century, and a number of halls, including those of Woolverstone, Redgrave, and Great Finborough, are built of it.[2] Bricks and tiles of the same kind have long been made at Chilton, near Sudbury.[3] At Wattisfield, on the road from Botesdale to Bury, there is a bed of clay from which, in addition to bricks and tiles, a brown earthenware much used by dairymen and gardeners is manufactured.[4] Ordinary brick is widely made throughout Suffolk. The history of the Lowestoft china industry will be fully dealt with later. Experts differ as to how far the clay and sand of the district can have supplied the factory with materials, but there seems no doubt that the enterprise had its origin in the discovery by a Gunton landowner of what he took to be a bed of china clay on his estate.[5]

The china industry at Lowestoft, as at so many other places, was short-lived, but another industry that has sprung more recently from the soil has become independent of this material connexion, and seems to have a prosperous future before it. This is the manufacture of fertilizers, which will be dealt with in a separate section. The discovery by Professor Henslow in 1843 at Felixstowe between the Pleiocene Beds, locally known as Crag, and the London Clay, of large deposits of phosphatic nodules, capable of conversion into artificial manure of the highest value, led to an extensive industrial exploitation of the strata which lasted some thirty years.[6] The Coprolite, as it was called, was chiefly obtained along the coastline of Hollesley Bay, between Bawdsey and Boyton, where veins and ridges of it were found at various depths from 2 to 20 ft., and as much as £20 worth was got out of a cottager's garden. The unearthing, sorting, and washing of these deposits found employment in the fifties and sixties for many hundreds of men, women, and children. The London Clay of the same district contains large numbers of rounded masses of impure limestone called cement stones, which are sometimes traversed by cracks which have become filled with pure crystallized carbonite of lime, and are then known as septaria. Along the coast from Harwich to Orford Ness a great number of boats used to be engaged in dredging for these stones, which were used in the manufacture of Roman cement. The fishing hamlet of Pinmill on the Orwell had, in 1855, about fifty boats employed chiefly in this way, but the industry appears to have died out. Goldstones for making copperas were also found on this coast.[7]

It was no doubt the existence of these deposits, and the fact that they were utilized in early times, that led the ubiquitous mining speculator of the sixteenth century to imagine that he was on the track of gold in this part of Suffolk. In July, 1538, the king made a grant of £20 to Richard Candishe and other commissioners, who were to have the oversight of the king's mines of gold in Suffolk and to convey certain finers and other artificers there for the trial of the ore. Later on further grants were made for the purpose of bringing up skilled miners from Cornwall. The king's hopes of treasure seem soon to have been disappointed. In September of the same year we find the Cornishmen and others being paid off and sent back. But a rumour had got abroad, and the private prospector had already commenced operations. At the end of September a certain Thomas Toysen complained to Cromwell of divers ill-doers who had digged for gold and treasure in his lordship of Brightwell of Suffolk, and promised that if he could have a licence to search so as to be rid of the intruders, he would hand over all the treasure he found to the king.[8] The locality of the king's gold mine is not stated. It may have been somewhere in the same neighbourhood, but a tradition reported by Reyce in 1617 suggests another possibility. After referring to the absence of mines in Suffolk, he adds:

> Yet I have heard that in ancient time there was a mine of gold ore about Banketon in Hartismere hundred, but the experience of this day[ly] so much contrarying the same made me to receive it but as unprobable hearsay.[9]

Apart from influence on the political, social, and commercial history of Suffolk, the sea has always been one of the most considerable of the county's industrial resources. In this respect Suffolk now stands fourth among the counties of England, and it is not impossible, in view of the

[1] Kelly, *Direct.* 1846, p. 1374; 1875, p. 742; and 1900, p. 61.

[2] White, *Direct.* 1855, pp. 234, 500.

[3] Ibid. 757, and Kelly, *Direct.* 1901, p. 95.

[4] Ibid. 735, and ibid. 351.

[5] See references under 'Lowestoft China.'

[6] See references under 'Fertilizers.' The local use of 'crag' applied directly as a manure had been common in the eighteenth century (Young, *A Gen. View*, 193). A farmer named Edwards of Levington is said to have discovered it in 1718 (White, *Direct.* 1855, p. 240; cf. R. E. Prothero, *The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, 43).

[7] White, *Direct.* 1855, p. 260.

[8] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), No. 1280, fol. 28–30, 35, and App. No. 41.

[9] Reyce, *Breviary* (ed. Hervey), 27.

rapid growth of Lowestoft, and of the contemplated development of Southwold as a fishing station, that in the future it may come to take a still higher position. In the earliest times, if we may judge by the number and the magnitude of the herring-rents mentioned in Domesday, Suffolk was inferior to no other county in respect of the productivity of its fisheries, which were then carried on mainly along the northern half of its coast.[1] Throughout the Middle Ages, and down to modern times, fishing fleets have gone out from Gorleston, Kessingland, Lowestoft, Southwold, Walberswick, Dunwich, and Aldeburgh, not only to the North Sea for herring and mackerel, but to far-off Iceland for cod and ling, and the wealthy merchant of Ipswich in the sixteenth century invested much of his capital in these distant expeditions. But two causes have seriously checked the natural development of the industry until quite recent times—the one entirely natural, the other partly social. No county has suffered more than Suffolk from the effects of sea erosion. Dunwich, which had been before the Conquest the principal fishing station in the county, had almost disappeared beneath the sea before the end of the Middle Ages, and Aldeburgh, which was a flourishing port under Elizabeth, had become in the days of Crabbe the mere shadow of its former self. The other cause has been the bitter contention, amounting at times to a kind of civil war, between rival ports. The struggle of Gorleston and Lowestoft with Yarmouth, and of Southwold, Walberswick, and Easton Bavent with Dunwich, was more or less continuous for four or five centuries. Perhaps a curious natural feature of the county had some share in aggravating these differences. No less than three of the rivers of Suffolk turn at a right angle when within a short distance of the sea, and run parallel to the coast from five to ten miles before finding an outlet. In this flirtation with the sea the river itself seems to provoke a struggle for its possession. In the sixteenth century Southwold and Dunwich actually engaged in such a struggle for the mouth of the Blythe, setting bands of diggers to change the channel of the stream by stealth. And in more recent times Lowestoft has compelled the reluctant Waveney to fulfil her early promise, which had been broken in favour of Yarmouth.

The industrial history of Suffolk falls into three well-defined periods, in each of which the influence of geographical position has operated very strongly, though with widely different results. In the first period, which may be reckoned as lasting from about the beginning of the fourteenth century to about the middle of the seventeenth, the counties on the south-east coast became the chief manufacturing district of England. The main cause of this was proximity to the Continent, which had in the first place tended to make this part of England the most thickly populated, and for that reason the most naturally disposed to industrial development, and which in the second place led to constant intercourse with a more advanced industrial civilization. It was not by mere accident that the social discontent which found expression in the rising of 1381 should have blazed most fiercely in the eastern counties. From that time to the Civil War those counties held that kind of political hegemony based on pre-eminence which is now enjoyed by the cities of the Midlands and of the North. The pre-eminence was, of course, a purely relative one. The actual numbers engaged in Suffolk were almost certainly not higher than at the present day. Even the proportion of the population fully engaged in industry as compared with that engaged in agriculture was probably never much greater than it is now. It was that proportion, as contrasted with the proportion obtaining in other counties of contemporary England, which gave a special character to the East Anglia of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From that point of view we may consider the manufacture of woollen cloth as the dominating feature of this period of the economic history of Suffolk, though the industry never thoroughly established itself outside the south-western part of the county.

After the Civil War the economic conditions of the eastern counties began to be remoulded under the influence of a fuller national development. The force of the continental influence was spent; or, rather, it had by this time overspread the whole country. The advantage of an earlier reception was changed into a disadvantage when an industry hampered by the growth of vested interests and artificial restrictions was forced to enter into free competition with the comparatively untrammelled industry of the North. But besides this negative factor there was also a positive factor of perhaps even greater importance. The influence of the proximity of the Continent was replaced by the influence of the proximity of London. The enormous growth of the metropolis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the necessity of a correspondingly increased food supply, coupled with a policy of high protection, gave a powerful impetus to agriculture in those counties by which the demand could most readily be met. Natural advantages had from the first made Suffolk one of the chief sources of supply, and it is not surprising that under these favouring conditions it became the country of the experimenting landowner and of the enterprising and progressive farmer, and that industrial interests had to take a secondary place. Many of the weavers emigrated to the North, and those who remained found that the agricultural labourers around them were in a better condition than themselves. It is not improbably true that, as far as mere numbers go, the woollen manufacture found occupation for as many hands in

[1] Ellis, *Introd. to Dom.* i, 140.

the eighteenth century as it had in the sixteenth. But the great majority of these were women and children, who span wool in the intervals of household work for a miserable pittance of 3*d.* or 4*d.* a day. Their occupation in this way can hardly be said to have given an industrial character to the county.

From Defoe's famous description of his tour through the eastern counties in 1722, it is clear that at this period the activities of Suffolk seemed to the intelligent observer to be mainly concentrated in maintaining a large export of food.

> A very great quantity of corn is shipped from Ipswich to London. . . . Woodbridge is full of corn factors and butter factors some of whom are very considerable merchants. . . . Even Dunwich, however ruined, retains some share of this trade as it lies right against the particular part of the county for butter. . . . A very great quantity of beef and mutton also is brought every year and every week to London from this side of England. . . . Suffolk is particularly famous for furnishing the city of London and all the counties round with turkeys. . . . Three hundred droves have been counted crossing Stratford Bridge in one season and still more leave the county by Newmarket, Sudbury, and Clare. The geese begin to be driven to London in August . . . and hold on to the end of October when the roads begin to be too stiff and deep for their broad feet and short legs to march in. . . . Moreover of late carts have been made with four stories to put the creatures in one above another by which invention one cart can carry a great number. Changing horses they travel night and day, so that they bring the fowls seventy, eighty, or one hundred miles in two days and one night.[1]

Under such conditions as these it is evident that good communications by road or river between the interior of the county and the outside world, especially with the capital, were of the utmost importance to the economic prosperity of Suffolk; and it was at this period that both road and river received the greatest improvements. It was the period of the Turnpike Acts;[2] and Arthur Young, towards the close of it, testifies that 'the roads are uncommonly good in every part of the county; so that a traveller is nearly able to move in a postchaise by a map, almost sure of finding excellent gravel roads; many cross ones in most directions equal to turnpikes. The improvements in this respect in the last twenty years are almost inconceivable.'[3] The canalization of the rivers, so far as it has been accomplished, was practically all of it carried out during this distinctively agricultural period of Suffolk history. A scheme for making the Lark navigable from Bury to the Little Ouse had been set on foot by a certain Henry Lambe, and received the royal approval just before the outbreak of the Civil War,[4] but was apparently not carried out till 1698, when an Act was passed empowering Henry Ashby, esq., of Eaton Socon in Bedfordshire to make the Lark navigable from Long Common a little below Mildenhall as far as Eastgate Bridge at Bury. The Act was amended by another passed in 1817 which placed the navigation under the management of about eighty commissioners.[5] Owing to some misunderstanding between the first proprietors and the Bury corporation respecting the right to construct wharves and erect warehouses within the borough, the canalization of the river was never carried further than Fornham. A further project set on foot at the beginning of the nineteenth century to connect Bury by a canal with the Stour near Manningtree met with opposition from the proprietors of the Lark Navigation and others and was abandoned.[6] Similar powers for the improvement of the Stour from Sudbury to Manningtree and for the levying of tolls on the traffic were conferred on a body of commissioners connected with the former town. In 1706[7] Defoe found the improvement in operation, and though there were complaints that it did not pay very well,[8] it continued in full use till the introduction of railways. The Blythe was made navigable for small craft to Halesworth under the powers conferred by an Act of 1756,[9] this being the completion of a work commenced in 1749 and continued in 1752 by opening out the choked-up Blythe haven at Southwold, and erecting two piers, one on the north and the other on the south side of the haven.[10]

The canalization of the Gipping from Stowmarket to Ipswich was begun in 1790 and finished in 1798, the chief movers in the matter being Mr. Joshua Grigsby of Drinkstone Park and Mr. William Wollaston of Finborough Hall. The total cost was over £26,000, a good deal of extra expense being incurred in a lawsuit with the first contractors. The length was over 16 miles, and there were fifteen locks constructed. The original charges made for freight were a penny per ton per mile from Stow to Ipswich, and a halfpenny per ton per mile from Ipswich to Stow. In the first full year ten barges were employed, and the tolls amounted to £937 10*s.* The cost of the carriage of produce was reduced to one-half, and the rent of land is said to have risen in consequence. All these

[1] D. Defoe, *Tour in Eastern Counties*, Cassell's National Library, 94, pp. 110, 112, 120–3.

[2] Stat. 25 Geo. III, cap. 106 (Ipswich to Gorleston), 51 George III, cap. 10 (Barton to Brandon), 51 Geo. III, cap. 108 (Ipswich to Scole), 51 Geo. III, cap. 113, (Gorleston to Blythburgh), 52 Geo. III, cap. 24 (Ipswich to Stratford), 52 Geo. III, cap. 119 (Bury to Newmarket), 52 Geo. III, cap. 23 (Ipswich to Debenham).

[3] Young, *A Gen. View*, 227.

[4] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1637–8, p. 323.

[5] Stat. 11 and 12 Will. III, cap. 22.

[6] White, *Direct.* (1855), 149.

[7] Stat. 4 Anne, cap. 15.

[8] Defoe, *Tour in Eastern Counties*, 99.

[9] *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances, etc. Relating to Suffolk*, vol. i (B.M.)

[10] Stat. 20 Geo. II, cap. 14; see also 30 Geo. II, cap. 58, and 49 Geo. III, cap. 77.

improvements in water transport seem to have been made primarily for the benefit of the agriculturist. Corn, malt, butter and cheese, and other agricultural produce were the principal commodities carried outwards, and coal was the leading import.[1]

Although Suffolk has remained and is likely to remain, under whatever change of tenure or of cultivation, predominantly an agricultural county, a distinctly new period of its industrial history may be said to have opened with the nineteenth century, the essential feature of which is that Suffolk has built up half a dozen industries which have secured and retained for at least a quarter of a century a place in the world's market. The history of these modern industries, as well as that of the older textile manufactures, and the episode of the Lowestoft china works, which serves chronologically as a picturesque link between the first period and the third, will be followed in some detail, and all that need be attempted here is a brief summary of the general causes underlying the later development. Of these causes the most vital is undoubtedly to be found in the personality of the captains of industry. What distinguishes modern industry from that of earlier times is a greater degree of vigour and initiative shown by the 'entrepreneur' in adapting the resources which he inherits from the past to the constantly changing needs of the present and in going out some way to meet the demands of the future. In the case of the Suffolk industries these qualities have been exhibited in a marked degree, not only by the founders of great manufacturing concerns, but in many instances by several generations of their descendants. The other cause whose operation distinguishes the new industry from the old is freedom of trade. It is not merely that the agricultural machinery, the fertilizers, the umbrella silks, the corsets, and the ready-made clothing of Suffolk are sent to every quarter of the globe. The materials of these and of other industries are drawn from the same wide field. The barley grown on the banks of the Danube, the phosphates found on the shores of the Caribbean Sea, the horse-hair of Siberia, the cocoanut fibre of the East Indies, the steel of the United States, and the textile fabrics of France, have all been requisitioned in recent years by the manufacturers of Suffolk. The business capacity which has been the prime cause of success has in fact been mainly exercised in making a prompt use of world-wide opportunities to build up industries for which no basis was to be found in a narrower area of supply.

But this achievement was obviously impossible unless Suffolk could be brought into touch with the larger currents of the world's commerce. The establishment of direct communications with the world at large bears the same relation to the industrial development of this period as the improvement of the roads and rivers and the maintenance of the coasting trade with London, Newcastle and Holland bore to the agricultural prosperity of the eighteenth century. Before 1805 the larger ocean-going vessels could not ascend the Orwell as far as Ipswich, but had to discharge their cargoes by means of lighters at Downham Reach, 3 miles below the town. In that year an Act was passed for improving the port, so that vessels of 200 tons and drawing 12 feet of water might come up to the quays. This modest ideal was realized by the River Commissioners, but much more was soon felt to be needed. Larger schemes for the development were formed, but thirty more years elapsed before public opinion was strong enough to carry them into effect. The first Ipswich Dock Act was obtained in 1837, the foundation stone of the lock was laid on 6 June, 1839, and the work was completed in January 1842. The quay enclosed has a length of 2,780 feet and a breadth of 30 feet, the surface of the dock being 32 acres and its depth 17 feet. At the time of its construction it was claimed as the largest wet-dock in the kingdom.[2] Further powers were conferred on the Dock Commissioners by an Act of 1852 and many improvements have since been made in the navigation of the Orwell.

During the same period equally extensive improvements were being carried out at Lowestoft, although here it was the economic interests of Norfolk rather than of Suffolk that were the primary cause of expansion. In 1827 an Act was obtained by a company consisting chiefly of Norwich merchants and manufacturers authorizing the construction of a waterway for sea-borne vessels between that city and Lowestoft. This canal, which was completed in 1833, connects the Yare with the Waveney, joins the two portions of Lake Lothing, and opens the eastern part of the lake to the sea by a large lock, thus turning it into a spacious inner harbour some 2 miles in length for Lowestoft shipping.[3] In 1844 the Norwich and Lowestoft Navigation, which connects Beccles as well as Norwich with the sea, passed into the hands of Mr. Samuel Morton Peto, the famous railway contractor, and became absorbed in a larger scheme for the improvement of the port of Lowestoft. An outer harbour was constructed, enclosed by two piers, which not only furnished a basis for the rapid expansion of the fishing industry, but gave Lowestoft an increasing share in trade with the Continent, especially in imported Danish cattle and foodstuffs.[4]

These improvements were, however, subsidiary to the great development of railway communica-

[1] Young, *A Gen. View*, 227, and A. G. H. Hollingsworth, *Hist. of Stowmarket*, 218.

[2] White, *Direct.* 64.

[3] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* ii, 74–5.

[4] White, *Direct.* 553.

tion which took place at this time throughout the country, and in which Suffolk shared in somewhat piecemeal fashion. A railway from Norwich to Yarmouth in 1844 was an essential part of Mr. Peto's scheme to connect Lowestoft with this line at Reedham. This was accomplished in 1847. Previous to this the Eastern Counties Railway from London to Norwich, opened in 1845, had crossed the north-west corner of Suffolk and touched at Brandon; and in 1846 the Eastern Union Railway had opened a line from Colchester to Ipswich from which branch lines were constructed to Hadleigh and Bury in 1847, and the main line continued through Stowmarket to Norwich in 1849. A line from Sudbury to Marks Tey was also opened in 1849. In 1854 Bury was connected with Newmarket, and in the same year the East Suffolk Railway brought Halesworth and Beccles into communication at Haddiscoe with the line from Norwich to Lowestoft.[1] The continuation of the East Suffolk Railway from Halesworth to Saxmundham, Woodbridge, and Ipswich was completed soon after, and a branch opened to Framlingham. Thus before the end of the fifties the greater part of the present railway system of Suffolk was completed. The various portions had been constructed by some half-dozen separate companies, but by 1858 most of these had been absorbed by the Eastern Union, which served the centre of the county, and the East Suffolk, which ran along the coast.[2] In 1862 these two companies along with the Eastern Counties Railway and others were themselves included in the amalgamation since known as the Great Eastern Railway, which undertook the completion of the lines connecting Long Melford, Clare, Haverhill, and Lavenham with Sudbury, Bury, and Cambridge,[3] and subsequently established branches to Aldeburgh, and to Felixstowe, and connected Bury with Thetford. The Great Eastern Railway Co. also took over the harbours of Lowestoft, and has just constructed a large additional basin for use as a fish-market.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the modern development of Suffolk industry was solely or even primarily due to these new facilities of communication. That development had already begun in the early decades of the nineteenth century and was itself one of the causes of improvement in land and water transport. But the establishment of direct connexions with the resources of a world-wide commerce together with the almost simultaneous removal of tariff restrictions on imports were the indispensable conditions of the great progress subsequently achieved.

Apart from these more fundamental causes it is interesting to note the other material conditions to which the industries of Suffolk have in a secondary sense owed their development. For this purpose they may be conveniently divided into two main groups, one consisting of those that have arisen out of the needs or activities of the county as an agricultural community, and the other of those which have arisen to replace the old textile manufactures of the county. In the former group the workers are almost all men, in the latter they are at least two-thirds women.

It was perfectly natural, and indeed inevitable, that the manufacture of agricultural implements and of artificial manures, as well as the industries of milling and malting, should spring up in the eastern counties. What is remarkable is the expansion of these industries far beyond the scope of local demand or supply. One favouring condition has been the steady supply of fairly cheap labour, owing to the constantly decreasing demand for it for the purposes of agriculture. It is no doubt from the class of displaced farm labourers that Suffolk has drawn the five or six thousand artisans who now find employment in machine-making, and who form the main body of the increased population in the eastern towns. But geographical conditions have also played an important part in this expansion. Ready access to the sea, so greatly improved by the enlargement of the Ipswich dock and the Lowestoft harbour, is one of these conditions, and another is the comparative nearness of London by cheap water transport. This, as will be seen later, has been one of the main factors of the rapid growth of the malting industry in the Suffolk ports. The barley which is now brought from nearly every quarter of the globe is malted on the dock-side within a few yards of the vessel that brings it, and the barges then take it round the Essex coast to the London breweries with a minimum cost of freight. The success of this Ipswich industry is due to its having provided the cheapest link between the largest supplies of material and the greatest demand for the product in the world. It has no longer the least dependence on the supply or the demand of Suffolk. And the same is true of the manufacture of fertilizers and feeding stuffs.

A very interesting attempt in the opposite direction, i.e. to set up an industry which would call forth a local supply of material, and so increase the opportunities of the agriculturist, was the experiment made about thirty-five years ago in beet-sugar manufacture at Lavenham. A factory was established there in 1869 by Mr. Duncan, who made arrangements with farmers to grow sugar-beet, for which he was to pay 20*s.* per ton delivered at the factory. Although there was a considerable advance from year to year in the quantity of roots grown, and in the percentage of sugar obtained, the average of which increased from 8·39 in 1869 to 11·84 in 1872,

[1] White, *Direct*, 48, 553.

[2] Stat. 19 and 20 Vic. cap. 53 and 79; 21 and 22 Vic. cap. 47, and cap. 111; 24 and 25 Vic. cap. 180.

[3] Stat. 25 and 26 Vic. cap. 223.

the enterprise had to be given up in 1873. Apart from minor local difficulties, the cause of failure lay in the fact that whereas 30,000 tons were required every year if the factory was to be worked at a profit, not more than 7,000 were supplied. The farmers were not willing to modify their modes of cultivation sufficiently to produce the amount required. To achieve the desired result some 3,000 acres, or, allowing for rotation of crops, 6,000 acres, would have had to be devoted to the cultivation of beet.[1]

Turning now to the other group of industries, which include some half-dozen species of textile manufacture and the manufacture of ready-made clothing and of corsets, and which find work for about six or seven thousand people, two-thirds of whom are women, we find their connexion with Suffolk broadly explained by reference to a single economic principle. They may all be considered as having arisen to utilize the supply of labour created by the cloth industry, which in one form or another had been carried on in Suffolk from the end of the thirteenth till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first and most notable phase of this industry, the making of coloured (chiefly blue) broad cloths and kersies of heavier texture, reached the height of its prosperity by the end of the fifteenth century, was visibly declining under Charles I, and is little heard of after the Restoration, having gradually passed to the west and north of England. In part it was replaced by the making of the 'new draperies'—bays, says and calimancoes, which was set up in Elizabeth's reign, and of which Sudbury was the centre, and by the weaving of sailcloth and other hempen fabrics, the former at Ipswich, the latter at Stowmarket, Halesworth, Bungay, and all along the northern border of the county. But the weaving of these fabrics was not a full equivalent for the industry that had been lost. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the amount of weaving done in Suffolk continually declined, and the chief occupation of the county, as far as the textile manufactures was concerned, was the combing of wool and the spinning of yarn for the worsted weavers of Norfolk. At the beginning of the nineteenth century both the spinning and the weaving, whether of wool or of hemp, were fast being driven out by the competition of the power-looms of Yorkshire. There was thus at this time in Suffolk a large fund of cheap technical skill seeking occupation, and offering an excellent opportunity to the industrial capitalist who knew how to divert it into some profitable channel. The first to occupy the vacant field were the master silk-weavers of Spitalfields. The increased cost of living in London and the consequent advance in wages secured by the Spitalfields Act was leading them to transfer a good deal of their work to the country, and much of it went to Suffolk. After serving for a century as an outpost of London, Sudbury has recently been selected as the industrial head quarters of a number of old Spitalfields firms. Power-loom weaving of silk has been largely introduced, but the hand-loom weavers still number several hundreds.

About the time of the introduction of silk weaving, the pure woollen and hempen fabrics of Suffolk were being replaced by checks and fustians, a mixture of woollen or cotton yarn with linen, and these in their turn gave way to drabbet, a mixture of linen and cotton, which is still, along with other mixed fabrics, largely made at Haverhill and at Syleham. Here again the hand-loom has gradually given way to the power-loom, but its use in the silk and drabbet weaving for several generations after it had been abandoned in the weaving of woollen cloth served to soften the transition between the old form of industry and the new. About the middle of the nineteenth century two new branches of textile manufacture were introduced into the county, which are still entirely retained by the hand-loom—the weaving of horse-hair and of cocoanut fibre.[2] At the present time there are altogether about 1,800 hand-loom weavers in Suffolk, half of whom are men engaged in making mats and matting, and the other half mainly women weaving horse-hair and silk. That these representatives of the old Suffolk textile industry should still be so numerous is a striking proof of the tenacity of an industrial tradition and of its adaptability in the hands of the enterprising capitalist.

But if to this body of workers are added the power-loom weavers, the total, which will be somewhere near 3,000, will be far from an equivalent for the numbers who found employment in the woollen manufacture in the middle of the eighteenth century. According to a very moderate estimate there were then 1,500 combers and 36,000 spinners. The spinners were all women and children, and though their earnings were very small, there must have been considerable economic pressure upon them to find some other employment when the woollen manufacture failed them. This large fund of cheap labour eagerly seeking occupation has at different times attracted various industries into the county, in addition to the new textile manufactures already mentioned. Straw-plaiting was one of these. It was carried on in the south-western corner of the county as early as 1831; in 1851 there were 2,200 women and girls employed in this way; in 1871 they numbered 2,335; but in 1881 they were reduced to 781. They are said to have earned from 8s. to 10s. a week, but

[1] *Journ. of the Roy. Agric. Soc.* (1898), 345.

[2] About this time the cultivation of flax was being much advocated in Suffolk agricultural meetings, and a flax netting mill was started at Eye which employed nearly 100 hands, but it has long been closed. White, *Direct.* 1855, p. 594, and J. L. Green, *Rural Industries of England*, 111.

the industry disappeared before 1891. A certain amount of laundry work is sent out from London to the country round Ipswich,[1] and as late as 1894 at any rate tailoring was done for London by the villages round Bury.[2] It was perhaps to replace this latter arrangement that the numerous clothing factories which are now to be found all over the eastern counties came into existence. There are very large establishments of this kind at Haverhill and Ipswich, and besides the workers concentrated in the factories there are a great many women employed in branch workshops and in their homes, the total number being between three and four thousand. Corset-making is another Suffolk industry which has attained a first-rate importance during the last thirty years, and now finds employment for considerably over a thousand women. The manufacture of sacks for the corn and coal trade has been carried on in Suffolk for several centuries, and since the hempen cloth of which they were made ceased to be woven in the county, the industry has probably rather increased than diminished. It was formerly to some extent a cottage industry,[3] but it is now concentrated chiefly at Ipswich and Stowmarket, the largest manufacturers being Messrs. Rand & Jeckell, of Ipswich.

Sails and nets must also have been made in the coast towns from the earliest times, but the rapid growth of the fisheries of Lowestoft has given a new impetus to the manufacture of both in that town.

There remain to be mentioned several industries which do not fall under either of the categories already dealt with. In the first place there are two or three old Suffolk industries of a non-textile character. Brewing is one of these. In the fifteenth century a considerable number of Flemish and Dutch brewers settled in Ipswich, Woodbridge, Lowestoft, and elsewhere,[4] and in the sixteenth century we find beer exported from Ipswich to the Low Countries. The industry still flourishes, but it produces now mainly for local consumption. The production of leather was much more extensively carried on in Suffolk in proportion to the population in earlier times than it is now, though there are still tanneries in all the principal towns. In the Ipswich Subsidy Roll of 1282, out of a list of householders numbering less than 300, there are mentioned about a dozen tanners, half-a-dozen skinners, four or five shoemakers, a parchment maker, and a glover. In surveys of Suffolk villages of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the mention of barkers is very common. In what the exact calling of the mediaeval barker consisted is not quite clear, though it is generally identified with that of the tanner. In the sixteenth century, however, Suffolk was certainly one of the chief sources of the London leather supply,[5] and tanning remained at Ipswich when the textile industries had left the town. The number of tanners has increased within the last half-century. In 1851, 95 were enumerated in the census; in 1901, 169; but the larger of these numbers does not indicate a very great production. The manufacture of boots and shoes has been carried on at Ipswich, Woodbridge, and in some of the surrounding villages for a century at least. The census does not enable us to distinguish very clearly between this wholesale production, which is partly carried on as a domestic industry and partly in factories, from the work of the independent craftsman for a purely local consumption. The total number of males and females given as engaged in shoemaking in 1851 was 6,238, and in 1901, 2,031. Even with a considerable allowance for the increased productivity of machine labour, these figures seem to show a marked decline in the industry in Suffolk.

Suffolk has continued to benefit of late years by the migration of London industries to the provinces. The growth of the printing trade at Bungay and Beccles, and the transference of the manufacture of xylonite to Brantham, the two most striking examples of this tendency, are to be dealt with later in separate articles.

WOOLLEN CLOTH—THE OLD DRAPERIES

The spinning of wool and the weaving of cloth for home wear was no doubt carried on from the earliest times in Suffolk as in most other parts of England and of Europe. The story, therefore, told by Jocelyn of Brakelond, and immortalized by Carlyle, of the old women of Bury rushing out to brandish their distaffs in the faces of the monastic tax-gatherers, does not of itself prove the existence of what can be properly called a cloth industry in the town at that early date. But when Jocelyn goes on to tell us how the cellarer of the abbey

> was accustomed to summon the fullers of the town that they should furnish cloth for his salt; otherwise he would prohibit them the use of the waters and would seize the webs he found there [6]

[1] J. L. Green, op. cit. 111.

[2] *Rep. of Labour Com.* (1893) on 'Agricultural Labourer,' vol. i, pt. iii, p. 87.

[3] J. L. Green, op. cit. 111.

[4] I derive this fact from an unpublished paper by Mr. V. B. Redstone, on 'Alien Immigrants in Suffolk in 1486.'

[5] S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccl, 19.

[6] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), i, 303; Carlyle, *Past and Present*, bk. ii, chap. 5.

we may safely conclude that before the end of the twelfth century cloth was made in Bury for sale in its market, and probably also in the fair at which the London merchants were among the most important customers. In the thirteenth century there were merchants at Bury who did a large trade in foreign cloth, and one of the leading cloth manufacturers in London in 1296 was a certain Fulk de St. Edmunds.

By that time we get a glimpse of the industry at Ipswich. The Domesday Book of Ipswich, which dates from the end of the thirteenth century, ordains that

non of the same toun take in kepyng of poore webberes, ne off spynneres, ne of threed makeres ne of poure tailours, ne of tayleresses, ne off poure lavenderes, ne of other poure caytyvys clothes maade, ne parcel of clothes ne woole whitte or lettyd, ne flax, ne hemp, ne woollen threed ne lynen threed, ne non other maner of thing suspesious, for silver, ne for breed, ne for wyn, ne for ale, ne for other victuayle, wher of a man may have veray suspesioun that swich maner of thyng so put to wedde (pledge) be not the owen propre good of such poure men that layn hem to wed.[1]

With such clear evidence as this of the existence of the evils which have always been complained of in connexion with the 'Domestic system' we might naturally infer that there was already a considerable cloth manufacture at Ipswich, but the subsidy roll for 1282 recently published by Mr. Edgar Powell does not justify us in saying so much. There are only four dyers and a couple of weavers especially designated as such among the citizens, though the amount of wool and cloth possessed by others points to the possibility of their having been also engaged in the industry.

The list of customs taken at the quay in Ipswich at the same date indicates another seat of the manufacture in Suffolk. It speaks of the

cloth of Cogeshale, Maldon, Colchestre, Sudbury, and of other clothes that ben bought in the cuntre and comyn into the toun in to merchauntz handys for to pass from the cay to the partys of the see.[2]

thus showing that on the borders of Suffolk and Essex weaving had been widely carried on before the immigration of the Flemings in 1336, as indeed it has continued to be carried on in one material or another ever since. Moreover, in 1315, a proclamation made at the instance of foreign merchants setting forth the true length and breadth in which worsteds and 'aylehams' ought to be made[3] was ordered to be read in Suffolk as well as in Norfolk, which seems to indicate that the making of worsteds, which originated in Norfolk, had already spread into Suffolk; and subsequent legislation[4] which includes Suffolk together with Norfolk in the regulations made for the worsted industry tends to confirm this view. The Flemish immigration, of which Sudbury preserves a strong tradition, must however have greatly stimulated the growth of the woollen manufacture of Suffolk, which rapidly increased in importance after the middle of the fourteenth century. The Commons of Suffolk and Essex presented a petition in the Parliament of 1376 that the strait cloths called Cogwares and Kersies may not be comprised in the statute of 47 Edward III which fixed the length and breadth of coloured cloth.[5] The request, which was granted, shows that dyed cloth had already become what it long continued to be, a characteristic product of Suffolk. The most striking evidence of the progress made by the industry at this time is furnished by the poll tax return for Hadleigh in 1381 which has been transcribed by Mr. Edgar Powell.[6] Some weaving had probably been done at Hadleigh since the beginning of the fourteenth century, as an extent of the manor in the year 1312 mentions two fullers as holding land there. The list of 1381, of which only a portion is preserved, contains the names of eleven clothworkers, seven fullers, six weavers, five cutters of cloth and three dyers. Only about 260 names out of an original list of 705 are preserved and of these half are females. So that, even if the cutters of cloth (sissores) are omitted, the number of those connected with the cloth industry amounts to at least one in five of the recorded adult male population, and it is very probable that many of those entered as artificers (operarii) found employment as journeymen in the various branches of the manufacture. An entry in the Patent Roll of 1390 shows us a draper of Hadleigh in debt to a London merchant to the extent of £40,[7] and the frequency of similar entries at a later date proves that Hadleigh had become a busy manufacturing town.

In the course of the fifteenth century the industry spread throughout the southern half of the county and became in many districts the principal occupation of the people. It was found not only in the boroughs at Ipswich, Bury, Stowmarket, and Sudbury, but in a great number of villages, some of which, like Lavenham and Long Melford, became as populous and wealthy as towns, and built magnificent churches, which remain as a striking testimony to their former prosperity. Of the upgrowth of this country industry we hear little and we do not get much insight into its organization

[1] *Black Book of the Admir.* (Rolls Ser.) ii, 133; *Suff. Inst. Arch.* xii, pt. 11 (1905).
[2] *Black Book of Admir.* ii, 187.
[3] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.) i, 292; and 23 Hen. VI, cap. 4.
[4] *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.) ii, 347.
[5] *Cal. of Pat.* 4 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 8 (p. 615).
[6] E. Powell, *The East Anglia Rising*, 111.
[7] *Cal. of Pat.* 14 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 36.

till a century later. Even concerning Ipswich and Bury, which were the natural centres of the manufacture, there is little information available at this period. The General Court of Ipswich issued an order in 1447 that all fullers both of Ipswich and the country should hold and exercise their market for sale of their goods above the Motehall on all market days on pain of forfeiting every cloth sold outside the Motehall, and similarly that the market of all clothiers of town and country should be under the Motehall, and that of all men selling wool over the woolhouse.[1]

Concerning the weavers of Bury we have a much more interesting document—the ordinances granted at their request by the sacristan of the abbey in 1477. The craft gild, which contained both linen and woollen weavers, was probably of long standing, as half the fines that may be inflicted are assigned

> to the maintenance of the pageant of the Ascension of our Lord God and the gifts of the Holy Ghost as it hath been customed of old time out of mind yearly to be had to the worship of God among other pageants in the feast of the Corpus Christi.

It is ordered that every man 'as well masters, householders, apprentices, servants hired by the year or by the journey, as all other men occupying the craft in the town,' are to assemble yearly to choose four discreet persons of the craft, having freehold within the town, to be wardens with power to swear all members of the craft to obedience. Apprenticeship is to be for not less than seven years, and no one is to set up in Bury unless he has been apprenticed. A journeyman if he stays a year in the town is to pay 4*d.* to the pageant. The entrance fee of the foreigner setting up is 13*s.* 4*d.*, and every foreign weaver that fetches yarn to weave out of the town shall be contributory to the pageant 'as a deyzin wever oweth to be.' Of all fines, fees, and amercements, the sacristan is to have half, and his sub-bailiffs are to assist in collecting these dues street by street along with the wardens, and to receive along with them 2*d.* in the shilling for the trouble of collecting. Perhaps the most curious feature in the ordinance is the arrangement for summoning a leet jury of the weavers at the same time as the town leet. The sub-bailiffs and the wardens are to call twelve or thirteen honest and discreet persons of the craft to be sworn before the bailiffs of the town to present all offences.

There are not wanting signs in these ordinances of the increasing influence of capital on the industry. The necessity of limiting the master weavers to four looms apiece and the reference to a class 'having sufficient cunning and understanding in the exercise of the said craft and not being of power and havour to set up looms,' are clear indications of this. But the master weavers were not the only employers nor the largest capitalists. The penalties attached to fraudulent detention of yarn indicate that the smaller weavers were employed by the clothier, who also gave out work to the country weaver and kept a multitude of women and children engaged in preparing yarn.[2] A century and a half later we shall find the employing class in Bury trying to reduce the industry of south-west Suffolk into dependence upon them.

At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, however, it was not at Bury, but at the new centres of Lavenham and Hadleigh that the power of industrial capital was most fully developed. It was at this period that the churches of these two places assumed their present imposing dimensions, that their Gildhalls were built, and their charities founded. The story of the Springs of Lavenham affords an authentic parallel to the partly legendary achievements of the famous Jack of Newbury. The first Thomas Spring died in 1440. The second, who died in 1486, and to whom there is a monumental brass in Lavenham vestry, left 100 marks to be distributed among his fullers and tenters, 300 marks towards building the church tower, and 200 marks towards the repair of the roads round Lavenham. But it was the third Thomas who was the rich clothier *par excellence*. In his will, which was proved in 1523, he left money for 1,000 masses and £200 to finish Lavenham steeple. His chief triumph, however, was the marriage of his daughter Bridget to Aubrey de Vere of the noble family of Oxford who held the lordship of Lavenham manor. Sir J. Spring, to whom his wealth descended, held in 1549 no less than nine manors in Suffolk and two in Norfolk.[3]

The social and political problems raised by the rapid development of capitalistic industry which are revealed in the resistance aroused, nowhere so strongly as in the clothing districts of East Anglia, to the proposed war taxation of 1525,[4] will have to be dealt with in the social and political sections of this history. From the point of view of industrial history, the main feature, so admirably seized by the chronicler and borrowed by the dramatist, is the economic dependence of all branches of the manufacture on the capitalist 'entrepreneur.'

> For, upon these taxations,
> The clothiers all, not able to maintain
> The many to them 'longing, have put off
> The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
> Unfit for other life, compelled by hunger
> And lack of other means, in desperate manner
> Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
> And danger serves among them.[5]

[1] Add. MSS. 30158.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. pt. viii, 133–8.

[3] *Suff. Inst. Arch.* vi. 107.

[4] Brewer, *Reign Hen. VIII*, ii, 59.

[5] Shakespeare, *Hen. VIII*, Act i, Sc. 2.

Another essential point which the events of this period bring into prominence is that the Suffolk cloth industry has become largely dependent on the demand of the foreign market. Whenever the policy of Henry or of Wolsey seems likely to disturb free intercourse with Flanders, the Suffolk trade is threatened with paralysis. On 4 March, 1528, the Duke of Norfolk writes to Wolsey from 'Hexon' to inform him of the measures he has taken to put down the discontent he had found brewing at Bury, and adds that on Sunday he is to have a number of the most substantial clothiers of Suffolk with him, whom he must handle with good words that the cloth-making be not suddenly laid down in consequence of the rumour that English merchants are detained in Flanders.[1] Five days later he writes from Stoke to say that he has called before him forty of the most substantial clothiers of those parts, of some towns two and of some one, and exhorted them to continue their men in work, assuring them that the reports were false about the detention of English merchants in Spain and Flanders, and using other arguments which he will explain to Wolsey on coming to him before Sunday next. He was assisted by Sir R. Wentworth and Sir P. Tylney, and finally persuaded them to resume work and take back their servants whom they had put away. If he had not quenched the bruit of the arrests in Flanders he would have had 200 or 300 women suing to him to make the clothiers set their husbands and children on work.[2]

On the 4th of May in the same year, when the duke was again in Stoke, the clothiers came to complain that they could have no sale for their cloth in London, and that unless remedy were found they would be unable to keep their workpeople for more than a fortnight or three weeks. The scarcity of oil alone, they said, would compel them to give up making cloth, unless some came from Spain.[3]

In his second letter Norfolk had concluded with a suggestion that Wolsey should put pressure on the London merchants, and it is apparently to this hint that we owe the famous scene related by Hall. The cardinal sent for a great number of the merchants, and said to them :

> Sirs, the King is informed that you use not yourselves like merchants, but like graziers and artificers, for when the clothiers do daily bring cloths to your market for your ease to their great cost and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulness will not buy them, as you have been accustomed to do. What manner of men be you ? said the Cardinal. I tell you the King straitly commandeth you to buy their cloths, as before time you have been accustomed to do, upon pain of his high displeasure.[4]

The threat with which the cardinal concluded, that the king would take the cloth trade into his own hands, may seem to be a mere piece of petulant bluff, but it has in reality a deeper significance. It indicates one line along which the solution of the national problems presented by the expansion of the cloth industry might be sought, and along which, a century later, it was sought with disastrous consequences.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the cloth industry of Suffolk had attained its full development; before the end of the century it had probably reached the high-water mark of its prosperity. It will be well, therefore, to gain as complete an idea as possible of the economic organization of the industry as it existed at this period. In the state papers of Elizabeth's reign and in the contemporary records of Ipswich there are fortunately to be found adequate materials for this purpose. We are enabled to follow the course of the wool from the back of the sheep through all the various processes of manufacture and exchange until it is stowed away in its finished form of dyed cloth of many colours in the hold of an Ipswich trading vessel. Nor do its adventures end there. As it crosses the sea we find it frequently falling a prey to the lurking pirate, or in war time to the enemy's cruisers; and if it reaches its destination in safety we may watch the bargain made for it by the merchants of Flanders or Spain, or see it pass at once into the hands of the Levantine trader to furnish the dress of the Turk or the Muscovite, or of nations still further east.

The first stage in this progress was the purchase of the wool after shearing. This might be made by the manufacturing clothier direct from the grower, but for a century before this period the intervention of the middleman or broker had been becoming more and more necessary. As the industry expanded the wool-grower and the clothier frequently found themselves in different counties, and had no time to seek each other out. Even when they were within reach of each other, capital was needed to tide over a period of waiting. In some cases this was furnished by the wealthier wool-growers or clothiers themselves, but the capital of the majority of either class was not large, and the demand upon it was greatest at sheepshearing time. The broker therefore who bargained for the wool beforehand, collected it and supplied it on credit or held it over till it was wanted, supplied an indispensable link between the small producers of wool and of cloth.[5] Nevertheless public sentiment was unfavourable to his operations, and many Acts of Parliament were passed to restrict or prohibit them. The only effect of this was to give the crown an opportunity of dispensing with the law by special licence, which introduced the evils of monopoly

[1] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4012, 4044.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. 4239.
[4] Brewer, *The Reign of Hen. VIII*, ii, 261.
[5] Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th centuries*, App. A, ii, 234.

into what had been a legitimate sphere of competitive business. Some of the brokers who could not get licences continued to pursue their avocation as nominal agents of the larger wool-growers.[1] No doubt the main grievance against the broker was that he bought wool, not only to sell to the clothier but also for export, the prevailing theory being that the English manufacturer had an exclusive right to English raw material.[2]

Coming next to the clothier, into whose hands the wool directly or indirectly passed, we have to do with a class of the most varied status. Some of its members were large employers of labour and at the same time merchants on an extensive scale; others only contrived to keep themselves above the level of the labouring class by dint of constant alertness and thrift and the possession of a minimum of capital. A petition of clothiers was presented to the government in 1585 against the activities of the licensed brokers, complaining that as their own capital was not great they had to buy at second, third and fourth hand in the latter end of the year at excessive prices. Of the 166 names appended to this document, representing nine or ten counties, forty-one were those of Suffolk clothiers. No other county in the list (Norfolk was not included) furnished more than half the number; and no doubt the petitioners, in spite of their protestations of poverty, were the representatives of a more numerous class.[3] In the hands of these capitalists, small or great, lay the control and direction of the manufacture, with the exception of the finishing processes which were often carried out after the cloth had been disposed of to the merchant.

Although some undyed cloth was made in Suffolk, the greater part seems to have been dyed blue in the wool, whilst a smaller portion was further dyed violet, purple or green after it had been woven. The chief materials used in dyeing the wool were woad and indigo; and three varieties of colour, i.e., blues, azures, and plunkets, which seem to have differed from each other mainly in depth, as the dyestuff that would dye a given amount of wool for blues would dye twice the amount for azures, and four times the amount for plunkets.[4] After being dyed one of these colours, the wool was washed and dried before being carded and spun.

The carding and spinning were mostly done by women and children in their cottage homes all over the country-side. 'The custom of our country is,' says another petition of Suffolk clothiers in 1575,

> to carry our wool out to carding and spinning and put it to divers and sundry spinners who have in their houses divers and sundry children and servants that do card and spin the same wool. Some of them card upon new cards and some upon old cards and some spin hard yarn and some soft . . . by reason whereof our cloth falleth out in some places broad and some narrow contrary to our mind and greatly to our disprofit.[5]

The manner of the delivery of the wool and the return of the yarn by weight with allowance for waste had been prescribed by an Act of Parliament of 1512, which punished any fraud on the part of the worker by the pillory and the cucking-stool.[6]

Although the preparation of yarn was chiefly carried on in the villages and smaller towns, it also continued to find occupation for a considerable amount of semi-pauperised labour in the larger towns. Spinning indeed was the main resource of those whose duty it became under the new Poor Law to find work for the unemployed, and in institutions, such as Christ's Hospital, Ipswich (founded 1569), children were set to card and spin wool from their tenderest years.[7] At Bury in 1570, an order was made by the town that every spinster was

> to have (if it may be) 6 lb. of wool every week and to bring the same home every Saturday at night, and if any fail so to do, the clothier to advertise the constable thereof for the examination of the cause, and to punish it according to the quality of the fault.[8]

And an order was made in 1590 at Ipswich with a view to finding employment for the poor, that no clothier should put out more than half his work to be carded or spun, woven, shorn, or dressed out of the town (if he could get it as well done in the town), without special licence from the bailiffs.[9]

The spinners, who never seem to have possessed any organization of their own, were very liable to oppression on the part of their employers, not only through low wages, but also through payment in kind and the exaction of arbitrary fines. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them frequently accused of keeping back part of the wool given out to them and of making up the weight by the addition of oil or other moisture to the yarn. The natural connexion of these two evils found recognition in a Bill presented to the Parliament of 1593, which while imposing fresh penalties on frauds in spinning and weaving, proposed at the same time to raise the wages of spinners and weavers by a third.[10] The Bill failed to pass, but the regulation of wages in the interest of the spinners continued to be a problem of poor law administration during the next half-century.

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxv, 14, 40.
[2] Ibid. 41.
[3] Lansd. MS. 48, fol. 67.
[4] Cott. MS. Titus B. v, fol. 254.
[5] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxiv, 32.
[6] 3 Stat. Hen. VIII, cap. 6.
[7] Leonard, *Early English Poor Relief.*
[8] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. pt. viii, 139.
[9] Ibid. Rep. ix, App. pt. i, 255.
[10] S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccxliv, 126.

The yarn woven in the country districts was collected by riders sent out by the clothiers and delivered to the weavers. The weaver, though he too was dependent on the clothier for employment, was not in so helpless a position as the spinner. The power of his organization in the town, though weakened, was not destroyed. The line between the clothier and the weaver was, at first, not sharply drawn. The more prosperous among the weavers gradually developed into clothiers, and Suffolk was one of the counties in which this tendency was allowed to have free play, since it was exempted from the operation of the statutes forbidding clothiers to set up outside the market towns.[1] But although a master weaver here and there might rise in the world, the majority were sinking into the position of wage-earners. A petition of the weavers of Ipswich, Hadleigh, Lavenham, Berghołt, and other towns in 1539 states that the clothiers have their own looms and weavers and fullers in their own houses, so that the master weavers are rendered destitute.

> For the rich men the clothiers be concluded and agreed among themselves to hold and pay one price for weaving, which price is too little to sustain households upon, working night and day, holyday and weekday, and many weavers are therefore reduced to the position of servants.[2]

As a rule, however, the weaving continued to be done in the weavers' homes, although perhaps in some cases the loom was the property of the employer. Elaborate regulations, both by Parliament and by the local authorities, were to ensure that the right weight of yarn should be delivered by the clothier, and that none of it should be wasted or stolen by the weaver. The fuller, who next took over the cloth, was also employed by the clothier. It would be a natural thing for a fuller with a little spare capital to set up a loom in his house, and no doubt he did so, as we find it forbidden in later ordinances, just as we find the weaver and the shearman prosecuted for setting up as clothiers.

When the cloth was woven and fulled the clothier might have it finished by the local shearman, but he more often seems to have disposed of it to the merchant. The two chief markets for the Suffolk clothier were London and Ipswich. A good deal of Suffolk cloth was bought by the London clothworkers to finish, and some was bought by the London merchants ready finished for export.

The London clothworkers, who naturally wished to concentrate the finishing trade as much as possible in the metropolis, used their powers of search to further this end. We find them in 1539 seizing twenty-nine broad Suffolk cloths on board the ship of Edward Lightmaker of the Steelyard, and declaring them to be forfeited as not wrought according to the Act.[3] In a petition already alluded to, which was presented in 1575, the clothiers of Suffolk declared that

> the statute as it is cannot be observed by any means. The reason is this. We occupy the coarsest wools that are occupied in this land which will not brave out the danger and the charge that finer wool will in spinning and other workmanship.

After attributing many of the defects in the cloth to the inevitable conditions of the domestic system, they add that they are forbidden by statute to use any engine, which they are nevertheless obliged to do, and that lewd persons inform against them. If the law were strictly carried out the trade would be brought to a standstill, but the search being in London not one in threescore is searched.

> These extremities, the petition proceeds, make us the clothiers to shun the open market and to commit our trust to clothworkers to make sale of our cloths who many times commend unto us men that are not able to pay to our great hindrance, and they do seek out chapmen and offer our commodities to them who being sought unto will not by any means give us any reasonable price. . . . We are forced to lay our commodities to pawn upon a bill of sale to pay our poor workmen and others that we be indebted unto and to pawn £40 worth of commodities for £20 and to give £10 in the hundred.[4]

An illustration of this system of credit is supplied by the records of the Ipswich borough court. It appears that in 1577 Sebastian Mann, a merchant of Ipswich, agreed to take from Anthony Colman, clothier of Wadringfield, six broad cloths called 'asers' (azures) of the value of £53 10s. Mann was to be bound along with his brother for £40 before Bartholomew's day, and was to give a bill for the payment of the rest at Christmas. In the meantime the cloths were to be sent to John Cowper, a shearman of Ipswich, who would 'dress' them and deliver them to Mann on receiving assurance that the bond for £40 was duly executed. Mann, however, without having executed the bond, obtained delivery of two of the cloths and sold them to other merchants, and while three more were lying at Cowper's house, a certain creditor of Mann's named Leete, sent the serjeant of the mayor of Ipswich to attach them, whereupon the shearman declared that the cloths were the property, not of Mann but of Colman the clothier.[5] It need not be supposed that transactions of this unsatisfactory kind were of so regular occurrence as the language of petitions might seem to imply. But the clothier often gave credit to the merchant, and it was said that the clothiers of a dozen small towns in Suffolk

[1] Stat. 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, cap. 5, Sec. 25.
[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 874.
[3] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 97.
[4] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cvi, 48.
[5] Dep. Bk. in town records of Ipswich, 21 Eliz.

lost over £30,000 by the bankruptcies of merchants during the crisis of 1622.[1]

Supposing that the cloth is finished, delivered to the exporter and honestly paid for, we may now follow it to its destination over sea. In the reign of Elizabeth there were about a dozen merchants who exported cloth among other products of Suffolk, and brought back foreign commodities in exchange. Exactly a dozen were put on their oath before the bailiffs in 1575 as to whether they had, between 22 August, 1569, and 1 May, 1573, infringed the Act of Restraint prohibiting trade with the Spanish Netherlands. All of them replied with a general negative, but one or two admitted exceptions. Robert Osborne admits that in April, 1573, being bound to Memden with certain cloths, he was forced to put into Carsel, Holland, and so went up to Enkhuisen and sold eight cloths costing £28 10*s*. 7*d*., for the return of which he had 14 cwt. Holland fish to the same value. Robert Barker admits that as he passed from Hamburg to Antwerp in 1570 or 1572 he bestowed at Antwerp about £5. John Barker says he received through Hamburg certain growgraynes and taffetas which his servant sent in 1569 value £3 and bought foreign cloths in 1570 value £8 or £10. Among the merchants who made no exceptions to their general denial were John More and Ralph More.[2]

The depositions taken concerning the operations of some of these merchants at the time of the stoppage of trade give a sufficiently clear notion of the extent and nature of the Ipswich export trade in Suffolk cloth, and of the business methods used by those who carried it on. Robert Barker of Ipswich, aged thirty, declares on oath that in September, October, and November, 1568, he was in Antwerp acting as factor for John More of Ipswich, merchant, and sold divers short fine coloured cloths, some at £10 Flemish, others at £10 5*s*., £10 5*s*. 8*d*., £10 10*s*., £12, and £12 10*s*. He also sold ten long Suffolk cloths at £14, £15 10*s*., and £16 10*s*. He declares also that John More had in Antwerp from January until July of the same year various sorts of short whites, some of which sold at £59 Flemish the pack, some at £60, some at £61, some at £62, some at £65, some at £67. Robert Barker likewise declares that in October and November of the same year he sold for himself and his partner W. Cardinal of East Bergholt, merchant, in Antwerp, divers fine short and long coloured Suffolk cloths, the prices of the short cloths varying from £10 to £12 10*s*., and those of the long cloths from £15 10*s*. to £17. Moreover, in December he bought in Antwerp and shipped in a Flemish hoy two sacks of hops on behalf of John More which was seized by the Spanish authorities, and one sack of hops, a hogshead of flax and seventeen ballots of woad for himself and partner. The authorities also seized two pieces of mackado at 13*s*. 4*d*. the piece, in John More's packhouse at Antwerp, and one piece of Norwich worsted value £2 Flemish, belonging to Barker and his partner.[3]

In the same month John Stork, aged twenty-three, prentice to Ralph More of Ipswich, merchant, made a deposition to the following effect. In September, 1568, More consigned by the *Lion* of Ipswich twenty-seven broad cloths to a merchant of Vigo named Cotton. John Stork went along with the cloths and saw them delivered to Cotton to be sold on his master's behalf. His master also entrusted him with the collection of two debts owing by Spanish merchants, amounting to 47 and 275 ducats respectively. Cotton owed More 156 ducats for four fine cloths which he had sold on his behalf, and had engaged to pay at the next vintage. While Stork was in Vigo, his master wrote him instructions to demand of Cotton in what state things stood and for a return of moneys received. Whereupon Cotton answered that all he had of More's was arrested to the king's use.[4]

A further piece of evidence as to the quantity of cloth exported is afforded by the deposition of John Barker, who in 1560 was fined and imprisoned for disregarding an ordinance of the town, that all cloth should be taken to the Cloth Hall before exportation. During the two or three years since the ordinance was made, he admitted having shipped more than 1,000 cloths.[5] Besides the trade done with Spain and the Netherlands, there was a great deal of Suffolk cloth sent to more distant countries. We learn from a statute of 1523, that Vesses, otherwise called set cloths, of divers colours are made in Suffolk to be worn in far countries and not in England. These were exempted, as they had already been in 1487, from the regulation requiring that cloth should not shrink more than a certain amount when wet. They were of small price, not above 40*s*. a cloth, and they did not hold the length or breadth when they were wet, 'which the buyers know well when they buy them, so therein is no deceit.'[6] They corresponded in fact to the cheap cottons and shoddies sent out nowadays to the African market, and were largely exported to Barbary and Muscovy. In 1613 the Muscovy Company was said to export 2,500 cloths yearly, nine-tenths of which were finished and dyed in Suffolk.[7]

The elaborate code regulating the cloth manufacture which was enacted in 1551, and embodied the recommendations of a Royal Commission representative of all branches of the trade,

[1] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxviii, 67.
[2] Ipswich Dep. Bk. 17 Eliz. Apl. 25.
[3] Ipswich Dep. Bk. 14 Eliz. Apl. 7.
[4] Ibid. 14 Apl. 5.
[5] Exch. Dep. 3 Eliz. 3 East. 3.
[6] Stat. 14 and 15 Hen. VIII, cap. 11.
[7] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxxii, 70.

required that no cloth should be strained or stretched more than one yard in length or an eighth of a yard in breadth, and that no person should use 'any wrinch, rope or ring, or any other engine for the purpose of such unlawful stretching.[1]' We have seen it was admitted by the Suffolk clothiers that such engines were in common use, and it also appears that the stretching of cloth beyond the legal limit was universally practised. The Privy Council at different times judged it expedient to grant a dispensation or a 'toleration' for the stretching of a certain number of cloths for the Eastern market,[2] and an attempt made to enforce the law in 1631 was met with a protest on the part of the justices of Suffolk.[3]

Sir Josiah Child, writing near the end of the 17th century, was of opinion that—

> Excess of straining cannot be certainly limited by a law, but must be left to the sellers' or exporters' discretion . . . besides, if we should wholly prohibit the straining of cloth, the Dutch (as they often have done) would buy our unstrained cloth, . . . strain it six or seven yards per piece more in length, and make it look a little better to the eye, and after that carry it abroad to Turkey . . and there beat us out of trade with our own weapons.[4]

Since 1487 it had been one of the main features of English mercantile policy to insist that all English cloth should be finished before it was exported. Several statutes had been made to this effect, but as the arts of cloth finishing and dyeing were not as yet sufficiently advanced in England to compete successfully with the work of continental craftsmen, by far the greater part of cloth exported was still white and unfinished. In part the law had to be relaxed, in part it was evaded, and royal licences were granted to an extent which made the law of very little effect.[5] Where the law was operative, as in the case of Norwich worsteds, the effect on trade seems to have been disastrous.[6] Nevertheless the policy remained in favour, and the fact that so much Suffolk cloth, though as we have seen by no means all, was dressed and dyed before export, gave it a special interest in the eyes of the statesman and the pamphleteer. Whenever it was proposed to remove the hindrances imposed by the law on the cloth trade of the country at large, the cry was raised that the valuable Suffolk industry would suffer.[7] When courtiers sued for licences to export unfinished cloth without regard to the law, they recognized the force of public opinion or of vested interest by excluding the cloth of Suffolk and of Kent from the scope of their operations.[8] It cannot be said that even in Suffolk the beneficent character of the restrictive legislation was universally recognized. One of the most flourishing centres of the industry in the county had been East Bergholt. In the Ipswich records for the earlier years of Elizabeth it is the clothiers of that then flourishing place who are oftenest mentioned as supplying the Ipswich merchants with goods for export. In the year of the Spanish Armada the justices of the township, in reply to a demand of the Privy Council that they should make some reasonable contribution to a ship and pinnace out of Colchester, ask for compassion on account of

> the decayed state of this poor corner, growing chiefly if we be rightly informed by restraint made by a Statute prohibiting that no Suffolk cloth should be transported and not here dressed before they were embarked, thereby changing the accustomed gainful trade . . . with such cloths as were best saleable in Spain and now through long want of vent into those parts we find the stocks and wealth of the inhabitants greatly decayed.[9]

As far as the greater part of the English cloth trade was concerned this restriction had very little effect till after the accession of James I. The merchants were interested in evading it and the crown found the granting of licences for the export of white unfinished cloth a valuable fiscal resource. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century, as we shall have occasion to notice later, the influence of industrial capital began to be much strengthened by grants of incorporation. The clothworkers in different centres, and especially in London, loudly insisted on the law being carried out. The king and his ministers, having quarrelled with Parliament on the question of supply, were being led to look to protective measures as a popular source of revenue. Finally at the end of 1614, just after a dissolution of Parliament, the Government sanctioned an elaborate scheme based on a large grant of monopoly for securing the dressing and dyeing of all exported cloth. In the discussion that led up to the adoption of what proved a disastrous policy, the case of the Suffolk industry occupied a prominent place. A state paper was prepared giving

> a survey of the benefits which cometh to this state by colouring of the wools and cloth made in Suffolk exceeding the like quantity of cloth made white elsewhere.[10]

A very short acquaintance with this class of document is sufficient to lead one to the conclusion that it would be quite unsafe to trust the accuracy of the statistics thus put forward, but the incidental details need not be viewed with

[1] Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI, cap. 6, sec. 11, 12.
[2] *Acts of P. C.* 1577, p. 385; S.P. Dom. Jas. I, xl, 25.
[3] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxcii, 26, 42.
[4] Smith, *Memoirs of Wool*, i, 227.
[5] G. Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, i, 454.
[6] Schanz, op. cit. ii, 20.
[7] S.P. Dom. Eliz. xxv, 26; Ibid. ccvi, 67.
[8] Ibid. cclxi, 47, and cclxxi, 3.
[9] Ibid. ccix, 102.
[10] Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 182.

the same suspicion and are of considerable interest.

First there is made in the said county about 30,000 cloths which are transported every year in Eastland, Russia, Spain, Barbary, France, Turkey and other places, and which are dyed in wool ere they be draped, of which number there are, we will suppose, 7,000 coloured blue, 20,000 azures, and 3,000 plunkets, all which are dressed in this land, whereof we suppose 20,000 are transported in the same colour they received in wool, and 10,000 at the least dyed in cochineal, in violets, murreyes, silver colour, peach colour, and other colours, for all which the King's Majesty had custom of the stuff that dyeth them.

Every vat set with woad and indigo for dyeing the wool is said to require 4 cwt. of woad paying 2*s.* custom and 12 lb. of indigo paying 4*s.* 6*d.* This amount of dye-stuff will dye the wool for three blues, six azures or twelve plunkets or watchets. The custom on the cochineal used for those cloths that are dyed after they are draped comes to 1*s.* 4*d.* the cloth ; and the total custom reckoned on this basis is £2,589 11*s.* 8*d.* The statistician then proceeds to calculate how much the 'handicrafts and labouring men' have for dyeing the wool and dressing the 30,000 cloths, supposing half to be coarse cloths and half fine.

For making wood and caring for fire to dye with and for burning ashes and carriage and for carrying the dyed wools to be washed and dried for each cloth	12*d.*
For grinding the indigo at 2*d.* the pound, each cloth	6*d.*
For shucking the wool of every cloth .	4*d.*
For dyeing the wool of each cloth to the setter and wringer	2*s.*
For burling every coarse cloth 12*d.* every fine cloth	4*s.*
For dressing (to rower and shearer) a coarse cloth 5*s.* a fine cloth . . .	12*s.*
For mantling, foulding, pressing, and tilloting each cloth	20*d.*

The total amount paid in wages is said to be £30,750, to say nothing of the twenty ships employed in fetching from foreign countries woad, indigo, cochineal, and other dye-stuffs, 'wherein is maintained 400 mariners continually.[1]'

In this connexion we may cite a computation of almost exactly the same date which is given by Reyce in his *Breviary of Suffolk*, written in 1618.

It is reckoned (says Reyce) that he which maketh ordinarily 20 broad cloths every week cannot set as few awork as 500 persons for by the time his wool is come home and is sorted saymed what with breakers, dyers, wood-setters, wringers, spinners, weavers, burlers, shearmen, and carriers, besides his own large family the number will soon be accomplished. Some there be that weekly set more awork, but of this number there are not many.[2]

Of the movement which has just been mentioned towards the consolidation of industrial interests by means of incorporation, Suffolk presents some of the most interesting examples. Although springing out of the progress made by the industry, the movement was marked to a considerable extent by a reactionary spirit, and if it had achieved more permanent success, it would probably have retarded the industrial development of the nation. It will have become evident from the above description that the old local limitations of the industry had been outgrown. A more economical division of labour on a national, and to some extent on an international basis, was being rapidly brought about. The fact that the wool could be grown in one county, spun in a second, woven in a third, and finished in a fourth, while it necessarily involved a decay of one or another of these occupations in many localities, carried with it large possibilities of increased national production. But this advance was dependent on the freedom of capital constantly to enlarge the scope of its operations and to break through the barriers erected by local organization. The first step in this direction, the control of the town handicrafts by the local capitalists, the draper or clothier, was achieved without great difficulty, since the capitalist was in possession of the town council. The vain protest of the organized weavers of the towns is to be heard in every clothing centre throughout England during the sixteenth century. The draper in the town had become practically the employer of spinners and weavers in the surrounding country. But capital could not be confined to the towns. With the advent of national peace and security, it found more freedom in the country. And the country producer was not limited to the local market. As the operations of trade expanded, London merchants, who were in touch with a much wider demand, became acquainted with the best sources of supply, and invaded with their larger capital what the local draper had considered as his own preserve. The vested interests of the local capitalist were now found to be opposed to the free expansion of trade. An attempt was made to force the manufacture of several of the most important clothing districts into dependence on one or more of the towns of that district. Much Tudor legislation had this object, and throughout Elizabeth's reign the corporate towns were busy reorganizing the cloth industry on a capitalistic basis with the same purpose.

In the General Assembly Book of Ipswich for the year 1590 are recorded the ordinances for establishing a new company of clothworkers,

[1] Cott. MS. Titus, B. v, fol. 254.

[2] R. Reyce, *The Breviary of Suffolk* (ed. by Lord Francis Hervey), p. 26.

shearmen and dyers, with a view to remedying the abuses that arise from the incursions of foreigners, and in order that 'the said mysteries and sciences may be better ordered, the town better maintained, and the country near about it more preferred and advanced.' The members of the new company are, by the advice and consent of the bailiffs of the town, to elect two wardens, one of whom is to retire after a year and be replaced by a similar election. The retiring warden is to render an account to the new warden in the presence of the bailiffs. The company is to have a chest with three locks and three keys to hold the forfeits and other profits, and also the register book. The wardens are to have one key apiece, and the third key is to be kept by one of the portmen appointed by the wardens. No member of the company is to give to journeymen greater wages than the law of the realm allows, and if any journeyman shall refuse to work for these wages the wardens and bailiffs shall commit him to prison. No craftsman of the company is to take an apprentice born out of the town without the licence of the bailiffs in writing.[1]

With these ordinances may be compared the much more extensive regulations for the true working of cloth made at Bury in 1607, the town having only received its charter in the preceding year. There are to be chosen yearly by the alderman and burgesses six discreet, honest, and skilful men who are called overseers, of whom two are to be weavers, two shearmen, and two clothiers. These are to give a bond of £40 to search and find out all frauds done by every clothier, carder, spinner, weaver, burler, rower, thicker, dyer or shearer. A seal of lead for which 2*d.* is to be charged is to be placed by the searcher with the arms and name of the borough to every cloth sufficiently dressed, dyed, and pressed. The frauds and offences visited with penalties include straining cloth with engines, defective length, breadth or weight; withholding cloth from the sealer, absence of the clothier's token, defective dyeing, use of hot press or iron cards. None is to buy coloured wool or yarn from carder, spinner, or weaver. No weaver is to act as fuller or dyer. No fuller is to have a loom in his house or to take profit directly or indirectly from a loom.[2] In each of these two sets of ordinances there is an evident revival of the old spirit of local industrial monopoly, but the extent of its practical effects was dependent on the manner in which the new organizations were administered. These were, however, entirely subordinated to the municipal authorities; and the leading men of the two towns were by no means unanimous in their desire for industrial monopoly. Many of them were wealthy merchants whose prosperity depended on the maintenance of the trade that had grown up by the removal of local restrictions, and who had no desire to see those restrictions reimposed. If the industrial capitalists of the towns who wished to make the spinning and weaving of the country round serve as feeders of their finishing trade were to have their way they must get powers independent of the town government. And we find that there was a general movement in this direction among the clothworkers of the chief clothing towns of England about this time.[3] The clothiers, clothworkers, woollen weavers, and tailors of Bury and its liberties were incorporated in 1610, the clothworkers and tailors of Ipswich about 1619. The Bury corporation was the more ambitious of the two, as the liberties of Bury not only embraced a third of Suffolk, but included nearly all the districts where cloth-making was carried on. There were to be two masters and two wardens and twenty associates. The two masters named in the charter were George Boldrow of Bury, clothier, and George Fysson of Bury, tailor, and two wardens, Edward Hynard of Bury, clothier, and Edward White of Bury, weaver, whilst the associates included six tailors, three clothworkers, three weavers, and two clothiers of Bury, and six country clothiers, one each from Hadleigh, Lavenham, Glemsford, Waldringfield, Boxford, and Groton. One master and one warden were to be always tailors. The masters and wardens, with the consent of the associates, were to name so many of the better sort as they thought fit to be the livery of the company, which was in other respects also to be framed after the model of a London livery company. The masters and wardens, or their deputies, were to have powers of search in Bury and its liberties, and might call in magistrates and headboroughs to their assistance. No householder was to set on a journeyman before the latter had appeared at the hall and explained why he left his last master. The journeyman was then to receive a certificate and pay 8*d.* No person that had not been a covenant servant or householder within Bury or its liberties above twelve months before the date of the charter, or had not served seven years' apprenticeship, was to set up shop till he had paid a fine, not exceeding £5. The apprentice at the end of his service was to pay 3*s.* 4*d.*, and have his name recorded, and after three years' approved service as a journeyman he was to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* and be admitted householder. There were numerous regulations against fraud or defective work on the part of spinners, weavers, fullers, and dyers, against stretching, the use of cards, &c. Payment of wages was to be in

[1] Gen. Assem. Bk. 33 Eliz. 30 Apr. and *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 255.

[2] Constitutions, laws, statutes, decrees, and ordinances, MS. in Bury Town Hall; a summary in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, pt. viii, 140.

[3] Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 40, 98, 147.

ready money. No clothier was to take advances of money or wool from any gentleman, yeoman, &c., on agreement to make him a partner, or was to pay more than 2*s.* in the £ for such advances. But perhaps the most significant clause in the regulations was one requiring that every person exercising the above trades shall be contributory to the masters, wardens or their deputies all such reasonable sums for taxes, tallages, &c., ordinary or extraordinary, as shall be thought good by the masters, wardens and associates, either for the king's use or that of the company, or towards the charges of obtaining the king's grant and the ordinances.

The charter had not long been granted before a number of tailors, weavers, and others of the district petitioned for its suppression, declaring 'that the corporation was obtained by some few men of the meaner sort without the consent of the majority as a means to draw money from the poorest sort by divers unjust taxations, and to vex those they have a grudge against; that they exact money to admit men into their society, and having compounded with them allow them to do as they please; that they draw all the men over whom they can get any demand to travel from all places of the said franchise (about eight score towns) to attend the common hall of Bury or else to undergo a fine.'[1]

We hear nothing of the Ipswich Corporation of Clothworkers and Tailors except from its opponents. On 4 February, 1620, the privy council received a bundle of petitions praying for its dissolution. The bailiffs, portmen, common council, and chief burgesses of Ipswich complain of the many inconveniences and disorders caused by the promoters of the new organization, who have contemptuously demeaned themselves against the ancient and well-settled government of the town. The merchants point out that the charter gives them the oversight of their own workmanship whereby the clothworking for which Ipswich used to be famous is much impaired. The clothiers of Ipswich complain that the privileged clothworkers prevent them from dressing their own cloths, and do it so badly themselves that the town has lost the best trade of the London drapers, and of many country clothiers. And finally that some of the clothworkers and tailors themselves ask that the charter may be revoked, as the corporation is being managed by poor and unworthy persons, and is only made a means of levying money from them.[2] The government caused inquiry to be made, from which it appeared that the members of the new corporation had been full of suits among themselves, and had made ordinances that put more than necessary charge on their company. At the same time the commissioners, while considering under-corporations in cities generally injurious, did not hold it fitting that the whole making and dressing of cloth should pass through the hands of the clothier, as this may give rise to abuses. Much depends on the clothworkers, who set many poor at work in the towns. They do not therefore advise the revocation of the corporation's patent, but rather its better management by associating some of the magistrates as governors, admitting none but freemen of the borough, and making provision for a more impartial examination of the dressing of cloth.[3] These recommendations were embodied in a set of new ordinances which the justices of assize made for the corporation in the following May. The bailiffs were to appoint yearly two freemen, one a merchant and the other a clothier, who were to join with the wardens of the company in a monthly search.[4] The clothworkers were thus obliged to content themselves with a very modified form of independence. It seems highly probable that the Bury Corporation succumbed to the opposition it aroused. If anything approaching to its far-reaching powers had been realized a great deal more would have been subsequently heard of it.

The policy with which these experiments were intimately connected, of forcing dressed and dyed English cloth on the reluctant foreigner, provoked general retaliation, and led to a speedy breakdown in the cloth trade, the effects of which were felt for a number of years.[5] The Suffolk industry, indeed, never seems to have recovered from the shock. Other more permanent causes were no doubt at work leading to the migration of the broad-cloth manufacture to the west country and to Yorkshire, but the crisis of 1616–17 served to give a painful emphasis to their operation. This is shown clearly enough by a petition of the justices of Suffolk to the Privy Council in 1619.

> Not many years since (they say) our country tasted of an extraordinary calamity in the breaking of one Cragg a merchant beyond the seas, by occasion whereof divers merchants in London bankrupting likewise overthrew the estates of divers clothiers in our country. . . . And this loss not yet recovered . . . one Gerrard Reade a merchant of London having gotten of the clothiers' estates about £20,000 into his hands for cloths bought of them doth now withdraw himself into his house and hath set over his goods unto his friends answering the said clothiers that he is able to

[1] Copy of charter of the constitutions, and of the petition preserved in Bury Town Hall; see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, pt. viii, 141.

[2] *Acts of P. C.* 4 Feb. 1620; S. P. Dom. Jas. I, cxii, 62–4.

[3] S. P. Dom. Jas. I, cxii, 105; and Lansd. MS. 162, fol. 208.

[4] *Acts of P. C.* 26 May, 1620; and S. P. Dom. Jas. I, cxx, 26. Later on we find the bailiffs putting pressure on the company to enforce these regulations; see S. P. Dom. Chas. I, ccxxi, 62.

[5] F. H. Durham, 'Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I'; *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* 1899.

make them no satisfaction. There are four score clothiers of Suffolk at the least to whom he is indebted, many of them young beginners so that their estates be overthrown if they lose the money he oweth them, and their people being 5,000 at the least that work unto them they will be brought into such extremities that neither the clothiers by their trade nor we by any means we can use shall be able to relieve them.[1]

Three years later, when the Privy Council were instructing the justices in many counties to urge the clothiers to find work for the poor,[2] the Suffolk justices replied that the clothiers were willing to employ their workmen, but were unable, having spent most of their estates in making cloth which lay on their hands. 'The clothiers,' they add, 'that inhabit but in twenty towns in two hundreds of this county have at the present 4,453 broad cloths worth £39,282 which do lie upon their hands, some one year, some two.' The losses from bankruptcy sustained by the clothiers in twelve of these towns amount to £30,415, and the losses elsewhere are in the same proportion. The justices attribute this bad state of things to the lack of free trade in buying and selling of cloth owing to the incorporation of the merchants into companies. They complain also of the export of wool and fuller's earth, and of the new imposition lately laid on cloth.[3]

The point about fuller's earth has a touch of Sophoclean irony. In 1639 the Privy Council 'in its wisdom' gave ear to the complaint and forbade the export by special proclamation, being urged thereunto by the fear that Puritan clothiers from Suffolk, who were migrating to Holland, needed only English fuller's earth to enable them to transplant the industry. So strictly was the new order enforced that the export of fuller's earth from Rochester to Ipswich by water was stopped by a watchful government, and before long we hear the bitter complaint of the Suffolk clothiers that they have to pay £6 a ton for land carriage instead of 2s. which was the cost of water carriage.[4]

In referring to the lack of free trade the justices undoubtedly came nearer to the real cause of the trouble. Not that the merchants who were complained of were alone to blame in this respect. We have already seen the clothworker of the towns trying to hamper the freedom of the clothier. At the very same time a number of weavers and shearmen of Suffolk were appealing to the Privy Council against the action of the clothiers, who were bringing indictments against them for setting up in the trade of clothmaking.[5] The spirit of monopoly was deeply rooted and widespread, and the merchants had good precedents for their assertion that foreign trade could not be safely carried on except by exclusive and privileged corporations. It is in the records of a struggle against this tradition as preserved in the evidence taken in a case between some Ipswich clothiers and the Eastland Company that we get one of the last glimpses of the Suffolk broad-cloth industry in its relations with the European market.

The Eastland Company, which held a monopoly of the trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic, was one of the main agencies for the export of Suffolk cloth. It had a branch at Ipswich, and several merchants of that town were members. In 1622, when the government was urging merchants to buy, four of these went to the Ipswich clothiers to see what they had in hand. Five clothiers offered between them 192 pieces of cloth. Of these 40 belonged to Mr. George Acton, and 45 to Mr. Hailes, the latter comprising 17 fine azures, 6 violets in mather, 2 violets in grain, 10 middle blues, 5 'teire' blues, 3 fine blues, and 2 grass greens at prices varying from £10 to £15 the cloth. The clothiers said that these prices were 12 per cent. less than the merchants had been paying to others. The merchants on the other hand declared they were £2 a cloth more than usual, and wrote to the governor of their company in London that the high prices asked showed that the Ipswich clothiers were holding back their cloth in the hope of inducing the Privy Council to give them a licence to export on their own account, which, if granted, would so unsettle trade as to prove a greater inconvenience than those already complained of.[6]

Whether this was true or not, there is no doubt that the Ipswich clothiers were desirous of trading abroad on their own account. Two of them had already offered to pay the entrance fee to the Eastland Company, but had been refused admittance. One of them thereupon joined with another clothier in sending out a factor to the Eastland countries, who reported a good demand for Suffolk cloth, and apparently brought back orders. Soon after the futile negotiations with the Eastland merchants several of the clothiers sent off from Aldeburgh and Lynn shipments of their goods, consigned nominally to Amsterdam and Rochelle, but with instructions for transshipment to the Eastland countries; and in due course they received in exchange cargoes of the products of those parts, hemp, flax, and potash.

Proceedings were taken by the Eastland Company against the interlopers. Evidence was brought to show that the clothiers did not entirely depend on the Eastland merchants for a market, but might also dispose of their cloth to the merchants trading with East India, Barbary, Muscovy, and Turkey; and it was alleged that

[1] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cix, 126.
[2] Ibid. cxxvii, 75.
[3] Ibid. cxxviii, 67.
[4] Ibid. Chas. I, cccxxiv, 100.
[5] *Acts of P. C.* 18 Jan. 1616–17.
[6] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxxxi, 40.

the defendants had deliberately aimed at destroying the company's privileges, one of them having been heard to say that if they had law for their money they might overthrow the charter. The arguments relied upon by the other side were directed more to the point of policy than to the point of law. It was contended that the Suffolk industry had been suffering for many years for want of a free export trade, that the exclusiveness of the company made its agency inadequate and inefficient, and that trans-shipment was a customary device for eluding the restraints of monopoly. It is, however, the facts rather than the arguments in which we are interested, and these clearly point to a steady decline in the Suffolk cloth trade. The number of cloths exported by the Eastland Company from Ipswich dropped from 3,340 in 1626 to 728 in 1627, and one of the leading clothiers had not sold them sixteen cloths in four years. Another who once employed a hundred workers could not find work for twenty. The amount raised for poor relief in East Bergholt had had to be doubled, and there was no prospect of improvement.[1]

The same story is repeated five years later in a similar connexion. This time it is the London drapers and the merchant-adventurers who are trying to gain exclusive possession of the market. In 1635 the clothiers of Suffolk and Essex complained to the Privy Council that

> on repairing to London to sell their goods as formerly they found a stand upon the market by reason of an order made upon petition of the Merchant Adventurers and drapers shopkeepers that no one should sell any woollen cloths either by wholesale or by retail but themselves.

This order was designed to prevent the London clothworkers from acting as agents to the country clothiers, who often left the cloth in their hands to find a purchaser. At this time, continues the petition, £100,000 worth of cloth lies pawned for want of buyers and in storehouses, and

> if the number of buyers be lessened the petitioners cannot continue their trade. If the drapers become the sole chapmen they will compel the clothiers to sell at what price they please, and being few in number may easily combine to agree to do so. The merchant buys generally only against shipping times; the drapers buy but small quantities at some special times of the year, and divers others buy of the clothiers when they are most surcharged. The clothiers at all times of the year are driven to repair to London to sell their cloths to pay the wool-grower and the poor whom they set on work. . . . The drapers are not able to buy half the cloths that are brought to London . . . being not 140 families and the worst and hardest paymasters.[2]

It appears from the Privy Council Register that the petition was successful,[3] and there is an entry in the London Clothworkers' Court Book under the date of 15 April, 1635, authorizing the repayment of £147 8*s.* 9*d.* laid out by various members in and about the reversing of an order . . . prohibiting clothworkers and other to sell woollen cloth.

From what has been said it cannot be supposed that the Suffolk cloth industry owed much to the fostering care of the Stuart monarchy; but they both came to grief about the same time, and there is something pathetic in the appeal made by the Suffolk clothiers to the king in 1642 when he was issuing out of his coach at Greenwich too deeply pre-occupied, one would think, with his own troubles to be of any assistance to the petitioners.

> The pressing fears that hath befallen your loving subjects (runs this document), especially those of the city of London, in whom the breath of our trade and livelihood consisteth, have so blasted our hopes that the merchants forbear exportation; and cloths for the most part for the space of 18 months remain on our hands.

The clothiers go on to say that they have already petitioned both houses, and 'well knowing that the life of all supply next under God resteth in your royal Self,' they implore His Majesty to let fall one word to his Parliament on their behalf. The king received their petition very graciously. He said they had done well to lay their troubles before him. They had just cause to complain. He had seriously considered their case, had already recommended it to Parliament, and would take further care of it.[4] A committee of the House of Commons was in fact appointed in the same year to consider remedies for the obstruction of trade in Suffolk cloth, 'and how it may be vented in Turkey as formerly'; [5] but though we hear of shipments to Smyrna by the Levant Company in 1657,[6] the statement of the *Suffolk Traveller* that the old broad-cloth industry of Suffolk, which supplied so important a part of the trade of Ipswich, began to decline about the middle of the seventeenth century seems to be substantially correct.

[1] Exch. Dep. 5 Chas. I, East. 1.

[2] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cclxxxii, 130.

[3] *Acts of P. C.* 26 Nov. 17 Dec. 1634; 13 Feb. 1635.

[4] 'Suffolk clothiers petition to the King,' in B.M. 66*c*, fol. 3–48.

[5] *Commons Journ.* ii, 429.

[6] S.P. Dom. 1657, p. 314.

THE NEW DRAPERIES, WOOLCOMBING AND SPINNING

The place left vacant by the decay of the older cloth manufacture of Suffolk was largely occupied by the production of yarn and of the new draperies. These two branches of the woollen industry grew up together, the one supplying the material for the other. Instead of the short carded wool previously used, the new draperies, like worsted, required long wool which must be combed before it was spun. The making of the new draperies, i.e. bays, says, perpetuanas, &c., was introduced by Dutch refugees in the early years of Elizabeth.[1] A great many of the Dutch settled at Colchester, and the industry established itself all along the border of Essex and Suffolk. Sudbury, which was the chief Suffolk centre of it, may almost be considered as an outlying part of the Essex district. The new manufacture was regarded with no friendly eyes by those engaged in the old. It increased the demand for wool, the price of which they considered too high already, and which ought not in their opinion to be wasted on such flimsy wares. The Suffolk clothiers account for the high price of wool to a Royal Commission in 1577, by the facts that bay and say makers engross it, and that the Dutchmen 'convert it into many slight and vain commodities wherein the common people delight, and also into yarn to send beyond sea.'[2] The earliest reference to the new industry in Suffolk shows the same spirit of depreciation. Sudbury bays are said to be little better than cotton, and are worth only 20*s.* to 24*s.* a piece.[3] On the other hand it was pointed out some fifty years later (1615) that 'those of the new draperies by their great industry and skill do spend a great part of the coarse wools growing in this kingdom, and that at as high a price or higher than the clothiers do the finest wools of this country.'[1]

It was said that the 84 pounds of wool used for a cloth of the old drapery found work for only fourteen people, all servants of the clothier, at small wages, the spinners receiving per cloth, at 3*d.* the pound, 21*s.*, the weavers 10*s.*, and the fullers 2*s.* 6*d.*; while the same quantity of wool used in making stuff and stockings found work for forty or fifty people, the amount earned by labour being: for combing, 10*s.*; for spinning and draping noiles and coarse wool, 6*s.*; for spinning and twisting of tire wool, £3 4*s.*; for working of two-thirds into stuff and one-third into stockings, £3.

All sorts of these people (adds the pamphleteer), are masters in their trade and work for themselves. They buy and sell their materials that they work upon. So that by their merchandise and their honest labour they live very well. They are served of their wools weekly by the wool buyer either merchant or other.[4]

This happy condition of independence the majority of the small masters in the industry do not appear to have long maintained. The weavers of Colchester (said to be 2,000 in number) are found complaining throughout the reign of Charles I of having their wages lowered and of being paid in truck,[5] and the little we hear of the same class in Suffolk at a later date gives no reason to suppose that they were in any better position. It seems to have been held that the manufacture of the new draperies, owing to its more recent introduction, did not come under the provisions of the Statute of Apprentices,[6] and complaints were frequently made of the want of regulation, some of which were no doubt motived by hostility to the Dutch and jealousy of a rival industry.[7] Numerous attempts were made to organize the industry on a corporate footing. In 1621 the government drafted a scheme which was further elaborated and embodied in letters patent in 1625, with no less an object than that of trusting the principal men of quality in each of thirty-two counties with the oversight and government of the industry. The justices of the peace by name of the county were to be incorporated by the name of the Governors for the New Draperies of that county, and given power to make ordinances, to choose officers, to raise stock, to inflict punishment on offenders. The body of the corporation was to be all the inhabitants of or within the county. Suffolk was the third county on the list. This magnificently impossible scheme was on the point of being tried, when Buckingham's adventures at Rochelle provided an irresistible counter-attraction.[8] Separate corporations were, however, set up. The Dutch and the English at Colchester had rival organizations, and their disputes were constantly before the Privy Council.[9] A Bill 'was exhibited' to the Parliament of 1621 by the weavers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, with the object of extending the regulations already in force in respect to broad cloths and kerseys to the worsteds, bays, says, stuffs and fustians made

[1] W. J. Ashley, *Introd. to Econ. Hist.* pt. ii, 238.
[2] S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxiv, 32.
[3] S.P. Dom. Eliz. Addit. ix, 113.
[4] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxxx, 13.
[5] P.C.R. 10 and 17 May, 1637. S.P. Dom. Chas. I, ccclix, 153.
[6] *Tracts on Wool.* 'A declaration of the state of clothing,' J. May, ch. 5.
[7] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, xv, 17.
[8] Ibid. cxxi, 36, and S.P. Dom. Chas. I, i, 24.
[9] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxiii, 31, and cxv, 28; also P.C.R. 14 May and 15 July, 1617, 13 Feb., 1632.

in those counties, especially the insistence on seven years' apprenticeship. The towns were to be empowered to appoint yearly officers to be sworn before the justices of the peace. The Bill was lost by dissolution. Subsequent petitions on the subject were referred to the committee, but nothing appears to have resulted[1] except the all-embracing but abortive plan above described. The Norfolk industry, however, carried a measure on its own account after the Restoration.

Perhaps the failure of Suffolk to secure any share in the corporate organization of the new draperies was due to the fact that, from the first, much of the yarn produced there was for the consumption of other counties.

Reyce in his *Breviary of Suffolk* (1618) after referring in words already quoted to the numbers employed in the manufacture of cloth, goes on to say,

> Again at this day there is another kind of this trade not long since found out by which many of the poorer sort are much set on work and with far more profit as they say. This trade is commonly called kembing. The artificers hereof do furnish themselves with great store of wools, every one as far as his ability will extend. This wool they sort into many several parties, being washed, scoured, kembed, and trimmed, they put it out to spinning of which they make a fine thread according to the sort of the wool. Of these spinners (for the gain of this work is so advantageable and cleanly in respect of the clothing spinning, which is so unclean, so laboursome and with so small earnings) they have more offer themselves than there can at all times work be provided for. Now when their wool is made into yarn they weekly carry it to London, Norwich, and other such places, where it is ever readily sold to those who make thereof all sorts of fringes, stuffs, and many other things which at this day are used and worn.[2]

The dependence of the weavers of Norfolk and other counties on Suffolk for a supply of yarn continued down to the end of the eighteenth century, and was the occasion of constant disputes. The weavers complained that the spinners made up reels of yarn that were of defective length and wanting in the proper number of threads, which the yarnmen, who acted as middlemen, failed to detect. On 26 May, 1617, they obtained an order of the Privy Council that every gross of small wool or worsted yarn taken into Norfolk should contain twelve dozen, and every dozen twelve rollstaves, and every rollstaff fourteen leas, and every lea forty threads, or if not, it might be seized. Later on, in attempting to get this regulation included in the Bill of 1621 already referred to, they declared that the order not having been published by proclamation had little or no effect.[3] Nevertheless the combers and yarnmen of Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge made such complaints in 1629 as to the quantities of yarn seized on the authority of this order that the government appointed a Royal Commission of the knights belonging to the several counties affected to meet at Bury and hear both sides. The yarnmen admitted that defective yarn might occasionally pass through their hands, and were willing to make good the loss if proved. Beyond this, however, they did not think they ought to be held responsible for the yarn they sold.

> Their spinners (they said) were so very many in number, and many false and defective. Themselves, in regard of the multitude they set on work, and their spinners repairing unto them at one instant of time to bring home their work, in regard of their carrying of them to their market at Norwich, are impossibilited to search and look into their several work before the sale. Also their threatening to put them out of work little or nothing prevails with them, they usually answering that if they work not for them they may for other, whereby it likewise plainly appeareth that these people contrary to their former clamours want not occupation.

An offer made by the yarnmen to sell by the pound weight was not accepted by the other side, and the commissioners found it difficult to devise measures of conciliation. After some hesitation they took the side of the weavers, who had, they considered, a right to have what they paid for, and whose 'sufferances' and losses were so great that if they continued the estate of Norfolk and Norwich could not subsist. They thought that the established order of selling by length and tale was best, and that the yarnmen had no right to take advantage of the spinners' fraud by their own neglect 'out of the supposed strait of time which themselves may enlarge, and their diligence by timely search easily prevent.'[4]

Although it is likely enough that the spinners were tempted by their poverty to make up short reels of yarn, there is little reason to trust the account given by the yarnmen of their independent attitude. The statement to the opposite effect already quoted from Reyce's *Breviary* is confirmed by other evidence. In 1631 the saymakers of Sudbury reduced the wages both of spinners and weavers. A gentleman of the neighbourhood who pitied the lot of the spinners, and at the same time had a grudge against the clothiers, advised the former to lay their case before the Privy Council. The justices, being directed by the Council to inquire into the matter, were informed by the saymakers that a similar reduction had been made by employers all over the kingdom. The Sudbury masters were willing to agree to an increase of wages if the Council would enforce it elsewhere. On this understanding the justices fixed a new rate of wages and sent it for the Council's approval, ordering it to be paid for a month in the mean-

[1] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxl, 82.

[2] Reyce, *The Breviary of Suffolk* (ed. Lord F. Hervey), 26.

[3] S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxl, 82.

[4] S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cliii, 53.

time. The spinners were to have a penny for every seven knots without deductions, and the weavers a shilling per pound weight for weaving white says, with a deduction of sixpence per piece in says weighing over 5 lb.[1] The task of raising wages all over the country was probably found to be beyond the powers of the Privy Council.

In this connexion may be given an assessment of wages for the cloth industry of Suffolk made by the justices at Bury in 1630 and applying to both the old and the new draperies :—

Clothiers' chief servants using to ride to spinners, with livery £3, without £4.
Other servants of clothiers, with livery 40*s.*, without 30*s.*
Servants to weavers of woollen cloth or stuff, with livery 30*s.*, without 40*s.*
Manservants to woolcombers, paid by the year 40*s.*
Manservants to woolcombers working by the pound, single men 1*d.* a lb.
Manservants to woolcombers working by the pound, married, having served apprentice, 2*d.*
Chief servants of fullers, with livery £3, without 5 marks.
Chief servants of millers, with livery 50*s.*, without £3.
Other servants of fullers and millers, with livery 40*s.*, without 50*s.*
Chief servants of dyers, with livery 50*s.*, without £3.
Other servants of dyers, with livery 40*s.*, without 50*s.*
Chief servants of tuckers, shearmen, hosiers, with livery 46*s.* 8*d.*, without 53*s.* 4*d.*[2]

After the Restoration, when the new draperies were rapidly supplanting the old, the ancient borough of Sudbury with the neighbouring village of Long Melford became the chief centre of the Suffolk cloth industry, and the records of Sudbury show that the weavers there were able to use the machinery of municipal government in defence of their status. The oath administered to the surveyor of weavers on the day of the election of the mayor in 1665 was as follows :—

You shall swear that you will make diligent search for the finding out of all such clothiers or saymakers as shall use more than two broad looms or three say looms or narrow looms within this town, and of all such weavers as shall use above the number of two broad looms or five say looms or narrow looms, and of all such clothiers or weavers or other artificer inhabitants as shall take . . . as an apprentice the son of any husbandman or labourer inhabiting within this town or elsewhere, unless such apprentice shall be bound by the churchwardens or overseers of the poor with the consent of the mayor for seven years. And that no clothier shall take three apprentices except he keep one journeyman.[3]

In 1674, when the clothiers in many counties united in petitioning against the grant of licences for the export of wool, fuller's earth, and undyed cloth and stuffs, the complaints from Suffolk were especially numerous and amounted to nearly a hundred, but their numbers cannot be taken as an indication of prosperity.[4] In the latter half of the seventeenth century the light fabrics, calicoes and silks brought in by the East India Company were coming into general use, and the competition was complained of not only by the silkweavers, but by the manufacturers of the new draperies. The saymakers of Suffolk petitioned Parliament in 1696 for the exclusion of the Indian fabrics.[5] In 1722, when Defoe made his tour of the eastern counties, he found Sudbury remarkable for nothing except for being very populous and very poor.

They have (he says) a great manufacture of says and perpetuanas and multitudes of poor people are employed in working them; but the number of the poor is almost ready to eat up the rich. . . . Long Melford . . . . is full of very good houses, and as they told me is richer and has more wealthy masters of the manufacture in it than in Sudbury itself.[6]

Another traveller thirty years later finds the industry still carried on in Sudbury, Lavenham, Clare, Bildeston, and Hadleigh, but is struck by the poverty and dirt by which it seems to be accompanied.[7] The new draperies were in fact slowly following the old to the west country and to the north.

As the amount of weaving done in the county diminished, the amount of wool combed and spun for the weavers of other counties increased. The Norwich weavers were the chief consumers of the Suffolk yarn, and the powers of search and of forfeiture which had been originally conferred by order in Council, and which were re-granted by Act of Parliament in 1662, were a constant source of dispute. In 1623 the woolcombers of Suffolk and the other eastern counties complained to Parliament that the Norwich weavers had, under cover of their powers of search, 'made great havoc and spoil of the said commodities by rifling wagons at their inns and on the road, and by plundering the woolcombers themselves on the road and by breaking open their houses and carrying away what they please.' When a seizure was made, the fine imposed, as to which the master weavers were both judge and jury, instead of being used for the benefit of the poorer weavers, was consumed in treats, whilst the forfeited yarn was sold and made up into cloth. These proceedings did not check the admitted abuses in spinning, as the spinsters were not punished, and the woolcombers therefore asked that they might be incorporated by such methods and under such regulations as the House of Commons might think fit. The House,

[1] P.C. R. 16 Feb. 1631, and S.P. Dom. Chas. I, clxxxix, 40; ibid. cxcvii, 72.
[2] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1897, p. 307.
[3] *Journ. Suff. Arch. Inst.* viii, 17.
[4] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cclxi, No. 155.
[5] *Commons Journ.* xi, 456.
[6] Defoe, *Tour in the Eastern Counties*, p. 100.
[7] *Universal Mag.* (1759), 171–7.

though it passed a resolution condemning the practices complained of as arbitrary, illegal and an abuse to the subject, took no further step at that time in the direction suggested by the woolcombers.[1]

Almost a century later, however, an Act was passed which practically embodied the earlier proposal. The manufacturers of combing wool, worsted yarn, and goods made from worsted in Suffolk were to hold a general meeting at Stowmarket, and to elect a chairman and committee of fifteen who were afterwards to meet once a quarter at Bury. The committee were to recommend two inspectors for appointment by the justices of the peace with powers to inspect the yarn in the hands of the spinners, and to prosecute defaulters. On a reel of one yard each hank or skein was to consist of 7 raps or leas, and each rap to contain 80 threads. On a reel of $1\frac{3}{4}$ or 2 yards the hank was to consist of 6 raps of 80 threads. To provide a fund for the purposes of prosecution the collectors of the soap duty were to allow a deduction of *4d.* in the shilling on all soap used in the wool trade. As most of the spinning was done by women, the goods of the husband were made liable for the wife's default.[2]

With the help of some statistics obtained by Arthur Young in 1784 (probably from an employer), we are enabled to form a fairly definite idea of the industry over which the new committee was to preside. The master yarnmakers who were to attend the general meeting were about 120 in number. Each of these employed on the average about ten combers, and a comber in full work produced material enough for thirty spinners. The combers were in the position of small masters, and occasionally had journeymen or apprentices under them. They earned about 10*s.* a week. The spinners, taking women and children together, did not earn more on the average than *3d.* a day. Reckoned on this basis the total number employed in yarnmaking within the county would be 37,500, nearly half of whom were said to be engaged in supplying the Norwich manufacture, which consumed every week 65 packs at £30 a pack.[3] It should be noted, however, that these figures are based on the assumption of full and regular employment, whereas a great deal of the spinning was done in the intervals of other work, so that the numbers engaged in it may have considerably exceeded the 36,000 of the above estimate. Another estimate given in a letter to a member of Parliament published in 1787 is that there were 192,000 ('say 150,000') employed in spinning wool in Suffolk, but considering that the entire population of Suffolk in 1801 was only 214,404, this estimate is obviously excessive.

Apart from the rashness of his figures the writer of the letter in question supplies an interesting account of the economic condition of the spinners, the general accuracy of which there is no reason to doubt. There is no legal provision, he points out, for the assessment of spinners' wages, either by the piece or by the day. The employers take advantage of the inefficacy of the Act of Elizabeth, and assume an arbitrary power of deducting sometimes twopence, threepence, and at this time fourpence out of every shilling earned. The spinners in Yorkshire do not suffer from these deductions, and provisions are cheaper there. A poor woman labours twelve hours to earn *6d.* by spinning and reeling, and the putter out of wool or packman by order of his master deducts $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* or *2d.* out of the *6d.* The mode of delivering wool to spinners is through a packman who is employed to carry it to the houses of certain people which are called pack-houses; to these houses the spinners repair for their wool, and there return it after it is spun; and to these places the mandate of the employer is sent to take off *3d.* or *4d.* in the shilling. As the spinner cannot live on *4d.* a day, the deficiency has to be made up by the parish, which is the main cause of the increase in the poor-rate. The woolcombers and weavers are not treated in this way, because they are capable of resistance. The writer concludes by urging that the wages of spinners ought to be fixed at quarter sessions by country gentlemen who are not employers.[4]

By this time both the spinning and the weaving branches of the woollen manufacture were on the threshold of machine production and the factory system, and this stage in the development of the industry was destined to be realized elsewhere than in Suffolk. The groups of roadside spinners which had been one of the sights that most struck the passing traveller throughout the eighteenth century gradually disappeared, while the skill of the hand-loom weaver was applied to other materials. In 1804 Arthur Young can still speak of the principal fabric of the county as being the spinning and combing of wool, which is spread through the greatest part of it, but he adds that this manufacture is supposed to have declined considerably since 1784. In 1840 it was practically extinct. In 1804 there was still a manufacture of says in the Sudbury district, and a weaver if a good hand could earn 10*s.*,

[1] *Commons Journ.* xi, 22, also viii, 497. The printed petition of the Suffolk woolcombers included in S.P. Dom. Chas. II, lxxv, 163, would appear to have been assigned by mistake to the year 1663, and to belong to 1693.

[2] Stat. 24 Geo. III, cap. 3.

[3] Young, *Gen. View of the Agric. of the county of Suff.* (1804), 232.

[4] A letter to a member of Parliament stating the necessity of an amendment in the laws relating to the woollen manufacture as far as relates to the wages of the spinner. Ipswich, 1787, B.M. Tracts, B 544.

but many earned less. At Lavenham calimancoes were woven.[1] These appear to have been an interesting survival from the old Eastland trade.

They were made, we are told, for Russia where they were used by the Tartars and other Siberian tribes for sashes. They were of worsted about 18 in. wide, 30 yards long, and were striped in the warp of various colours in the form of shades beginning at one edge of the stripe with a light tint of colour, and gradually increasing in depth of shade till the other edge of the stripe was almost black.[2]

In 1840 calimancoes also had disappeared, and the only woollen manufacture that still dragged on a rather miserable existence was that of buntings in the Sudbury district. The yarn of which they were spun was produced in the mills of Norwich and Kidderminster, as a woman could not earn above 2*s*. 8*d*. a week by spinning it by hand. A woman or child could weave two pieces of narrow bunting in a week, for which they got 1*s*. 7*d*. the piece; and a man or woman could weave two pieces of broad bunting a week at 2*s*. 3*d*. the piece. There were 200 looms employed on buntings in Sudbury of which only twenty were worked by men, these being old men unfit for silk-weaving. A little of this work was given out to weavers in Glemsford, and there was a manufacturer in Cavendish who employed eight or nine looms.[3] The bunting industry finally became extinct at Sudbury in 1871.[4]

SAILCLOTH AND OTHER HEMPEN FABRICS

Another textile industry that sprang up in the later half of the sixteenth century was the weaving of sailcloth. Hemp was a plentiful crop in Suffolk on both the north and south borders, and it had probably been long used for making sackcloth, for which there has always been a large demand at Ipswich. But at the end of Elizabeth's reign the art of making good canvas for sails was said to be still only partially acquired in Suffolk. The French canvas, known as Mildernex, was considered by owners and masters of ships to be the 'best and profitablest' sailcloth, though it was dearer, and it was only for want of a steady supply of this that the Ipswich sailcloth was taken. These facts are taken from a contemporary document, but the unusual degree of national modesty which the statement of them seems to indicate is not altogether uncoloured by practical motives. They are adduced in support of an argument for the continued protection of an 'infant industry.' As long, however, as this reservation is made, the account that is given of the organization of the industry is well worth quoting—

Ipswich sailcloths are like every day to be perfecter and better made than they have been by reason there is one Mr. Barber dwelling upon Tower Hill in East Smithfield who is the only buyer of all Ipswich cloths, and the Ipswich workmen and he by agreement hath two sealers, principal workmen indifferently chosen by themselves, the one by the workmen, the other by the said buyer, to survey seal and mark all true made sailcloths, being all brought to the said buyer's house in Ipswich by agreement, and there straight the workmen receive their money for all cloths that be sealed and marked, and the untrue made cloths rejected and unsealed, the workmen are fain to sell to loss, as they can agree, to the said buyer or otherwise.

The sealers being very good workmen, tell straight the faults of the cloths refused to be sealed, if the yarn lack bucking, pinching, beating, or well-spinning, or otherwise be faulty in workmanship upon the sealing day every week in the presence of all the workmen, whereby every man is made to see his own fault, and is told how to mend it by conference together, and a willingness the buyer keeps among them to teach one another and to win their cloths credit by true workmanship.

There be some sailcloth makers brought up there and gotten out from thence into Kent and somewhere else that be not under the like survey that make faulty cloths that would be brought home again to Ipswich by reason there is so much good hemp growing thereabout, where our sackcloth for coals and for corn hath been used to be made, and so are still of the refuse hemp, and the best yarn there and from Boston, Lincolnshire, and from Lancashire that can be gotten is employed upon sailcloths. Our small ketches and vessels under 100 tons, and the Flemish sailors and Eastland sailors do commonly buy all Ipswich cloths, as they are serviceable enough for their price. So as, may it please her Majesty to continue their privileges to a greater number of years, and in this quiet plain manner of survey, sealing, and marking, I think in time this trade of making sailcloths will serve the realm or the most part of it.[5]

An Act against the deceitful and false-making of 'Mildernix' and 'Powle Davis,' whereof sailcloths for the navy and other shipping are made, which was in all probability promoted by Ipswich makers, was passed in the first year of James I. The preamble states that the art of weaving these cloths was not known in England before the thirty-second year of Elizabeth, when it was introduced from France, that many not properly skilled in the art have been weaving cloths

in likeness and show of Mildernix and Powle Davis, but not of the right stuff, nor so well-driven or weaved, nor of that length and breadth as they ought to be;

[1] Young, op. cit. 231–3.

[2] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers*, 1840, xxiii, 142.

[3] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers*, 1840, xxiii, 294.

[4] White. *Direct. Suff.* 1874, p. 137.

[5] Lansd. MS. 108, 78.

and it is enacted that none shall in future weave, or cause to be woven, any such cloth unless he shall have served a seven years' apprenticeship to this special branch of weaving. Moreover, no person is to make such cloth of any other stuff than good and sufficient hemp, nor of less length than 33 yards, nor of less breadth than three-quarters of a yard. The stuff is to be well beaten, scoured, and bleached, and the cloth well driven with a brazen or iron shuttle.[1]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the industry appears to have been well established at Ipswich, and it continued to flourish during the Restoration period, when there are numerous references to Suffolk canvas in the navy records.[2] A contractor named Waith offers the Navy Commissioners in 1666 7,000 hammocks of Suffolk sacking received during the heat of the plague, and asks leave to deliver them monthly at Deptford.[3] In October, 1670, he writes to them:

As to providing Suffolk canvas equalling the west country pattern for six months, I have 3,000 yards wrought, and will undertake to make it up to 15,000 or 20,000 yards in six months.

The claim made as to quality is confirmed by the officials, who inform the commissioners at one time that the best pieces of Suffolk cloth are equal to Holland duck, and at another time declare it to be better than west country cloth. Indeed, a Weymouth contractor complains in 1672 of being required to supply sailcloth in accordance with a Suffolk pattern,

which may be of a finer spinning and so fair to the eye, because perhaps made most of flax, yet what is made here, being made of fine strong hemp, is much stronger and better for use.[4]

After the seventeenth century the manufacture of sailcloth seems to have migrated to the north. The petitions to Parliament for protection against Russian imports in 1745 come not from Ipswich, but from Warrington, Gainsborough, and other towns.[5] Hempen cloth, however, for other purposes continued to be made very extensively in Suffolk, and was one of the main products of workhouse labour. In his survey of the agriculture of the county (1804) Arthur Young devotes considerable space to the cultivation of hemp and to the various processes of its manufacture. It is chiefly grown, he says, in a district about ten miles wide, extending from Eye to Beccles. It is in the hands of both farmers and cottagers, but it is rare to see more than five or six acres in the occupation of one man. It is pulled

thirteen or fourteen weeks after sowing, and tied up in small bundles called 'baits.' It is then steeped or retted in water for four days, grassed for five weeks, after which it is carted home to be broken. Breaking is done by the stone at 1*s.* The breakers earn 15*d.* or 16*d.* a day and beer. The offal makes good fuel and sells at 2*d.* a stone. It is then marketable, and sold by sample at Diss, Harling, Bungay, and elsewhere, price 5*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* a stone, generally 7*s.* 6*d.*; in 1795, 10*s.*; in 1801, 14*s.*

The buyer heckles it, which is done at 1*s.* 6*d.* a stone; he makes it into two or three sorts—'long strike,' 'short strike,' and 'pull tow.' Women buy it and spin it into yarn, which they carry to market. . . . This the weaver buys, who converts it into cloth, which is sold at market also.

The spinners earn better and more steady wages than by wool; a common hand will do two skeins a day, three of which are a 'clue' at 9*d.*; consequently she earns 6*d.* a day, and will look to her family and do half 'a clue.' Nor is the trade like wool subject to great depressions, there being always more work than hands. . . . They begin to spin at four or five years old; it is not so difficult to spin hemp as wool; but best to learn with the 'rock.' . . . About Hoxne the yarn is half-whitened before weaving; but in other places they weave it brown, which is reckoned better. The weavers of fine cloth can earn 16*s.* or 18*s.* a week, middling 10*s.* The fabrics wrought in this county from their own hemp have great merit. They make it to 3*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* 6*d.* a yard, a yard wide for shirts; and I was shown sheets and table-linen, now quite good after twenty years' wear.

In addition to this account of his own, Arthur Young quotes at length an interesting letter from a manufacturer at Stowmarket whose supplementary details are of importance as showing a development towards a larger organization of the industry under the direction of the capitalist. He has heard that mills are erected for breaking flax, and thinks they might be applied to hemp. He goes on to say that the beating of the hemp by the heckler, which is the next operation after breaking it, was formerly and is still in some places done by hand;

but in Suffolk is now always done by a mill which lifts up two and sometimes three heavy beaters alternately that play upon the hemp while it is turned round by a man or boy to receive the beating regularly. The mill is sometimes worked by a horse, and sometimes by water; but I think a machine might be contrived to save the expense of either. Many weavers vend their cloth entirely by retail in their neighbourhood; others to shopkeepers . . . and others at Diss, where there is a hall for the sale of hemp cloth, once a week. . . . The earnings of the journeyman weaver vary . . . from about 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, in extra cases more. . . . Some weavers bleach their own yarn and cloth; others their cloth only; others heckle their tow, and put it out to spinners; others buy the tow and put it out; and a few carry on the whole of the trade themselves. The latter is the plan I pursue, the advantages appearing to me considerable. When the trade is conducted by different persons their interests often clash; by under-retting the hemp, the grower increases its weight; by

[1] Stat. 1 Jas. I, cap. 24.
[2] *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1655–6, p. 482.
[3] Ibid. 1665–6, p. 336.
[4] Ibid. 1670, p. 480.
[5] *Cal. Treas. Bks. and Papers*, 1745, p. 717.

slightly beating it, the heckler increases the quantity of the tow, but leaves it fuller of bark; by drawing out the thread beyond the staple, the spinner increases the quantity of yarn, but injures the quality; by forcing the bleaching, the whitester increases his profit, but diminishes the strength of the yarn. The whole should, therefore, be checked and regulated by the weaver, with a view to his ultimate profit which . . . should be deemed inseparable from the strength of his cloth.[1]

The weaving of hempen cloth was at this time a considerable industry at Halesworth, where it is said to have found occupation for 1,000 hands, Bungay, and Stowmarket. It still lingered in these towns as late as 1830, but had practically disappeared by 1855.[5] Its place has been taken to some small extent by the sacking industry now carried on in Ipswich and Stowmarket, the material for which is woven in Scotland.

SILK THROWING AND SILK WEAVING

The establishment of the silk manufacture in Suffolk seems to have been closely connected with the passing of the Spitalfields Act of 1774, by which the justices were empowered to fix the rates of wages for the London weavers. The London manufacturers began almost immediately to set up branches in the country wherever a suitable supply of labour was to be obtained.[2] The eastern counties, in view of their nearness to London, and of the decaying state of the woollen industry within them, offered especially favourable conditions. By paying piece-work rates, which amounted to only two-thirds of those fixed by the London justices, the employer was able to offer the Suffolk weaver better wages than he could make in the woollen industry.[3] Sudbury, Haverhill, and Glemsford were the places in Suffolk most affected by this migration, and the silk manufacture has continued, though with considerable fluctuations of fortune, to be carried on in them ever since. At Mildenhall there was a flourishing industry in 1823, established from Norwich, which had become extinct before 1855, and probably before 1840.[4]

At first it was only a question of transferring the hand-loom weavers, more than half of whom were women and girls, from one material to another. But later on, especially after 1824, when the duty on raw silk was removed, the manufacturers began to set up throwing mills in connexion with the weaving centres. In 1840 there were three of these mills in Suffolk, at Hadleigh, Glemsford, and Nayland. Steam-power was used in one case and water-power in the others, but the total horse-power represented was only nine. The total number of workers was 465, and of these 217 were under the age of thirteen, whilst the rest were under nineteen. A few remained in the factory after that age, but as they did not become more useful their wages were not increased. In this way the younger part of the population was drawn away from weaving, even silk-weaving, of which there had been some at Hadleigh, whilst many of the older weavers were forced to migrate to the Lancashire towns.[6] A little later the industry spread to Ipswich, where there were 200 female silk-winders in 1855.[7] The silk-throwing mills at Hadleigh and Nayland seem to have ceased work towards the end of the sixties,[8] a trying time for the silk industry, which had some difficulty in adapting itself to the newly-introduced atmosphere of free trade. The mill at Glemsford, which was established in 1824, and which found occupation in 1874 for over two hundred hands,[9] was still working in 1901, although as the number engaged in silk-spinning within the county is given in the census of that year as seventy, the extent of its operations must have been reduced.[10]

In 1840 the silk weaving of Suffolk was practically confined to Sudbury and Haverhill, and the employing firms all had their head quarters at Spitalfields. At Sudbury there were about six hundred looms, which found employment for about two hundred and seventy men, two hundred and fifty women and girls, and eighty boys. Only some half-dozen looms were employed in weaving velvets and satins, in which branch the weaver might earn 12*s.* a week. For weaving figured goods, at which 10*s.* might be earned, there were eight or ten Jacquard looms. Most of the work consisted of plain mantels, lutes, and gros de Naples, and the net earnings for this averaged about 7*s.* There were no power looms, but a number of the hand-looms were worked in a factory under the eye of the employer, who considered that this plan prevented pilfering and was a better training for the workers. The trade was subject to great fluctuations, which made the wages actually received much

[1] A. Young, *A Gen. View*, p. 146–54.
[2] Ibid. 231.
[3] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers*, 1840, xxiii.
[4] Pigot, *Direct.* 1823; White, *Direct. of Suffolk*, 1855, p. 691.
[5] Pigot, *Direct.* (1830), pp. 745, 759, 781. White, *Direct of Suff.* (1855), pp. 307, 417, 654.
[6] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers* (1840), xxiii, 131.
[7] White, *Direct. of Suff.* (1855), p. 69.
[8] Kelly, *Direct. of Suff.* (1865 and 1869). Articles on Hadleigh and Nayland. The mills are not referred to in the latter year.
[9] White, *Direct. of Suff.* 1874, p. 178.
[10] Kelly, *Direct.* (1900), p. 144.

less than the amounts above quoted, which could only be earned in a full week, and the weavers considered the agricultural labourer as much better off than themselves. At Haverhill there were about seventy looms engaged in weaving umbrella and parasol silks for Mr. Walters of London. The work was more regular than at Sudbury. A weaver could make 16 yds. in a week, and the average wage for a full week, when expenses had been deducted, was about 8s.[1]

The highest numbers employed in the silk manufacture in Suffolk were reached in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the throwsters and weavers together numbered about two thousand, as compared with about seven hundred in 1901. The reduction has been chiefly in the boys and girls engaged in throwing silk, but the weaving also has declined. Since the opening of the new century, however, there are signs of improvement. During the last ten or a dozen years a number of Spitalfields firms which had long found work for Suffolk weavers have transferred their head quarters to Sudbury, and there has been at the same time a tendency towards amalgamation. Thus the old firm of Messrs. Stephen Walters & Sons, which had been established in Spitalfields for a century and had employed Suffolk workers nearly as long, became a limited company in 1899, having absorbed the business of another old firm connected with both Spitalfields and Sudbury, that of Messrs. Kipling. In the same year it transferred its London works to Suffolk, and since that date it has enlarged its factories three times, and now employs about two hundred weavers, mostly women, on power-looms. Umbrella silks are the chief product, but silks for ties, dresses, linings, &c., are also woven, and for some of these hand-looms still turn out the best work. A similar combination is represented in Vanners & Fennell Bros., Ltd., established in 1900. The firm of Messrs. Vanners was founded at Spitalfields in 1818, and had had factories of hand-loom weavers at Haverhill, Glemsford, and Sudbury for upwards of thirty years. Messrs. Fennell Bros. started business as late as 1895 with the enterprising object of meeting foreign competition by adopting all the latest improvements in machinery as applied to power-loom weaving. They have introduced an invention not previously used in England by means of which the silk is mechanically rubbed as it is woven with a view to increasing its wearing power. The amalgamation therefore promises to unite the advantages of the old and the new methods. The new company exhibited an electrically-driven loom at the Woman's Exhibition, Earl's Court, in 1900, and was awarded a gold medal. Another firm with a long and distinguished past, whose operations have been since 1894 confined to Sudbury, is that of Messrs. T. Kemp & Sons. This firm succeeded Messrs. Girault & Co. of Spitalfields in 1844, and subsequently absorbed the business of Messrs. J. Hills & Co. of Sudbury. Messrs. Kemp employ nearly a hundred hand-loom weavers in the making of broad silks. In former days they also made velvets. More than two-thirds of those employed are women and girls, and this proportion is maintained throughout the industry as a whole.[2]

MIXED TEXTILES (DRABBET, HORSEHAIR, COCOA-NUT FIBRE) AND READY-MADE CLOTHING

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the textile industries carried on in Suffolk were of very varied and fluctuating character. Of these silk-weaving, the last to be introduced, was becoming the most important. Of the old woollen industry there remained the spinning of a constantly-decreasing amount of worsted yarn in the neighbourhood of Bury, and the weaving of bays, buntings, and calimancoes already referred to, at Sudbury and Lavenham. A small amount of woollen cloth was still made for local consumption, but the place of this industry was mainly taken by the making of hempen cloth and of checks and fustians, which were mixed fabrics of wool or cotton with linen. About the year 1815 these fabrics were in their turn replaced by drabbet, of which the warp was composed at first of hemp, and subsequently of linen, and the woof or shute of cotton. Drabbet was so called from its colour, but it was also dyed olive or slate. It was used very largely for farmers' smock-frocks, but also for undress garments worn by gentlemen's servants, grooms, &c. At Haverhill, which was the principal seat of the industry, there were in 1840 some 330 weavers of drabbet employed by half a dozen masters who travelled about the neighbouring country to obtain orders. The hempen yarn was brought from Leeds and the cotton from Stockport. A full length of drabbet called a 'chain' was a week's work for a man, but at least half the weavers were women and children, who could not on the average produce more than half

[1] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers* (1840), xxiii, 293–7.

[2] For most of his information as to the recent state of the industry the writer is indebted to the firms mentioned.

a chain apiece. The price paid for weaving a chain varied from 6*s.* to 8*s.*, according to the fineness, but out of this the weaver had to find his own loom and harness, and also defray the cost of winding and of candles, and find dressing for the warp, so that the net earnings were not more than 6*s.* A loom and harness were worth £4 4*s.* A loom would last a lifetime, but the cords of the harness required constant mending and renewing, which involved an expense of about 8*s.* a year. The evils of the truck system, which had been complained of in the earlier days of the weaving industry, still prevailed to a certain extent in spite of legislation. The weavers had no organization or collective funds. They complained that their wages had fallen 25 per cent. in ten years, and that their condition was worse than that of the agricultural labourer. A dyer could make half-a-crown a day and some beer, but he was often wet, and the cost of his shoes and clothes was more. The drabbet weavers had not, however, to suffer like the silk weavers from chronic unemployment.[1]

The way in which the fund of skill acquired through many generations by the textile workers of Suffolk has been adapted to constantly changing economic conditions by enterprising 'captains of industry' can be best illustrated by reference to the history of the largest textile firm in the county, Messrs. Gurteen & Sons of Haverhill.

It is at the outset worth remarking that not only the heads of this firm but also the manager of its textile departments claim descent from the Protestant refugees of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The grandfather of the present members of the firm set up business as a manufacturer about the beginning of the last century. At that time 'checks' and 'fustians' were beginning to be replaced by drabbet, which is still made in considerable quantities by Messrs. Gurteen, and which, since the smock-frock fell into disuse, has been adopted as the material for pockets, military outfits, and 'motor' cloths. Drabbet continues also to be made in other parts of Suffolk. At Syleham on the northern borders of the county there is a small drabbet factory which was established about 1842 to utilize the water-power which had formerly served to turn a large flour mill.

Since the middle of the last century Messrs. Gurteen & Sons have built up a considerable industry in other linen fabrics, such as straining-cloth for dairy purposes, which is shipped all over the world, huckaback towelling, &c. About the year 1875 they also began to make jute and canvas fabrics, including a cloth known as 'scryms,' which is used by gardeners and paper-hangers. During the eighties two other branches of textile manufacture, the weaving of horse-hair and of cocoanut mats, were undertaken by Messrs. Gurteen, who have since become the largest manufacturers of both in the county.

The weaving of horsehair had been introduced into Suffolk about the middle of the last century. At Glemsford, Lavenham, and Stowmarket it found work for hand-loom weavers who had been displaced by machinery in other branches of textile industry, and as no satisfactory method has yet been discovered of applying power to the weaving of hair, it is still one of the chief cottage industries of Suffolk, the looms being lent out by the employer, though in many cases the workers, women and girls, are collected in small factories. Messrs. W. W. Roper & Sons employ in these two ways about three hundred women and girls at Lavenham, and the industry is also carried on at Glemsford, where Messrs. H. Kolle & Son established it in 1844, and at Sudbury. The uses to which the horsehair fabrics are put vary a good deal with the change of fashion.

Horsehair seatings are much less commonly used than formerly for domestic furniture, but they are still employed to some extent in upholstering railway carriages and waiting-rooms. What is known as hair padding is used for stiffening in garments of all kinds (the vogue of dress improvers in the early nineties led to a great demand for horsehair cloth), and it affords one of the many bases upon which the milliner raises her wonderful constructions. In this branch of textile industry, to which they have more recently added the weaving of Mexican fibre, Messrs. Gurteen are the largest producers in England.

The material is brought from Australia, South America, and Siberia, and the supply of it suffered some restriction during the Russo-Japanese War.

The textile use of cocoa-nut fibre was introduced into this country some seventy years ago. The industry was first established in London and is still carried on there.[2] It would seem to have been set up in West Suffolk about forty years ago, partly with the idea of supplementing other textile industries which were declining. It is still to be found at Lavenham (Messrs. W. W. Roper & Sons), Long Melford, Sudbury, Glemsford (Messrs. H. Kolle & Son, Ltd.), and Hadleigh, which were the earliest seats of the manufacture, and Messrs. Gurteen established it at Haverhill in the eighties. The weaving of cocoa-nut fibre, like that of horsehair, is entirely a hand-loom industry, but it requires the strength of men, and women are employed only in the preparation of the yarn, which they carry on at home, and in the summer time in the open air, affording a picturesque parallel to the open-air spinning which caught the eye of the eighteenth-century traveller in Suffolk. The chief use of cocoa-nut fibre is

[1] *Rep. of Assist. Com. on Handloom Weavers*, 1840, p. 355.

[2] C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, vi, 340. A good description of the processes of mat-weaving is given here which applies equally to the Suffolk industry.

the production of mats and matting, both of which are made in Suffolk. Messrs. Gurteen & Sons confine their attention to the mats, which are made in every variety of pattern and size, some of them having a border of coloured wool. The competition of prison labour is frequently a subject of complaint in this industry.

Another industry that is to be found throughout the eastern counties in many of the old textile centres is the manufacture of ready-made clothing. At Haverhill this originated in the manufacture of smock frocks from drabbet. A few of these are still made, but the embroidery which is their distinguishing feature is almost a lost art. As the smocks went out, they were replaced by 'slops,' to the manufacture of which the introduction of the sewing machine in the late fifties gave a great stimulus.

Some twenty years later another marked advance was made by the application of steam power. Messrs. Gurteen now turn out about 20,000 garments weekly, and have a large export trade. Their principal workroom in this department is said to be the second largest in the kingdom.

Altogether there are about two thousand people employed by this firm in their factory at Haverhill, whilst another thousand are employed in their homes in the neighbouring villages, some of which lie in Essex and Cambridgeshire.

About half of the 3,000 are women. In the factory at Haverhill, with its multiform activities all organized on a thoroughly modern basis, the industrial progress of the town is summed up. It is a remarkable case, though not unique in Suffolk, of the prosperity of a town of growing population being due to the enterprise of a single firm.

While the textile industries, with the exception of a little silk-weaving, have entirely deserted Ipswich, the manufacture of ready-made clothing has grown up there during the same period and under much the same conditions as at Haverhill. Like staymaking, which is the other principal employment for women at Ipswich, it seems to have been in its earlier stages a domestic industry carried on as an adjunct to the drapery business. It became a factory industry about thirty-five years ago, when Messrs. W. Fraser & Co., who were then employing over a thousand hands, established a large workshop in Ipswich, where they are still the chief employers.[3]

STAY AND CORSET MAKING

The beginnings of stay and corset making as a Suffolk industry would probably have to be sought for as far back at least as the seventeenth century. A nonconformist minister of Beccles, Mr. Ottee, referred to in a state paper of 1667, is described as having been formerly a bodice-maker.[1] The industry was extensively carried on in the Ipswich district in 1846,[2] and 553 women appear as staymakers in the census of 1851. In the half-century that has elapsed since then, whilst the population of Suffolk has increased by only a seventh, the number of staymakers has doubled. This, however, is far from indicating the extent of increase in productive power. During the same period, and especially during the latter half of it, the industry has passed from the stage of primitive handicraft to that of the most highly organized and elaborately equipped factory production. Suffolk is now not only one of the two or three chief centres of corset-making in the United Kingdom, it exports corsets very largely to every part of the world. The history of this development may almost be identified with the expansion of the activities of a single firm, Messrs. W. Pretty & Sons of Ipswich.

The father of Mr. William Pretty, who was a partner in a firm of drapers still carrying on business in Ipswich, bought the goodwill of a corset-making concern from a lady who claimed to be purveyor to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The work was then given out to be done by women in their homes, and was one of the main cottage industries carried on in the country round Ipswich.[4] Except for the use of the sewing-machine, it was all done by hand, and its organization was of the simplest character. As a mere annexe to the drapery business, Mr. Pretty did not find the corset-making worth the trouble of management, and as an alternative to giving it up he handed it over to his son to see if he could not make more of the industry by entirely devoting himself to its development. The application of power to the sewing-machine in the seventies afforded a starting point for the concentration of the manufacture in the direction of the factory system. Since that time the division of labour has gone as far in corset-making as it has in the boot and shoe industry, and with every subdivided process mechanical ingenuity has been and is still busy devising improvements. Mr. William Pretty and his sons have kept in constant touch with American methods, and in their factory at Ipswich, driven by electric power and lighted by electric light,

[1] S. P. Dom. 1667–8, ccxxv, 39.
[2] *P. O. Direct. Suff.* (1846), p. 1426.
[3] For the data on which this article is based the writer is largely indebted to Mr. F. Unwin, of Messrs. Gurteen & Sons.
[4] J. L. Green, *The Rural Industries of England*, III.

the cottage industry of twenty-five years ago is organized with transatlantic completeness so as to secure the utmost economy both of time and of labour. Within its walls there is a dining-room for the employées, and close by is a crèche with a playground and sandhill attached, where the children of married workers are looked after by trained nurses. This reveals the continuity with which the new system has grown out of the old. The workers are nearly all women, the daughters, sisters and wives of the mechanics at the Orwell Works.

The advantage secured by the old system in the dispersal of the industry over the country-side is largely retained by the establishment of branches. Messrs. Pretty have five of these in Suffolk—at Bury, Sudbury, Hadleigh, Stowmarket, and Beccles; and three in Norfolk—at Yarmouth, Diss, and Lynn. The corsets are put through the earlier processes in the branch factories and sent to be finished at Ipswich. The women and girls employed by this firm number nearly 1,200, about half of them being at Ipswich.[2] The workers employed by another Ipswich maker—the Atlas Corset Co.—make up about another hundred.

LOWESTOFT CHINA

It is probable that the manufacture of china, which was carried on during the latter half of the eighteenth century in Lowestoft, owes its origin to that constant intercourse with Holland which has exercised so wide an influence on the industrial history of the eastern counties. The Delft ware, the universal vogue of which was just then beginning to be challenged by the inventive genius and enterprise of the famous English potters, must have been brought in considerable quantities to Lowestoft, and the Dutch trader can hardly have failed to be on the look-out for suitable material at a spot so convenient for cheap transport to Holland. There is, in fact, a story recorded of a Dutchman, shipwrecked on the coast of Norfolk towards the middle of the seventeenth century, pointing out to the gentleman who had befriended him a valuable bed of clay on his estate, which he told him was of the same kind as that

> sold at extravagant rates to the makers of Delftware and fine earthen vessels, being brought down the Rhine out of some place in Germany and very much coveted in all parts of Holland. The gentleman . . . sent over a sample, and finding the sailor's account to be true, he opened the vein and dug up such a quantity as brought him in a profit in eighteen months' time of £10,000. But the stock was exhausted, and he could never find any more in his lands. . . .[1]

The first dated specimens of pottery attributed to Lowestoft are of the Delft species. They belong to the years 1752–9, and as the china factory was not started till 1757, it is probable that there had been an earlier manufacture of earthenware in the town, though it is possible that the Dutch pottery may have been merely painted in Lowestoft to suit the local demand. The account given by Gillingwater of the discovery or rediscovery of the clay beds affiliated the manufacture to that of Chelsea, which itself owed much to Dutch immigrants. 'In the year 1756,' says Gillingwater,

> Hewlin Luson, Esq. of Gunton Hall, near Lowestoft, having discovered some fine clay or earth on his estate in that parish, sent a small quantity of it to one of the china manufactories near London with a view of discovering what kind of ware it was capable of producing, which upon trial proved to be finer than that called the Delft ware. . . . He immediately procured some workmen from London and erected upon his estate at Gunton a temporary kiln and furnace and all the other apparatus necessary for the undertaking; but the manufacturers in London being apprised of his intentions, . . . so far tampered with the workmen he had procured that they spoiled the ware and thereby frustrated Mr. Luson's design.[2]

The following year a more successful start was made at Lowestoft by the firm which, so far as is known, were the sole producers of Lowestoft china from that time till the disappearance of the industry in 1803. The partners who then or soon after joined the venture were apparently all of them strangers to the potter's art, and each of them approached the enterprise from a somewhat different point of view. The full title of the firm was Messrs. Walker, Browne, Aldred & Rickman. Mr. Philip Walker was a local gentleman whose name afterwards appears in the list of subscribers to Gillingwater's *History of Lowestoft*. Mr. Obed Aldred is described as a bricklayer, i.e. a master builder, and may have been, as builders not infrequently were, a maker of brick. He was evidently a man of some means. Mr. John Rickman was a merchant in a large way. All these three had more or less capital engaged in the herring and mackerel fisheries of the town, and had therefore means of keeping in touch with Dutch or English ports. This was an important point. The cheapness of water carriage on the Grand Trunk Canal was an essential factor in the

[1] *Essays for December, 1716, by a Society of Gentlemen.* Quoted in W. Chaffers' *Marks and Monograms* (1897), 805. Mr. Spelman has traced this story back through Fuller's *Worthies of England* (1662) to *S. Hartlib His Legacie* (1651); *Lowestoft China*, 2.

[2] Ex inf. Messrs. W. Pretty & Sons.

[3] Chaffers, op. cit. 805.

success of the Staffordshire Potteries. Later on we find the Lowestoft firm kept vessels constantly running to the Isle of Wight for a peculiar sand which formed one of the ingredients of their ware, and to Newcastle for coal. The china was also sent by sea to London and the Continent. The remaining member of the firm, Mr. Robert Browne, was a chemist, and it was upon his experiments that the industry was based. He had the management of the works, superintending the mixing of the clays and colours, and when he died in 1771 his son Mr. Robert Browne, junior, succeeded to his position.[1]

The London manufacturers naturally regarded the new enterprise no less unfavourably than its predecessor. The Lowestoft firm was obliged to draw its workmen from London, and these had been so far influenced in the interests of their former employers that the undertaking was on the point of failure before the plot was discovered. There is a story told of Mr. Browne's method of retaliation on the London makers, which though it bears a strong resemblance to many other stories of the discovery of industrial secrets, need not on that account be regarded as a mere tradition. Mr. Browne is said to have gained admittance in the disguise of a workman to one of the factories in Chelsea or Bow, and to have bribed the warehouseman to lock him up secretly in that part of the factory where the principal was in the habit of mixing the ingredients after the workmen had left. Browne was placed under an empty hogshead, through a hole in which he could see all that was going on.[2] Such incidents have really happened often enough (however much they have been afterwards embellished by the imagination) in the history of industry. Whatever substratum of truth underlies the story in this case it proves that the founders of the enterprise regarded themselves as to a large extent imitators of the London makers of china.[3]

The factory in which the firm commenced operations was formed by the conversion of a number of houses on the south side of Bell Lane and by the erection of a suitable kiln. Later on, as the demand for the ware increased, several other adjoining houses were bought and the works were enlarged and adapted more completely to the various processes of the manufacture. The industry is said to have reached its greatest prosperity between 1770 and 1780.[4] Towards the end of this time there were sixty to seventy persons employed on the works, in addition to which a number of women were engaged in painting the commoner blue and white china in their homes. The firm kept two travellers on the road in East Anglia, and most of the china produced was no doubt sold there, but it had also an agency in London. An advertisement in a London newspaper in 1770 states that—

> Clark Durnford, Lowestoft China Warehouse, No. 4, Great St. Thomas the Apostle, Queen Street, Cheapside, London, is prepared to supply Merchants and Shopkeepers with any quantity of the said ware at the usual prices.
>
> N.B. Allowance of Twenty per cent. for ready money.[5]

It is not improbable, moreover, that an export trade was done with or through Holland.

The firm was still flourishing in 1790, when the *History of Lowestoft* was published. A description of the works as they existed about that time was derived some seventy years later from the memory of a Mr. Abel Bly, whose father and uncles had been employed there, and who went there daily himself as a boy. Subsequent discoveries tend to confirm the accuracy of his account, which is as follows :—

> The factory was situate in Crown Street, where the brew-house and malting premises of Messrs. Morse and Woods now [1865] stand, the rear fronting what is now called Factory Lane. Where Messrs. Morse's counting-house stands was the packing-room; the counting-house of the factory being to the east of the packing-room. At the rear of the packing-room and counting-room were two turning-rooms, and farther to the rear adjoining Factory Lane on the ground floor was also the drying-room. The painters worked in a chamber approached by a staircase to the eastward of the counting-room. Over the east turning-room was a chamber for finishing the turners' work. There was a chamber approached from the east kiln in which the ware was tested as to its shape. Over this was an attic in which women were employed painting the blue and white ware. The clay was made in the factory premises now known as Mr. W. T. Ball's Auction Mart, from whence it was taken to Gunton Ravine (where there is to this day a constant flow of the purest water, discharging many gallons per minute) and there ground by a large mill.[6]

During the latter years of the firm's existence its affairs do not appear to have been so prosperous nor the quality of its production so good as in the earlier period, and as the new century opened several causes combined to bring its operations to a close. Most of the partners were getting old and had no longer the energy to undertake a competitive struggle with other makers of china. The natural advantages possessed by the Staffordshire potters, the nearness of coal and of other materials, and the cheapness of transport to the large centres of consumption, enabled them to undersell the Lowestoft makers. About this time, moreover, the failure of their London agents involved the firm in serious loss, whilst a quantity of china to the value of several thousand pounds is stated to

[1] Chaffers, op. cit. 817–8.
[2] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft.*
[3] *Art Journ.* July, 1863.
[4] Gillingwater, op. cit.
[5] Chaffers, op. cit. 804–7.
[6] Ibid. 810.

have been destroyed on the occasion of Napoleon's invasion of Holland. About 1803 or 1804 the works were closed, the stock was disposed of by auction, and some of the best workmen went to Worcester.[1]

The connexion of Lowestoft with the production of china did not, however, cease altogether for a number of years after this. Mr. Robert Allen, who had from his boyhood been employed in the factory, at first as a painter in blue, then as a foreman under Mr. Browne, and finally as manager of the works, opened a shop at Lowestoft as stationer and china dealer, and having erected a small kiln in his garden, decorated Wedgwood, Turner, and other Staffordshire ware, thus giving rise to an impression that earthenware was made at Lowestoft, which was apparently never the case. He even seems to have bought Oriental china already decorated and to have marked it with his name. This at any rate is the explanation now given of the fact that a teapot in the Schreiber collection in the South Kensington Museum, painted with a Crucifixion, is inscribed 'Allen Lowestoft' in red underneath. The painting is obviously Chinese. Mr. Allen painted a window for the parish church with this subject, and this fact, together with the inscription, led to the supposition that he had decorated the teapot. He died in 1832, aged 91.

The best known collection of Lowestoft china, that of Mr. W. R. Seago, who purchased it from Mr. R. Browne, the great-grandson of one of the original partners, was offered for sale in 1873, but 160 specimens which were reserved were ultimately acquired by Mr. F. A. Crisp, of Godalming.[2]

The facts so far given as to the history of the Lowestoft china manufacture are not subject to much dispute. But for the last fifty years a lively controversy has been carried on as to the kind of china actually produced at the Lowestoft factory. The issue turns on the distinction between hard paste or Oriental china and soft paste which is strictly speaking an imitation of this. The secret of hard paste or true porcelain, long zealously preserved in the east, was discovered by the celebrated chemist Réaumur, in 1727, to lie in its composition as—

> a semi-vitrified compound, in which one portion remains infusible at the greatest heat to which it can be exposed, whilst the other portion vitrifies at that heat and enveloping the infusible part, produces that smooth, compact, and shining texture as well as transparency which are distinctive of true porcelain.[3]

In soft paste, which would fuse at this great heat, the glaze is separately applied after the body has been once baked, and then the china is fired again. The first European manufacture of hard paste was at Dresden, where Boettcher discovered the secret, and found at the same time a supply of the necessary kaolin in 1711. Later on it was made at Berlin, and at Sèvres in 1761.[4] The first discoverer in England was William Cookworthy, who, having found the right materials in Cornwall, took out a patent in 1768, the rights of which, after some unsuccessful manufacturing at Plymouth, were transferred to Richard Champion of Bristol in 1774.[5] In the meantime great quantities of soft-paste china were being made in England, and the celebrated products of Chelsea, Bow, and Worcester are all of them varieties of soft paste.

The dispute about Lowestoft china arose from the fact that many East Anglian families possess services of hard-paste china decorated with armorial bearings or other designs evidently made to order, and that tradition—in some cases vaguely, in other cases definitely and positively—connected this china with the Lowestoft works. This led the late Mr. Chaffers in his *Marks and Monograms*, which is still a leading authority on pottery and porcelain, to take the view that after making soft-paste porcelain for about twenty years, Messrs. Browne discovered a method of manufacturing hard paste in close imitation of Oriental china. It was, he says—

> of very thick substance, but finely glazed, with every variety of decoration; dinner and tea services, punch-bowls, mugs, etc.; the borders of these are sometimes a rich cobalt blue with small gold stars. A raised pattern of vine leaves, grapes, squirrels, and flowers is very characteristic of the Lowestoft hard porcelain on jars and beakers, enclosing Chinese figures and landscapes which are evidently painted by European artists; the enamel colours are not so brilliant as the Chinese; vases of flowers in red, marone, purple and gold with red and gold, dragon handles, etc. etc.[6]

Great weight was attached to the opinion of Mr. Chaffers, and a large quantity of hard-paste china has been attributed by collectors to Lowestoft on the strength of it. But objections were soon raised to this theory. The body of much of the china attributed to Lowestoft was so obviously Oriental that as early as 1863 Mr. Ll. Jewitt was led to suggest that the best productions of the Lowestoft works were only painted there

[1] Chaffers, op. cit. 808–9.

[2] Besides Robert Allen, the other artists connected with the Lowestoft factory whose names have been preserved are Richard Powles, who transferred to china a view he had taken of the lighthouse hill, Thomas Rose, said to be a French refugee, Thomas Curtis, John Sparham, John Bly, John, James and Margaret Redgrave, James Balls, James Mollershead, Mrs. and Miss Stevenson, Mrs. Simpson and Mrs. Cooper; Chaffers, op. cit. 819–21.

[3] 'Porcelain and Glass Manufacture' in *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia* (1832), 11.

[4] Chaffers, op. cit. 483, 505, 582.

[5] Ibid. 834–50.

[6] Ibid. 807–8.

on bodies imported from the east.[1] In subsequent editions of *Marks and Monograms*, Mr. Chaffers brought evidence to show that no porcelain was painted at Lowestoft which had not previously been potted there.[2] This indeed seems to be confirmed by subsequent investigation, but no very substantial evidence was adduced by Mr. Chaffers in support of his contention that a great part of the china thus potted and painted was of hard paste. Perhaps the greatest obstacle in the way of the general acceptance of this contention lay in the fact that the china thus attributed to Lowestoft was of a kind to be met with all over Europe in such quantities as could not have been produced by many factories as large as that at Lowestoft. The further fact that much of this china decorated in accordance with local requirements is to be found in the neighbourhood of the ports trading with the East Indies, in Sweden and Holland as well as in England, has suggested the possibility that it may have been manufactured in the East in fulfilment of special orders sent out by firms in touch with local demand and accompanied by designs for decoration. This is the view adopted by Mr. Frederick Litchfield, who edited the last edition of *Marks and Monograms*. In an interesting note on the section dealing with Lowestoft he says :—

> When the Editor was in Gothenburg some few years ago he bought there a tea service, evidently of Oriental porcelain, decorated on one side with an East Indiaman flying the Swedish flag, and a Swedish coat of arms and monogram on the other side . . . Another service which passed through his hands was of Oriental porcelain, but represented some Dutch merchants presenting a petition to some governor ; this had been painted for some Dutch family interested in a charter. Other similar instances could be quoted . . .[3]

As the mistaken attribution of the Oriental china to Lowestoft must have been founded on its having in some cases passed through the hands of the Lowestoft firm, it is extremely probable that their trading connexion with Holland led them to become dealers in Eastern porcelain. The confusion between the ware thus imported and that produced at Lowestoft may not have been intended, but it must certainly have been assisted by the fact, noted by Mr. Litchfield, that some of the armorially decorated china was not of Oriental, but of English, and probably of Lowestoft make. A service of this kind is in the possession of Capt. Meade, of Earsham Hall, Bungay, and the existence of such specimens no doubt helped to confirm Mr. Chaffers in what now seems universally admitted to be a mistaken theory.[4]

The controversy had already reached this point when in 1902 a mass of fresh evidence was discovered which, while confirming the negative conclusions above stated, furnished at the same time a solid basis for a more positive knowledge as to the nature of the porcelain actually made at Lowestoft. In that year, and in 1904, explorations made on the site of the old china factory, which had since been occupied by a 'malting,' brought to light a large number of moulds and of broken pieces of china in every stage of manufacture. With the exception of a few pieces of earthenware of a common Staffordshire type, apparently dinner basins used by the workmen, and some fragments of distinctly Oriental china, presumably used as copies for designing, the whole of both finds is of the same species of soft paste, to which the early signed and dated pieces of Lowestoft belong. Not a single fragment was found of china of the substance or bearing the decoration attributed by Mr. Chaffers to Lowestoft. The first 'find' passed into the hands of Mr. Crisp of Denmark Hill, and a portion of it has been deposited in the British Museum. The second is in the possession of Mr. W. W. Spelman, who has published an exhaustive description and analysis of his collection, illustrated by a great many photographs and coloured plates.

Amongst the débris were found a large piece of clay, ready mixed for use, a piece of finest quality white biscuit, and a piece of a sort of poor Jasper ware of a lavender hue. These Mr. Spelman has had analysed with the results given below.[5] The clay is much like other soft paste china clay ; it has a bone-earth bottom. The earlier clay is much the better in quality, the later being more like ironstone. 'The paste,' says Mr. Spelman,

> has a creamy look which in many cases is disguised by a colour in the glaze so as to resemble Oriental china ; but if the glaze is slightly chipped the true colour of the paste at once appears. . . . Some is exceedingly soft, so that if filed it is like chalk, whilst some . . . is equal to Worcester china in its hardness.[6]

[1] *Art Journ.* July, 1863.

[2] Chaffers, op. cit. 809–10.

[3] Ibid. 816.

[4] Ibid. The question is discussed at some length in Mr. Ll. Jewitt's *Ceramic Art in Great Britain*, vol. i, 452 ; Mr. Litchfield's *Pottery and Porcelain* (1900), 194 ; Mr. Solon's *Hist. of Old English Porcelain*, 210 ; Mr. Burton's *Hist. and Description of Eng. Porcelain*, 154 ; Prof. Church's *Eng. Porcelain*, 92, and in an article by Mr. Casley, specially dealing with Lowestoft china, published in the *Journal of the Suff. Inst. Arch.* (1903), vol. xi.

[5]

	Clay	White Biscuit	Lavender Jasper Biscuit
Silica . .	38·20	41·60	37·21
Alumina .	22·22	19·14	17·32
Bone earth . (phosphate of lime)	28·74	25·81	32·43
Lime . .	7·67	10·80	8·71
Magnesia .	1·65	1·22	1·10
Potash . .	·93	·41	2·25
Soda . .	·59	1·02	·98
	100·00	100·00	100·00

Lowestoft China, p. 16.

[6] Spelman, op. cit. 36.

The fragments represent a considerable variety of production. Sauce-boats are the most abundant, and besides the ordinary tea and dinner services there are many dolls' tea services. The only product peculiar to Lowestoft seems to have been the birth tablet with an inscription on the middle and pierced with a hole to hang up by. The discovery of moulds is of special interest. Some are fluted with large or small flutes. Some are of a ribbed pattern, others decorated with dots, cable-work, or basket-work. There are moulds for separate parts of the articles made, as teapot-spouts, lids, and handles, the latter sometimes in the form of a flower or spray of leaf; also for knife-handles decorated with designs copied from Worcester or Bow. Indeed one of the chief results of this discovery is to enable the expert to assign to a Lowestoft origin china, especially embossed china, which might otherwise have been regarded as inferior work of another make. This is the more important as the factory had no distinctive mark of its own.

The conclusions that emerge from Mr. Spelman's investigation may be summarized as follows, substantially in his own words:

1. Lowestoft ware is porcelain, not pottery. 2. It is soft paste, not hard; the cruder pieces resemble Bow, the finer Worcester; the paste is creamy white, some pieces being very translucent whilst others are practically opaque. 3. It is often very rough in modelling and the bottom of the pieces is roughly finished. 4. The glaze has a bluish or sometimes a greenish tinge, and this glaze has run thickly into crevices, is continued over the bottom rim and the flanges of teapot lids. 5. The decoration is often poor though sometimes good; the blue is apt to run. 6. The models in use at other factories both for form and decoration were copied without scruple, and the marks were commonly but clumsily forged.[1]

Professor Church gives a list of twenty-two pieces dated from 1761 to 1795, and adds:

A large number of other pieces enamelled in colours with roses and other flowers, chequered work and scale patterns . . . may be assigned to Lowestoft on the evidence furnished by their resemblance to the signed pieces. . . . The paste of Lowestoft is not so soft as that of Bow or Chelsea. It is slightly yellowish by transmuted light, the glaze being rather bluish and not over bright. There are specks and black spots on most of the pieces, while the blue is of a dull cast. The painting is feeble in drawing, but otherwise reminds one somewhat of the style of St. Cloud porcelain except where direct imitation of Chinese design has been attempted.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, MILLING MACHINERY, LOCOMOTIVES, ETC.

The making of agricultural implements, and of agricultural and milling machinery, with which is associated the manufacture of road engines and other locomotives, is the most important modern industry of Suffolk, whether it is measured by the number of men employed, the amount of capital invested, or the extent of the market served. Though it is established also in Bury, it belongs more especially to the eastern part of the county, where it balances the textile industries of the west. It is to be found on a larger or a smaller scale in most of the eastern towns and in some villages. It was founded in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Leiston works of Messrs. Garrett were established in 1778, the Wickham Market Iron Works of Messrs. Whitmore and Binyon in 1780, the Orwell works of Messrs. Ransome in 1789, and the Peasenhall works of Messrs. Smyth in 1801. But its great achievements lie in the nineteenth century. In the thirties and forties several Suffolk firms began to acquire a world-wide reputation. Since that time the expansion of the industry has been continuous; the number of those employed in it is still increasing, and it looks confidently to the future.

The small country town of Leiston, far removed as it is from all the great natural lines of communication, and from any effective outlet by sea, is not a site that could have been consciously chosen before the days of railways for great works destined to supply a world-wide market. The achievement of this result in so remote a spot is indeed a convincing proof of energy and enterprise, and the situation of the Leiston works sufficiently indicates the simple origins out of which they have grown. Down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century the farmer was supplied with all the agricultural implements then in general use by the village blacksmith or wheelwright. The original establishment of Mr. Richard Garrett, the great-great-grandfather of the present Messrs. Garrett, was little more than a roadside smithy, where horses were shod, and ploughs and harrows made and repaired. Mr. Garrett, however, acquired a special reputation for scythes and sickles, and gradually came to manufacture these on a large scale. In this industry, and in the production of ploughs and harrows, turnip-cutters and chaff-cutters, fifty or sixty men were employed, and the smithy became a factory by the addition of a wheelwright's shop and a foundry.[2]

[1] Spelman, 72–3.

[2] *The Engineer*, 8 Aug. 1884, p. 109; *Agric. Gaz.* 26 Mar. 1888, p. 285.

By this time the Orwell works had been founded at Ipswich by Mr. Robert Ransome. The son of a Norfolk schoolmaster and the grandson of an early Quaker who suffered imprisonment for his opinions, Mr. Ransome was apprenticed to an ironmonger, and commenced business in Norwich with a small brass foundry which grew to be also an iron foundry. After taking out a patent for cast-iron roofing-plates in 1783, he turned his attention to the improvement of the plough.[1] Hitherto the main body of the plough had been made of wood, the wheelwright and the blacksmith taking almost equal parts in its construction. Apart from the unsatisfactory results of professional jealousy and divided control on the manufacture, the wooden plough was liable to get out of order from exposure to the soil and to the changes of the weather. It did not work uniformly and was continually requiring repairs. A Scotchman named Small, who set up a manufactory of ploughs at Berwick in 1763, was the first to replace the wooden mould-board by a cast-iron turn-furrow. In 1785 Mr. Ransome obtained a patent for making the share of cast-iron specially tempered instead of wrought-iron. In this way the first cost was so much reduced that the share could be renewed at less expense than was involved in keeping the wrought-iron share in good condition. But the share still required constant sharpening owing to its wearing away too fast on the under side. The bluntness added greatly to the draught, and the plough passed over weeds without cutting them. Mr. Robert Ransome hit upon the idea, which he patented in 1803, of case-hardening the under-side the thickness of one-sixteenth or one-eighth of an inch. This part wore away very slowly, while the upper part being of softer metal was ground down by the friction of the earth so that the edge on the under-side was kept constantly sharp. This simple but ingenious device, which has been universally adopted, effected what is perhaps the most striking single improvement ever made in the plough. A little later a Suffolk farmer, Mr. Simpson of Cretingham, invented for his own use a cast-iron plough-ground or bottom which was generally adopted in the eastern counties; and as the art of founding improved, cast-iron to a great extent superseded wood and wrought-iron. Plough-frames were made so as to admit of handles, beams, shares, mould-boards, soles, and other parts being screwed to them. They also admitted of the mould-board being set to wider and narrower furrows and of changing the shapes of different parts for different purposes. By keeping a stock of these various interchangeable standardized parts the farmer was enabled to save the great amount of labour and time that had been formerly lost in conveying the plough frequently to and from the blacksmith's shop. A patent taken out by Mr. Ransome in 1808 laid the foundation of this method of construction, and further improvements in the plough were patented by him or his successors in 1816, 1820, and 1835.[2]

The end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century was a period of great improvement in agricultural methods and implements. It is customary to think of the inventive faculties of Great Britain as being at this time wholly concentrated upon the achievement of the industrial revolution. But the village Arkwrights and Stephensons were also busy to no small purpose. Arthur Young mentions quite a number of such inventors in Suffolk. 'A very ingenious blacksmith of the name of Brand,' says Young,

> who has been dead some years, improved the Suffolk swing-plough, and made it of iron. I have been informed that the corpse in its present state was an improvement of his; if so it is much to his credit, for there is no other in the kingdom equal to it.'

Later on he quotes a letter of a Rev. Mr. Lewes of Thorndon, who writes:

> A Mr. Hayward of Stoke Ash in this neighbourhood, has invented a machine for destroying weeds and clearing ploughed land for seed, which, by the experience of four years is found more effectual than any other instrument used for that purpose. . . . A farmer assured me that he could with three horses work up sixty acres per week with it; and that a person having the extirpator, may, with only three horses, farm as much land as would without it require six horses.

And again:

> Mr. Brettingham of St. John's, near Bungay, informs me that a new drill plough . . . is the invention or improvement of Mr. Henry Baldwin of Mendham, who has been bringing it to perfection by ten years' application. . . . He had some thoughts of applying for a patent for it, but was dissuaded from that by Mr. Brettingham, as he thought that any monopoly of useful machines must be of general disservice to the community, and that it might possibly turn the attention of a good farmer from a good farm.[3]

The drill is a sowing machine. The desirability of replacing the picturesque but uncertain and wasteful methods of the broad-casting sower by some form of mechanical regularity had already led to experiments in the seventeenth century; but it was the drill plough invented by Jethro Tull in 1733 for sowing wheat and turnip seed in three rows at a time that first set the mind of the inventive agriculturist in England working on the subject. In 1782 Sir J. Anstruther presented a model of an improved drill plough which he had had in use for eight years to the Bath and West of England society.[4] After this many patents were taken

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. Robert Ransome.

[2] J. A. Ransome, *The Impl. of Agric.* (1843), 15–20

[3] Young, *Gen. View Agric. Suffolk* (1804), 32–5.

[4] J. A. Ransome, *The Impl. of Agric.* (1884), 99.

out for machines of this class, but the drill most in use in Suffolk at the close of the eighteenth century, when, as Arthur Young points out, it was working a small revolution in agriculture, was that of James Cooke of Heaton Norris in Lancashire, and it was this machine that formed the basis of the improvements made by Henry Baldwin (or Balding) of Mendham in 1790. Mr. James Smyth of Peasenhall, and his brother Mr. Jonathan Smyth of Swefling, subsequently devoted great attention to the drill. They devised a swing steerage to enable the driver to keep straight and parallel lines, also contrivances for adjusting the coulters to varying distances from each other, and for the simultaneous delivery of manure and seed. These developments had all been realized before 1843,[1] and in 1888 a text-book of farming speaks of the 'Non-Pareil' corn drill of Messrs. James Smyth & Sons as exhibiting many recent improvements, and of their broadcast corn and seed sowing-machines as being largely exported to the colonies, America, and Russia.[2]

During the same period Messrs. Garrett of Leiston were also busy with the drill, of which after extensive experiments and numerous improvements, they became the leading manufacturers and exported them to all parts of the world. The famous Suffolk corn-drill was only one species of this class of agricultural implement. Machines were devised for sowing all manner of seeds, grass, clover, turnip, beet, peas, and beans, whether in rows or broadcast, for manures with or without the seed, and even for scattering sand and salt on the streets.[3] Another farm implement to the development of which Jethro Tull had given the initiative, and which was carried by Messrs. Garrett to a high degree of efficiency, was the horse-hoe. The improvements patented by them in this machine enabled the width of the hoes to be increased or diminished to suit all lands or methods of planting, and made it adaptable to broad, stetch or ridge-ploughing, and to corn of all sorts, as well as roots. The Leiston horse-hoe won a great many prizes at agricultural shows, and was awarded a medal at the Great Exhibition of 1851.[4]

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century drills and horse-hoes were the leading products of the Leiston Works, but harvesting machinery was already manufactured there, and after the middle of the century this branch of the industry far outstripped the other in importance. This was due to two main causes, the growing demand of the colonies and of America in whose agriculture rapid harvesting was more essential than careful sowing, and the increasing use of steam-power, which was found more readily applicable to harvesting than to ploughing or sowing machinery. As early as 1806 Messrs. Garrett built a threshing-machine (under the patent of Mr. J. Balls of Wetheringsett) to replace by horse-power the action of the flail. The experiment proved very successful, and the subsequent demand for these machines was one of the main causes of the expansion of the Leiston Works.[5] A special variety of threshing-machine was introduced by Messrs. Garrett called the bolting machine, which saved the straw by tying it in bundles. In 1841 we hear of trials being made at Cambridge under the auspices of the Royal Agricultural Society of two four-horse portable threshing machines, one of which had been made at Leiston and the other at the Orwell Works of Messrs. Ransome.[6]

It is now time to resume our account of the Orwell Works, the subsequent extension of which has been amongst the most remarkable features of the industrial history of Suffolk. The first Robert Ransome, who spent an old age of retirement in copperplate engraving and the construction of a telescope, and died in 1830, left two sons, of whom the elder, James, had become a partner in 1795, and the younger, Robert, in 1819. The brothers were among the earliest members of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, founded in 1838. Mr. James Allen Ransome, the son of the elder brother, who entered the business in 1829, worthily continued the family tradition by publishing an admirable book on *The Implements of Agriculture* in 1843, from which a great many of the facts in the foregoing account have been derived. About the time when this book was written, the idea was beginning to be entertained of applying steam-power to agricultural machinery. Messrs. Ransome were amongst the earliest pioneers in this new development, which rapidly brought about an almost entire transformation of their business.

As early as 1842 they received the first prize offered by the Royal Agricultural Society for the application of portable and locomotive steam engines to agricultural purposes, viz. threshing, and since that date they have not only continuously improved the steam threshing-machine, but also constructed numerous other machines for use along with it, such as elevators and stackers for lifting and stacking straw, sheaf-corn, hay, &c. A special improvement to the steam thresher claimed by Messrs. Ransome is a patent apparatus for chopping and bruising threshed straw for use as fodder, which has rendered possible the adoption of the threshing-machines in hot countries where primitive methods of threshing with oxen or

[1] J. Allen Ransome, *The Impl. of Agric.* (1884), 104.

[2] Prof J. Scott, *A Text Book of Farm Engineering* (1888), 'Field Implements and Machines,' 82.

[3] J. A. Ransome, op. cit 115; J. C. Morton in *Agric. Gaz.* 26 March, 1888.

[4] Ransome, op. cit. 11; G. H. Andrews, *Rudimentary Treatise on Agricultural Engineering*, iii, 75.

[5] *Agric. Gaz.* 26 March, 1888, p. 285.

[6] J. A Ransome, op. cit. 154, 171.

horses had hitherto prevailed. To the portable engine they added a special fire-box for burning straw and other vegetable refuse as fuel to meet the need of countries where the price of wood or of coal was prohibitive. Messrs. Ransome have naturally taken a special pride in the improvement of the plough. They claim that the first balance steam-plough was invented and made at the Orwell Works in connexion with the late Mr. John Fowler. The development of the horse-drawn plough has proceeded in two different directions. On the one hand the implement has been differentiated into a great number of separate species, each adapted to some particular function or to some peculiar variety of soil; and on the other hand the effect of a single ploughing has been multiplied by adding one or two additional bodies to the plough. To take one or two examples:

A plough with three bodies is now constructed for paring the surface of stubble fields after harvest, which instead of merely cutting off the tops of weeds and twitch lifts up the roots and throws them loosely over on the surface for gathering by harrows. Another multiple plough is made for covering seed which has previously been sown broadcast, whilst a further variety is fitted with a seed-box for sowing seed broadcast, so that the sowing and covering is done at one operation. The use of these multiple ploughs has been greatly facilitated by a special lifting apparatus introduced by Messrs. Ransome and now very widely adopted.

Although the connexion with agriculture, which was the starting point of their development, has been continuously maintained, the activities of the Orwell Works began very early to take a wider scope. The firm of Messrs. Ransome & Sons was one of the earliest to build iron bridges, and Stoke Bridge at Ipswich was constructed by them in 1819.[1] On the introduction of the railway system they became very large manufacturers of railway 'chairs' and also of compressed wood-keys and tree-nails for securing the chairs and rails, in which connexion several patents were taken out. In 1869, in consequence of the rapid increase of the older established business, it was found desirable to remove this branch of the industry across the Orwell to the waterside works, where it has since been carried on by the separate firm of Messrs. Ransome and Rapier, who have now a world-wide reputation as makers of lifting machinery and railway-equipment material, bridges, turntables, &c. The first locomotive introduced into China was made at these works by Mr. Rapier.[2]

This separation, however, did nothing to impair the growth of the engineering department of the Orwell Works. This had its beginnings, as has already been described, in the production of engines and boilers for the propulsion of agricultural machinery, but these are now made for all kinds of industrial purposes, including steam traction, mining, electric lighting, the milling of corn, and the preparation of tea. The engines are manufactured in every variety, vertical and horizontal, simple and compound, portable, semi-portable, and stationary, and Messrs. Ransome have a large plant of special machinery for the construction of boilers of the Cornish, Lancashire, dryback, multitubular, and vertical types.

The present Orwell Works,[3] which were begun in 1849 and have since been continually extended, include an immense foundry, a smith's shop with (more than) a hundred forges, a plough shop, several engine-erecting and boiler shops, a turnery, a grindery, a threshing-machine department, and a lawn-mower department. They have a dock frontage of over 800 feet, alongside which steamers of 1,500 tons can load, and there is direct rail communication along the quay. The works find employment for upwards of 2,200 men and boys. Messrs. Ransome, Sims, & Jefferies is now a limited company, but the family of the founder is still represented by Mr. E. C. Ransome and Mr. B. C. Ransome, both grandsons of the younger Robert Ransome.[4]

The introduction of steam brought about as great a transformation at Leiston as at Ipswich, and the equally remarkable growth that ensued was on similar lines to that already described. Mr. Richard Garrett, the grandson of the founder, took a leading part in effecting the transition from horse-power to the use of steam, especially in relation to the threshing-machine, to the perfecting of which he may be said to have devoted his life. After patient and exhaustive experiments a set of steam-threshing machinery was produced and exhibited at a show at Norwich. The demand soon became very great. Before long Messrs. Garrett found themselves obliged to specialize in threshing-machines, and the making of other agricultural machinery and implements fell into the background, or was dropped altogether, although the numbers employed at Leiston and the amount of the output rapidly increased. The threshing-machine as fully developed separates from each other the chicken corn, weed, seeds, chaff and straw, and sends each to its appointed place, not only by threshing out the grain, but by sifting on riddles and by

[1] In 1857 they were entrusted with the mounting of the equatorial and transit instruments of the Greenwich Observatory, a task requiring the most perfect and accurate workmanship.

[2] 'Some British Engineering and Allied Industries,' Sir C. McLaren, bart., in the *Times* Engineering Supplement, 14 Feb. 1906.

[3] Messrs. Ransome have received two gold medals from the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and have been awarded a very great number of medals and prizes at international exhibitions.

[4] Ex inf. Messrs. Ransome, Sims, Jefferies, Ltd.

passing it through successive currents of air.[1] This last function had originally been performed by a series of different fans, but in 1859 an arrangement was patented by Mr. R. Garrett, in conjunction with his foreman, Mr. Kerridge, by which a single fan placed on the same spindle as the threshing drum does all the work.

The making of steam-threshing machines necessarily involved the construction of steam-engines, and the latter department of the Leiston Works has developed so extensively as to overshadow the other. Mr. Richard Garrett devoted special attention to the improvement of the portable engine, 'and no man then living,' says a competent authority, 'had a more thorough knowledge of it.' Semi-portable and stationary engines, traction engines, and steam road-rollers, all with either single or compound cylinders, are made in great numbers, and these, along with steam boilers of all types, constitute a large proportion of the output of the Leiston Works, which now cover over 20 acres, and are equipped with hydraulic, pneumatic, and electrical power transmission. Messrs. Garrett export their machinery, engines, and boilers very largely to all parts of the world, and have been awarded gold medals at more than a dozen international exhibitions. The firm has become a limited company, but the management is still in the hands of direct descendants of the Richard Garrett whose epitaph in Leiston churchyard of the date of 1839 declares him to have been 'the elder of the fourth generation of his name and sixty-two years a respectable inhabitant of this parish.'

Messrs. Garrett have maintained the best relations with their workpeople and have done a great deal to improve their conditions of life. Attached to the Leiston Works there is a large hall, a free library, reading and recreation rooms, and a recreation ground. The firm has built several hundred excellent artisans' houses with gardens in front and back, and as perhaps an even larger number have been built by the workmen themselves, the town may be said to be the creation of the works.[2]

The long-continued prosperity of the leading Suffolk engineering firms is due to the fact that the inventive ability and the faculty for industrial organization shown by the founders have been inherited by one or more in each of three or four generations of descendants.

The Smyths of Peasenhall, whose early achievements in connexion with the Suffolk drill have already been referred to, are another family whose industrial record covers three or four generations, and here again a limited company (Messrs. Jas. Smyth & Sons, Ltd.) has been founded on the basis of the old firm. Messrs. Whitmore & Binyon, Ltd., of Wickham Market, represents the culmination of an equally long development of the same kind. The Wickham Market Iron Works were founded by the grandfather of the present Mr. Whitmore in 1780, and attained great prosperity under his father, who was born in 1801, and died in 1872. The firm, which became Whitmore & Binyon in 1868, specialized very early in milling and mining machinery, and have fitted up some of the largest mills in the kingdom. They likewise export a large amount of machinery for milling rice as well as corn.[3] Messrs. E. R. & F. Turner, Ltd., of St. Peter's Works, Ipswich, who also manufacture milling machinery, as well as engines, boilers and gold-mining plant, and Messrs. Page & Girling of Melton, who are the patentees of self-righting feeding and drinking pans for cattle, are both the representatives of firms that were flourishing in the middle of the last century.

The works of Messrs. Robert Boby, Ltd., which have been established at Bury for more than half a century, have specialized in contrivances for the sampling and handling of grain, and now supply the large maltsters of the county with the machinery which has revolutionized that important industry.

FERTILIZERS

In this distinctly modern industry Suffolk may claim a peculiar interest. Suffolk men were amongst the pioneers, not only of the scientific discovery on which it was based, but also of the practical application of scientific results to the improvement of agriculture; whilst the soil of the county itself contributed in no small degree to the inauguration of the industry. In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, under the combined influence of chemical and geological research, there began to be opened up new and extensive sources of those nitrogenous and phosphatic elements which increase or restore the fertility of a weak or exhausted soil. The guano of Peru, which was introduced into England in 1839, held for many years the first place as an artificial manure. This could, if reduced to a powder, be applied directly to the soil. About this time the attention of English experimentalists was caught by the suggestion of Liebig, in his work on the Organic Chemistry of Agriculture, that super-phosphate of lime might be prepared from bones or other phosphatic deposits. The treatment for this purpose of

[1] *Engineer*, 8 Aug. 1884, p. 109; *Agric. Gaz.* 26 March, 1888.

[2] Ex inf. Messrs. R. Garrett & Sons, Ltd.

[3] V. B. Redstone, *Bygone Wickham Market*, pp. 54–6.

mineral phosphates with sulphuric acid originated in this country with Sir J. Bennet Lawes, who took out a patent for the process in 1842.[1] In 1843 Professor J. S. Henslow, who took a deep interest in the application of science to agriculture, was staying with his family at Felixstowe, when he was struck by the occurrence in large quantities of phosphatic nodules between the red crag and the London clay of that neighbourhood. He communicated his discovery of these deposits, which he called coprolites, to the Geological Society,[2] and in a few years they began to be largely drawn upon for industrial purposes.

The late Mr. Edward Packard, the founder of the firm of Messrs. E. Packard & Co., who began life as a chemist at Saxmundham, had, after a number of experiments carried out on a modest scale with a pestle and mortar, already started making artificial manure from bones, and was led by Professor Henslow's discoveries to turn his attention to 'coprolites.' His first operations were at Snape, where he secured the power of a pumping engine from Mr. Newsom Garrett, but as he was unable to obtain the site of a mill there, he transferred his business to Ipswich about the year 1849. Mr. Allen Ransome came to his assistance and sold him a site at Ipswich Dock, then occupied by a flour mill, which has since borne the name of Coprolite Street. The business rapidly expanded. The new superphosphates manufactured from 'coprolite' had been first used by several Suffolk agriculturists, but they soon began to be sent to Scotland, Ireland, and even to Russia. In 1854 Mr. Packard purchased land from the Great Eastern Railway at Bramford near Ipswich, where the manufacture of fertilizers is now extensively carried on by other firms as well as by the one he founded.[3]

The Suffolk deposits, to the discovery of which the early prosperity of the industry was so largely due, and which continued for fifteen years to provide the principal material for a rapidly increasing production, have now for a long time ceased to be worked. A supply of similar phosphatic nodules of somewhat superior quality was subsequently discovered in the Upper Greensand of Cambridgeshire from which as much as 20,000 tons have been extracted in a single year, but of late years nearly all the phosphates required by the industry have been imported from abroad. France and Belgium supply ores of inferior quality; others come from Algeria, from the islands of the Caribbean Sea, from Florida and Tennessee.

The ore thus obtained is thoroughly dried, and after being broken in a stone-crusher is ground as fine as flour in a mill. This phosphatic dust is purified by fanning, and then dissolved in sulphuric acid. The product of this reaction, when it has cooled, is a dry friable honey-combed mass, and is dug out of the pits in which it has been deposited with pick-axes. This is once more reduced to powder in a disintegrator, and at this stage nitrogenous material such as ammonium sulphate may be added, or in other cases salts of potash, in order to produce a manure specially adapted to corn, grass, mangel, potato or other crop.[4] Of recent years a great deal of careful study has been devoted to the needs of each variety of cereal and of other field crops as well as of fruits and flowers. Foremost among the specializers in this direction is the firm of Messrs. Joseph Fison & Co. of Ipswich, whose fertilizers are used to raise the flower crops of the Scilly Isles and of Guernsey, and the fruit and potato crops of Kent, and who claim to have adapted the reactive properties of artificial manure so as to meet the peculiar needs of hothouse grapes, cucumbers, hops, flax and tomatoes. During the last twelve years Messrs. Fison have also become large producers of insecticides, disinfectants and sheep dips which are exported to all parts of the world.[5]

GUN-COTTON

The manufacture of artificial manures seems to have served as a starting point for the introduction of further chemical industries into Suffolk.

The discovery of the coprolite deposits led many firms who had already established connexions with agricultural Suffolk in the chief market towns to set up as makers or dealers in the new fertilizers. Among these was the firm of Messrs. T. Prentice & Co., who had long been settled in Stowmarket as merchants. Before 1855 they had further added to their industrial activities by taking over the management of the town gas supply, and about the year 1861 they were instrumental in introducing the manufacture of gun-cotton into Stowmarket. A few years later the Patent Safety Gun-cotton Company was formed, of which Mr. Eustace Prentice became the managing director. Gun-cotton is made by the saturation of waste cotton in nitric and sulphuric acid. The particular process adopted at Stowmarket was one for which a patent had been taken out by

[1] Thorpe, *Dict. of Applied Chemistry*, ii, 507.

[2] *Eastern Counties Mag. and Suff. Note Bk.* i, 'Reminiscences of a Scientific Suffolk Clergyman.'

[3] A memoir of the late Mr. Edward Packard, preserved amongst the Suffolk pamphlets in the Ipswich Public Library.

[4] Thorpe, *Dict. of Applied Chemistry*, op. cit. ii, 510.

[5] Ex inf. Messrs. Joseph Fison & Co.

Professor Abel. The cotton was first cleaned and then sent to be dipped in several dipping houses. After having been cooled for twenty-four hours the cotton was centrifuged to expel the waste acid. It was then tubbed or washed again, centrifuged, and laid in tanks of water to soak, from which it was taken to be beaten into pulp, and then let down into 'poachers' for washing again. The quantity of acid used was 13 lb. to each 1 lb. of cotton. The whole process took seven or eight days to complete. In 1871 there were nine 'poachers' in use at the works, each of which held 1,000 lb. of cotton; and all were kept in full work largely by government orders, though a second quality was made for mining purposes. The number of persons employed was considerably over a hundred, including about thirty boys and a number of girls. The date given is a terribly memorable one in the annals of Stowmarket. There had been a small explosion in 1868, but in 1871 the works were utterly destroyed, thirty persons killed, and as many seriously injured by an explosion that shook the whole town and shattered almost every pane of glass in its houses, churches, and public buildings. Amongst the killed were several members of the Prentice family. The managing director was away at the time.[2] The works were soon after re-established and no such serious calamity has since occurred. The company, which has recently been reconstituted as the New Explosives Company, manufactures cordite as well as gun-cotton. In the Suffolk census of 1901, eighty-three males and ten females are enumerated as engaged in the manufacture of explosives.

XYLONITE

The youngest of the industries of Suffolk is the manufacture of xylonite. This is a product of the same kind as celluloid. The nitrates of cellulose afford the material in both cases, and the structural use to which they are put in the xylonite industry depends upon the ease with which they are brought into a plastic condition or entirely dissolved in various 'neutral' solvents, e.g. alcohol-ether, acetone, amyl-acetate.[1] Xylonite is a semi-transparent, horn-like substance. It differs from vulcanite in being originally transparent so that it can receive any colour that is desired, and can be made to imitate natural substances such as tortoise-shell. It is very largely used as a substitute for wood, metal, or bone in the manufacture of brushes, combs, fans, trays, musical instruments, cutlery, bicycles, toys, &c., and as a substitute for linen in the manufacture of collars, cuffs and fronts.

The original patent was taken out in 1856 by Mr. Alex. Parkes; but The British Xylonite Company, Ltd., was not formed till 1877. With this company the Homerton Manufacturing Company, Ltd., which had been simultaneously formed for the production of articles from xylonite was amalgamated in 1879. Several years of struggle and experiment followed, and the ultimate success achieved by the company was largely due to the determined efforts of Mr. L. P. Merriam, the father of the present managing director. When the tide turned, the works at Homerton soon became too small, and in 1887 the directors determined to transfer the manufacture of their material to the country.

In selecting Brantham-on-the-Stour as the new seat of the industry they were influenced by the fact which explains so much of the recent industrial development of Suffolk—that both railway and water transport were available, so that they were not wholly dependent on either. The company purchased Brooklands Farm, which comprised 130 acres of freehold land, and the new factory was started during the same year. A considerable number of workpeople migrated from London to Suffolk, and as the house accommodation in the neighbourhood was naturally insufficient, the company built about sixty houses to meet the needs of the new colony. Each of these handsome and well-built semi-detached cottages has a good piece of garden, and as in addition to this any employé can have as much allotment as he wants, gardening has become a fairly general hobby. There is a clubhouse on the estate. A large field has been set apart for sports and a site allotted for a schoolhouse. The workmen have organized an excellent band, which helps to supply entertainment in the winter evenings, and is in request for garden parties, &c., in the summer. The church, which is a negligible factor in the life of the London workman, is found to regain some of its influence under the healthier social conditions of the country. In short, the new settlement seems to have many of the characteristics of a model industrial village. The Brantham works find employment for between 300 and 400 people. The xylonite there produced is sent to be made up in the factory at Hale End, London, and the finished goods are largely exported.[3]

[1] C. F. Cross and E. J. Bevan, *A Text Book of Paper-making*, 32.

[2] The *Times*, 14 and 19 Aug. 1871, report of the inquest.

[3] Ex inf. of The Xylonite Co. Since the above was written (Dec. 1905) the works have been destroyed by fire.

MALTING

Malting has, no doubt, been for centuries a Suffolk industry in the sense that more malt has been produced in the county than was needed for its own consumption. But during the last decade of the nineteenth century the industry has entered on a new phase, not merely of expansion, but of technical and economic development which, as it is largely to be attributed to favouring conditions of locality, deserves special mention in the history of the county. Twenty years ago small maltings were to be found in nearly every village, the product of which was collected and disposed of by dealers in the towns. The small malt-houses are still everywhere to be seen, but the work they used to do has been almost entirely concentrated at the ports, where immense buildings have sprung up, constructed on scientific principles in immediate contact with the water transport, which delivers the material and carries away the malt at a minimum of cost for freight. This change is due to a variety of causes. In the first place, the barley malted in Suffolk is no longer grown there, but comes by the shipload from the Pacific coast, the Danube, the Sea of Marmora, Asia Minor, Tunis, and Algeria, so that the ports are nearest to all the sources of supply. The Suffolk ports have the further advantage of being nearest to the largest demand for malt, which is that of the great London breweries. The malting itself cannot be done in London because it requires plenty of space and a free supply of pure air. Both of these were available around the Ipswich dock, and at Lowestoft, Woodbridge, Beccles, and Snape, where malting is now extensively carried on, and whence the malt can be easily transported to the Thames in barges. The largest firm of maltsters in Ipswich employ a dozen lighters and some fifteen barges (which they build themselves) in this work, and they also have five steamers of their own engaged in bringing the barley from foreign ports.

Another factor in producing the concentration above described has been the technical progress made in the industry. The rough and ready country malting of former days would not satisfy the demands of modern scientific brewing. It is not so much a matter of machinery, though machinery is extensively used in turning, hoisting, and delivering the barley, as of adapting the buildings to the several processes so as to preserve the right temperature for each process, whilst economizing the labour spent in transition from one to the other. The maltings have accordingly to be built very high, and the old buildings are rendered obsolete. The industry in short, has become one requiring the application of fixed capital, and the greater part of it has therefore passed into the hands of a comparatively small number of firms, the chief of these being Messrs. R. and M. Paul, Messrs. E. Fison & Co., Messrs. T. Mortimer & Co., and the Ipswich Malting Co., at Ipswich; and Messrs. Garrett, Newson & Son, at Snape. Along with malting other allied industries are carried on by these firms, such as corn-milling, the preparation of feeding stuffs from oats, peas, and beans, and the flaking of malt. In relation to the amount of capital thus turned over, the quantity of labour employed is not very large.[2]

PRINTING

The pleasant but quiet and secluded country town of Bungay is not the place in which one would expect to find a busy printing Press which turns out some of the leading periodical literature of the day. Yet the Press of Bungay is 110 years old, and its past has been a distinguished one. In the eighteenth century Bungay assumed some of the airs of a small provincial capital. It advertised itself as a spa, possessed a theatre, and was crowded with fashionable assemblies of local gentry during the season.[1] Some of these glories had faded when Mr. Charles Brightly set up business as a printer in 1795; but for Suffolk as a whole this was a period of industrial revival, nearly all the large manufacturing concerns of the present day having been established within ten years of that date. Mr. Brightly was a man of initiative. He was one of the pioneers of the stereotyping process, and in 1809 he published a small book explaining his methods. He was joined in his business in 1805 by Mr. J. R. Childs, and the firm became one of the largest printers and publishers of periodical literature in the kingdom. Messrs. Childs & Son were among the first to introduce the practice of bringing out large works in sixpenny parts, one of the books so published being Barclay's *Dictionary*. A picturesque tradition survives at Bungay of how Mr. Childs traversed the country in a chaise to solicit orders for his publications, armed for self-defence with a pair of pistols. In 1855, when the firm had come to be mainly occupied in printing for London and other publishers, their stock of stereotype plates was said to weigh above 300 tons.[3] In

[1] Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.* i.

[2] Ex inf. Messrs. R. & M. Paul.

[3] White, *Direct. of Suff.*

addition to their printing works Messrs. Childs & Son employed at one time as many as 60 or 70 engravers on metal, who did the work in their own homes at Bungay. In 1876, Mr. C. Childs, the son of Mr. J. R. Childs, died, and in the following year the business was taken over by Messrs. Clay & Taylor, now Messrs. Richard Clay & Sons, and the firm became a limited company in 1890. The increasing tendency shown by the printing trade to leave the metropolis has led to a constant expansion of the Bungay printing industry. The number of those now employed is upwards of 300, and further building is in progress. The educational character of the work undertaken is as marked a feature now as it was when the famous Bohn's Library was issuing from the Bungay Press. Besides books, Messrs. Clay print a large number of the best magazines, monthly reviews, and annual or other publications of learned societies, such as the Early English Text Society. They pay much attention to illustration by the latest colour processes.[1]

Readers of Dr. Smiles' *Men of Invention* are familiar with the remarkable career of Mr. William Clowes, who took a leading part in the introduction of the printing of books by steam. The *Penny Magazine* and the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, and the many admirable volumes edited for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge by Mr. Charles Knight, which did so much for the promotion of popular education in the first half of the last century, were issued from the newly-established steam press of Mr. Clowes. From the very smallest beginnings his printing office became one of the largest in the world. It had twenty-five steam presses, six hand-presses, six hydraulic presses, and gave direct employment to over five hundred persons, whilst many times that number were employed indirectly. Mr. Clowes cast his type and produced his own stereotype plates. The printed matter issuing from his presses every week at Duke Street, Blackfriars, was equivalent to 30,000 volumes. Mr. William Clowes died in 1847 at the age of sixty-eight.[3]

The branch establishment of Messrs. Clowes & Sons, Ltd., at Beccles, was founded in 1875, and since that date has made steady progress. In 1894 the increase in business was so marked that the directors found it necessary to make large additions to buildings and plant. These now include composing-rooms and reading-closets, with accommodation for 250 compositors, capacious machine-rooms, a foundry fitted up with all modern stereo and electro appliances, extensive plate rooms, and a large bindery, which enables the company to produce books ready for the publishers. Several machines for the execution of art work have been laid down of late years. Altogether employment is found for over four hundred hands.

In connexion with the works there is a flourishing athletic club for the promotion of cricket, football, cycling, quoits, swimming, &c., which is presided over by Mr. W. Knight Clowes, the chairman of the company, and there is an institute where religious and social meetings are held for the benefit of the girls employed in the works.[4]

FISHERIES

'Hereabouts,' writes an eighteenth-century tourist in Suffolk, 'they begin to talk of herrings and the fishery.'[2] This local characteristic may claim to be a very ancient one. The remoter records of the industry are mainly concerned, as along every coast-line that has suffered from the encroachments of the sea, and the consequent loss or restriction of its fishing-havens, with the fortunes of decayed towns, or, in instances where a port has averted, or rallied from absolute ruin, with a period of its story which verges on the legendary.

As elsewhere along our coasts, the herring has been from the earliest times of supreme importance in the history of the Suffolk fisheries, not even excepting the Iceland fishing, which is entitled, nevertheless, to the special place allotted to it in another section of this volume. The herring was borne on the seal of the bailiff of Dunwich in 1218, and in later times on the town-tokens of Lowestoft and Southwold.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Beccles, whose ancient commerce would seem to have been almost entirely confined to this staple fish, paid sixty thousand herrings as fee-farm rent, the introduction of the industry having been owing, it is said, to that company of twenty-four burgesses of Norwich who fled from the latter town to escape the penalties of their participation in the conspiracy of Earl Guader.[5] So extensive was the herring trade at this port that the chapel of St. Peter, the patron of fishermen, and himself a member of their craft, was specially erected for the convenience of buyers and sellers on the western side of the market-place, being in use as late as 1470. Covehithe or North Hales was

[1] Ex inf. Messrs. R. Clay & Sons.

[2] Defoe, *Tour in Eastern Counties*, 113.

[3] S. Smiles, 'Men of Invention and Industry,' pp. 208–19.

[4] Ex inf. Messrs. Clowes & Sons.

[5] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 9.

a considerable fishing town in ancient times, with a 'hithe,' or quay at which large vessels could unload. Easton Bavent, once the most easterly point of England, a position now held by Lowestoft, was reputed to have had a considerable trade in fish, 'the abundance of fennel is token thereof.'[1] The church in this parish was further dedicated to St. Nicholas, another patron of seamen.[2]

A notable landowner at the time of the Conquest was Hugh de Montfort, whose numerous herring-rents are abundant evidence of the prosperous state of the fishing in the county at that early date. From his farm in Kessingland, he received 22,000 herrings (two lasts and two barrels), the value of salted herrings then being 30*s.* per last. His Rushmere farm paid 700 herrings, two farms at Gisleham respectively 2*s.* 6*d.* and 200 herrings, and 5*s.* and 300 herrings. Similar rents were paid by farms at Carlton, Kirkley, Worlingham, Weston, and Wangford.[3]

At the time of the survey, Dunwich was paying 60,000 herrings, and Gilbert Blundus rendered to Robert Malet, lord of the manor, for eighty homages £4 and 8,000 herrings. The contribution of Southwold to the monks of Bury at the same date was 20,000 herrings. Blythburgh, in the Confessor's time, rendered 10,000 herrings annually to the king's use,[4] the town being 'well frequented upon account of its trade, and divers other affairs here transacted, especially the fishery,' crayers, and other craft, sailing (before the river was choked) up to Walberswick Bridge.

Dunwich succeeded Beccles in the pursuit of the herring fishery. According to Gardner,

> of all occupations exercised at Dunwich the fishery (consisting of dry, wet, and fresh fish) had the preference; and of that, the greatest regard was paid to the herring. No person whatsoever might forestall herrings privately or openly, but all herrings were to come freely unsold into the haven, upon pain of imprisonment at the King's will. And no herrings were to be sold until the fishers had come into the haven, and the cable of their ships drawn to land. The sale was to be from sunrise to sunset, neither before nor after, upon forfeiture of all herrings otherwise so bought.[5]

In the time of Edward I Dunwich had in it 'sixteen fair ships, twelve barks, or crayers, and twenty-four fishing-barks, which few towns in England had the like.'[6]

In the fourteenth century, the fish trade at Lowestoft was sufficiently active to come within the scope of municipal regulations. It was to be lawful in 1359 for the merchants of Lowestoft to buy herrings of the 'fishers as free as the London pykers, to serve their carts and horses that come thither from other countries, and to hang them.' Lowestoft men, it was evident, were accustomed to go out to the foreign and other fishing vessels anchored in the roads, and buy herrings, which they landed on the Denes. There the fish were sold to the peddars, or travelling merchants, who loaded their packhorses with them, and started off to sell to the inland villages.

By the reign of Edward II the gradual decay of the port of Dunwich had begun to be felt by the inhabitants. It was found necessary, for commercial convenience, to open a new port within the limits of that of Blythburgh, and two miles nearer Southwold. In order to retrieve the loss suffered by the inhabitants of Dunwich, the king ordered that all fish imported at the new haven was to be put on sale nowhere but at the ancient market-places in Dunwich. But this, as well as all other attempts to save the town from inevitable ruin proved ineffectual, the loss of the port being 'an incurable wound.'

A similar fate was to overtake Blythburgh with the suppression of its priory, and the cessation of its fishing trade. By covenant with Margery de Cressy, lady of Blythburgh and Walberswick, Dunwich gave licence to the towns of Blythburgh and Walberswick to occupy any number of merchant ships, or fishing-boats they thought fit, paying customs thereon. Sir Robert Swillington, lord of the manor in the reign of Edward III, received tolls from the 'peddars' buying fish there.[7]

Walberswick was exempted from paying any customs or dues to Dunwich for fish exported or imported in their proper vessels, at their own quay; their trade in 1451 being sufficiently extensive to require thirteen barks, trading to Iceland and the North Sea, together with twenty-two home fishing-boats 'for full and shotten herrings, sperlings, or sprats, etc.'[8] In 1602 there were fifteen barks, exclusive of herring-vessels. Of these the town had a dole; the king receiving of the herrings.[9]

We learn from the churchwardens' accounts, in the year 1489, that a constitution was made for the town doles which fixed the amount to be paid and the manner in which it was to be received. In 1451 the churchwardens' receipts contain many references to herrings and other fish.

In 1597 authority was granted to the churchwardens by the inhabitants of Walberswick to sell, let, farm, or hire to any man, or many men,

[1] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 258.
[2] Also honoured with a church at Dunwich, Southwold, and with an altar at Walberswick.
[3] *Suff. Dom. Bk.*
[4] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 120.
[5] Ibid. 19.
[6] Ibid. 9.
[7] Ibid. 137.
[8] The names of the owners, masters, and boats, are recorded in the Walberswick Account Book. Sperlings were selling at 6*s.* a last this year. Herrings were 6*s.* 8*s.* per thousand.
[9] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 145.

all such profit and duties as might arise from the following sources :—The herring-fishing dole, the sperling-fare dole, and the duties on the Iceland voyages, namely 3*s.* 4*d.* a voyage.

In 1609 the butter and cheese trade had risen to such a height of prosperity at Walberswick as to threaten seriously to interfere with the fishing. An order was therefore made at Beccles Sessions, 2 October, 1609,

that none but the old men, who had spent their former days in fishing-fare, should occupy the coasting business for butter, etc., and that the young men should diligently attend the fishing-craft,

alleging, that the neglect of the fishery was 'the means tending to the destruction of a nursery that bred up fit and able masters of ships and skilful pilots for the service of the nation.'[1]

By a certificate of the church sent to Cromwell, 30 May, 1654,[2] it is evident that the town was greatly decayed. This decay had set in as far back as 1628, when a warrant had been granted for the relief of its poor. In 1652 'a private relation' speaks of Walberswick as 'our poor town.'[3]

It may not be altogether without interest to make a brief survey at this point of the various modes and measures which have been in vogue from time to time in the Suffolk fishing trade with regard to the handling of the fish caught along this coast. The most ancient form of packing was by the cade,[4] which contained 600 herrings. The frame in which the herrings were packed was called a cade-bow, and was made of withs, with two hinges top and bottom. Straw was used to line this receptacle, enclosing the fish, and the whole was secured with small rope-yarn. Seven cade of full red herrings sold at market in 1596 for £3 10*s.* and two cade were bought by John Mounceye for 18*s.* The barrel took the place of the cade under the Tudors. Every barrel by statute[5] was to contain 1,000 herrings. Complaints of fraud in the counting and packing of the fish soon began to come to the ears of the council. The mayors and bailiffs were therefore empowered, in every fishing-town, to 'choose able and discreet persons to search and faithfully gauge all packing.' The herrings were to be

of one time, taking, and salting, well and justly couched, and packed in the middest, every end and part thereof, upon forfeiture and fine for the offence three and fourpence.[6]

The fees of the gauger, packer, and searcher were to be one barrel 2*d.*, and so in proportion.

By the Elizabethan statute, referred to above, the assize of herring-barrels was settled at thirty-two gallons wine measure, which was about twenty-eight old standard.

The swill and the mand[7] succeeded the barrel, to be in turn replaced by the ped,[8] which was in general use in the eighteenth century, these three kinds of baskets being principally employed in bringing the fish ashore from the boats.

The Scotch invasion of the Suffolk fishing-grounds was responsible for the introduction of the cran, Scotland reaping thereby a yearly harvest of from £800 to £1,000 for supplying the English market with these baskets, which might, it has frequently been pointed out, open up a fresh industry to the osier-growers and basket-makers of Suffolk instead. At a meeting of the Lowestoft Town Council in 1904, it was agreed

that the system of counting herrings hitherto in use in the fish markets is cumbrous and unsuited to modern conditions, and to the magnitude of the fishing trade, and that His Majesty's Government should be urged to take immediate steps to make the use of the cran measure legal and binding in all transactions for the sale of herrings in England.[9]

In order to assist the fishermen to a discovery of the direction taken by the herring-shoals, conders[10] were erected at various points along the shores of the fishing-towns. Upon these eminences men were stationed to signal with boughs, which they carried in their hands, which way the shoals were travelling. In William de Rothing's Account of the Issues of the Town of Dunwich from Michaelmas, 1287, to 27 November, 1288, there appears an entry £4 16*s.* 3½*d.* for beacons and conder,[11] and again in 1451, the Walberswick Account Book contains entries for the 'conde' and nails for the same.

The dole and the mortuary figure largely in ancient records of fishing transactions. The former was an agreed value, deducted from the whole catch, placed upon the boats, nets, &c. At the close of the season, after his outlay had been repaid to the owner, the produce was divided into two shares. The 'town's half-dole' was generally applied to the repair of the pier and havens, the other, called 'Christ's half-dole' being devoted to the service of the church. Thus, the vicarage of Lowestoft was originally endowed with a tithe of fish 'of every fisher-

[1] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 151–2.
[2] Ibid. 167.
[3] Ibid. 176.
[4] Cade=old measure for herrings. *Sea Words and Phrases*, 4.
[5] Stat. Hen. VII, c. 23, and 13 Eliz. c. 11.
[6] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 19.
[7] A mand of sprats, 1,000. *East Anglian N. and Q.* 1869.
[8] Ped=an osier basket with lid, containing 125 herrings and upwards. Gillingwater, *Hist. Lowestoft*, 464.
[9] *Fish. Trades Gaz.* 28 May, 1904, p. 19.
[10] Conder=an eminence where persons were stationed to give notice to the fishers which way the herring shoals go. Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic Words.*
[11] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 27.

boat going to sea.'[1] In 1566 the dole of every ship was worth £1 to the vicar. In 1786 the receipts were as follows: 'By the Herring Fishery, £16 5*s.* 6*d.* The Mackerel Fare, £5 10*s.* 7½*d.*'[2]

Mortuaries[3] were paid to the vicar of Gorleston; every herring-boat 10*s.* 6*d.*, every mackerel-boat a consideration.[4]

'The arrows in saltier piercing the crown between two dolphins naiant' on the seal of Southwold declares the town, asserts Gardner, to have been from the earliest times, 'of note for the fishery.'[5] Held by the abbot of Bury for one manor for the victualling of the monks, before the Conquest the town was paying 20,000 herrings; after the Domesday Survey, the number was 25,000.[6] In 10 Henry IV we find Southwold was exempted from paying any customs or tolls for their small boats passing in or out of the river or port of Dunwich. The annual payment of herrings was among the properties held by Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, and Cecily, his wife, together with the manor and township. Henry VII, as a reward for the 'industry and good service' of the inhabitants, the greater part of whom were at this date certainly engaged in the fishery, made the town a free burgh, with remission of all dues and customs payable to Dunwich, conferring on them besides the privileges of the haven. Henry VIII confirmed his predecessor's grants, and added thereto many gifts, franchises, immunities, &c.[7] The royal favours gave a great impetus to trade and navigation, 'whereof the Fishery was no small part.'[8] Many barks and vessels were annually fitted out in Tudor times for the cod-fishing as far as Iceland, Faroe, and Westmona.

The herring fishery was 'esteemed of such consequence' at Southwold[9] that the following enactments with regard to it were made by the town's council:—

No dogger, hoy, or crayer,[10] should lie at the Key (unless to load or unload goods) during the Mart, viz. from Michaelmas to Martinmas, under penalty of 20*s.*

And any person shipped for Iceland, Farra, Westmona, or North-Seas, before St. Andrew's Day, forfeited £5.

Also every master hired before that time, 40*s.*

And each common man, 20*s.*

Also, every person going to sea with sperling[11] nets, or line laying before 12 of the Clock on Sundays, and not first been at Church to hear Divine Service, £5.

Also, every boat laying, or setting sperling-nets, or laying lines, between one o'clock on Sunday morning, and one o'clock on Monday morning, each owner thereof, 10*s.* And every common man, 12*d.*[12]

Every master from Iceland, Farra, Westmona, and North Seas, making false presentments, 10*s.*

Every person going to the herring-fare making false presentments, 10*s.*[13]

Every master, mate, and boatmaster shipped for the Iceland fishery, or for the North Seas, paid to the fee-farm 2*s.* 6*d.* And each common man 2*s.* Every man's dole in the fishery was 8*d.* The penalty for non-payment was 40*s.*[14]

The will of William Godell of Southwold, made in 1509, points to the testator having been a fairly prosperous shipmaster and fish-merchant, judging from the following extracts:—

Item, I give to Margaret my wife one of my two ships, the *Cecily* or the *Andrew*, whether of them she will. Item, I will that all mine other ships be sold by mine executors, as well those that be in Iceland as those that be at home. And also those that I have part in, except that ship that Margaret my wife shall have. And also I will that all the fish that God shall send me out of Iceland be sold by mine executors in performing of this my last will . . . Item, I will that my said wife Margaret have my nets and all manner of nets, with the ropes belonging to them. Item, I give to my wife Margaret a boat called the *Platsole*.[15]

Southwold, in common with other centres of the fish-supply of the kingdom, suffered greatly from the rupture between Henry VIII and the pope, which resulted in a consequent laxity with regard to the rules as to fasting or fish-days in the community.

The Elizabethan fisherman had little cause for complaint as to the zeal and sympathy with which his interests were safe-guarded by the shrewdness of his sovereign, who never ceased to see in his craft that nursery for her navy which she rightly believed to be indispensable to the firm foundations of her empire. Suffolk fishermen, no doubt, participated in the benefits which were likely to accrue from the strict enactments with regard to the observation of

[1] According to an inquisition in the reign of Elizabeth, 'Christ's dole' for Lowestoft was of every fisherman going to the North Sea half a dole, of every ship bound for Iceland, half a dole (Gillingwater, *Hist. Lowestoft*, 266). At Lowestoft in 1845, a case was tried in which the vicar sought to recover from a fisherman, John Roberts, his tithe of fish. The testimony of several witnesses on this occasion was to the effect that the demand was a perfectly legal one, and had never been disputed within memory.

[2] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 98.

[3] 'A sort of ecclesiastical heriots due to a minister on the death of any of his parishioners, a child, a wayfaring person, and a married woman being exempt.' H. J. Stephen, *New Com. Laws Engl.* iii, 98.

[4] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* i, 372.

[5] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 187.

[6] Ibid. 189.

[7] Ibid. 191.

[8] Ibid. 192.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Crayer = a small coasting vessel. Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, Gloss.

[11] Sperling = sprats. Ibid.

[12] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 193.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid. 248–50. William Godell was appointed first bailiff of Southwold by charter of Henry VII, Feb. 1490.

fish-days throughout the kingdom. The maintenance of 'the old course of fishing' was to be 'for policy's sake; so that the sea coasts shall be strong with men and habitations, and the fleet flourish more than ever.'[1] In more than one parish in the county, bequests of nets and fishing tackle are frequent in the reign. At Easton Bavent, John Franke bequeaths 'my Schyppe, and my boats and nets.'[2] In 1569, the fishing at Ipswich was certainly in a condition of great prosperity. The chamberlain's book of accounts and receipts records the fact that 'the charges' were 'growing by reason of the great fishes taken in the Haven.' 'A Londoner,' we learn, was brought down to give advice as to the fishes at a fee of 36*s.* 7*d.*, probably one of the earliest instances of the ichthyological expert to be found in the marine history of the British coasts. The carriage of fish from the quay to the Red Cliff was 13*s.* 3*d.*, whilst several men found employment in carrying away 'the garbage, tails, fins, &c.'[3]

In 1561, it was enacted that

> it shall be lawful for every 'pedder' to buy of every Southwold boat, being on ground at the seaside within the sand or at the quay of Yarmouth, herrings to serve his own use or his country, without let or interruption of any merchant of Yarmouth aforesaid.[4]

In 1568 the poor inhabitants of Southwold petitioned for a renewal of their privilege, under Stat. 5 Eliz., allowing them to export their fish duty free.[5]

In 1581 we find the fishermen of Lowestoft paying deanage to the bailiff of Lothingland for the use of the lord of the manor, for the privilege of drying their nets on the Denes (a strip of land between the sea and the cliffs), of every stranger's ship, 18*d.*, of every English ship, 8*d.*, of every small boat, 4*d.* The inference may be drawn that at this date Lowestoft was frequented for fishing purposes not only by native, but by foreign fishermen.[6]

Orford Haven in 1584 was beginning to show signs of its ultimate decay, an Act being passed in that year for the maintenance of the haven, and of a branch of the same called the Gull, and for the preservation of the fry of fish therein.[7]

Twenty ships and 200 fishermen represented the industry in 1526 at Lowestoft.

Before passing on to consider the later history of the minor fishing-ports of the county, it may be as well to glance briefly at the prolonged and persistent disputes between the burgesses of Yarmouth and the men of Lowestoft, which must have imparted a certain flavour of excitement to the routine of municipal life in borough and town during the centuries through which it lasted. There can be little doubt that the covetous eye which Yarmouth cast at a very early date upon the herring fishery as regarded the share of Lowestoft in its benefits, was a prime factor in the many 'Longe and Chargeable Sutes' in which the two opposing parties found themselves continually involved. The general claim of Yarmouth, with this end in view, varied but little in its essentials with the flourishing of the antagonism through the reigns of Tudor, Stuart, and Georgian sovereigns. In order to monopolize the fishery, the Yarmouth burgesses sought to have it enacted that no herrings should be sold and bought, by way of merchandize, at any town or place upon the coasts of the sea, roads or shores of the same, within the compass of 14 leagues about the said town of Yarmouth, that is to say, between Winterton Ness in Norfolk and Easton Ness in Suffolk, nor within 7 leagues from all and singular the shores of the same, during the time of the fair of herrings, yearly kept at Yarmouth for forty days from St. Michael to St. Martin, but only at the town and haven of the same. And that they are to have the punishing of all forestalling within the said compass. And further they claimed that no ship, nor any boat, should charge or discharge at any town or place within the compass of seven leagues about the said town, but only at the said town, or in the haven of the same, or else in Kirkley Road, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods.[8]

To these excessive claims the Lowestoft men had but one retort, which they made as often as ever the attack upon their liberties was renewed by Yarmouth. The latter port contended that such powers as were invoked by their burgesses were in strict accordance with the provisions of the famous Statute of Herrings.[9] Lowestoft retaliated by declaring that this Statute, far from conferring any such right as that so defined by Yarmouth, was expressly framed, not only to prevent forestalling, and for the better government of the Free Fair, but for the purpose of confirming every fishing-town in its own separate rights. It had been the inalienable privilege, moreover, they maintained, time out of mind, for all fishermen of the realm to 'utter and sell their herrings for their best advantage as wind and weather would permit them.'

Fortunately for the commercial growth of the two towns there were occasional periods of truce in the long warfare. Such a period came in 1400, when an accord or compromise was entered into between the belligerents whereby the Lowestoft merchants were allowed to buy fish from all

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 165.
[2] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 258.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 249.
[4] Ibid. App. i, 308.
[5] *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* 1547–80, p. 325.
[6] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 3.
[7] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, 5.
[8] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 76.
[9] 31 Edw. III, cap. 2.

ships not hosted to the Yarmouth men, or from ships whose catches the Yarmouth men did not require for themselves, on payment of half a mark per last to the hosts, in addition to the price of the fish.

The contest had broken out again, however, by the reign of Elizabeth, for in 1596, we find the Commission appointed to inquire into the lengthy quarrel, ordering that, pending a settlement, the men of Yarmouth be not interrupted in their fair and the herring fishing this season.[1] In the following year, Parliament ordered a mark to be fixed defining the limits of the jurisdiction of Yarmouth over the fisheries.

In 1659, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament of 1597, which it had been hoped was to secure a lasting peace, hostilities were renewed, the burgesses of Yarmouth proceeding to extreme measures in order to enforce their claim to the control of the fishery to the south of Lowestoft. In 1660 James Munds of Lowestoft, a fisherman of forty-five years' standing, made an affidavit before the Master in Chancery that 'the western fishermen and strangers have constantly delivered herrings in the roads of Lowestoft to several merchants of the town without disturbance or molestation' for many years, till the Yarmouth men sent out a vessel furnished with twenty-five men and several weapons of war which anchored in the roads and 'daily chased the fishermen, so that none durst deliver herrings.' Roger Hooper, a fisherman of Ramsgate in Kent, was threatened by the men of war that if he delivered any herrings at Lowestoft they would seize him. Two fishermen were actually hailed before the bailiff of Yarmouth and fined 40*s*. In default their boats were to be confiscated.[2]

The moment was inopportune for Lowestoft at least to enter upon such a quarrel as was now forced upon her, fire[3] and the Parliamentary troops having reduced her to practical ruin. Three public-spirited residents, however, came forward to conduct the case, which was referred to the Privy Council, and to defray the heavy costs of the litigation a tax was levied on the herring fishery, which in one year amounted to £519 3*s*. 3*d*. During the progress of the suit, which lasted for four years, Yarmouth continued to interfere seriously, not only with the Lowestoft fishing, but also, in order to emphasize their claims, with the foreign craft frequenting the east-coast waters. Two Dutch and French vessels were seized, the former being despoiled of their boat-load of herrings, the other of their cooking utensils and of the sum of 13*s*. 4*d*.

In 1661 the towns of Orford, Aldeburgh, Dunwich, and Ipswich, seeing their own trade in danger should Yarmouth prove successful in the struggle, and reinforced by the countenance of the Fishmongers' Company, came to the assistance of Lowestoft, and petitioned that the inhabitants might be confirmed in their ancient and separate rights of fishing.

The long dispute was not finally closed till 1741, when, thanks to the intervention of Dr. Lewis, then Judge of the Admiralty Court of Suffolk, a compromise was arrived at, and a boundary post which was placed on the confines of the disputed waters ended the quarrel in favour of Lowestoft.

The seventeenth century was at once a period of stagnation and of stir in the fishing records of the county. The very existence of such towns as Southwold, Walberswick, and possibly Dunwich itself, was owing, it has been pointed out, in the first place, to fishing necessities;[4] and when, with the decay of their havens, their staple industry began to decline, it was inevitable that they should revert to their original obscurity.

But if calamity had overtaken three at least of the Suffolk ports at this date, the industry and perseverance of their fishermen remained undaunted by all the successive reverses which were brought upon them by the steady encroachment of the sea as well as by frequent disasters by fire. 'It is pitiful,' writes Tobias Gentleman in 1614, 'the trouble and damage that all the men of these three towns (Southwold, Walberswick, and Dunwich) do daily sustain by their naughty harbour.'[5] Of their seamen, however, he was able to add, with the pardonable pride of a Suffolk man, 'they be a very good breed of fishermen.'

Friendly relations existed at this time between the town of Lowestoft and the men of Aldeburgh, an indenture having been made in 1608 between the two ports whereby the Aldeburgh fishermen should pay no duties at Lowestoft for unloading herrings or sprats.

In 1619 Letters Patent were issued declaring the importance of maintaining the havens of Dun-

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 318.

[2] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 155.

[3] In 1644 a great fire destroyed a great part of the town, the loss of the fish-house owners being from £25 to £450 each. Mr. Josiah Wilde alone lost £400.

[4] 'The first Adventurers,' writes Gardner, 'were very likely of the craft (of fishermen),' who 'for convenience erected huts, and then houses for habitation' at 'these places of note for the fishery.' *Hist. Dunwich*, 189.

[5] *England's Way to Win Wealth*, 26. The father of this author, Thomas Gentleman, who, his son informs us, paid the composition levied on fish in the reigns of four sovereigns, was a much respected resident of Southwold, where he died at the age of 98. The following entry appears in the Southwold Register relative to this old inhabitant: 'F. 1, 1609, July 30. Tho. Gentleman, he lived above fourscore years in perfect sight and memorie, and in his flourishing time for building of ships and many other commendable parts he continued in his place unmatchable.'

wich, Southwold, and Walberswick, formerly producing 20,000 of fish per annum, but now greatly decayed by the violence of the water and losses of the inhabitants through fire, pirates, and shipwrecks, etc., £6,000 being required for the repair of the havens, a general collection was authorized to be made from seat to seat in church or at the houses of the absentees.[1]

In 1622 we find Lowestoft demurring at contributing its share to the £200 required for the suppression of pirates, whose depredations were then seriously interfering with the English fishing. John Arnold, acting as spokesman for the port, says that 'some of the people are willing to join if it be made a rate on the whole town.' Others 'think the town is not charged, as being no member of Yarmouth, and owning only fishing-boats.' Aldeburgh and Southwold follow the lead of Lowestoft, 'as trading only to the north.'[2] Southwold, moreover, pleads poverty as a further excuse.

More excuses in other directions have to be recorded in this same year, the sums subscribed by the county towards the king's contribution amounting only to £363 9s. 6d., 'which is less than they hoped, but the times are so exceedingly hard. Dunwich, Southwold, and Walberswick have petitioned to be excused.'[3]

In 1625 we are reminded that the commonly peaceful avocation of fishing was attended, nowhere more than on the Suffolk coasts, at this time with a certain degree of excitement if not of danger. 'Small ships,' we are told, in this year, 'dared not stir out to sea without convoy.'[4]

In 1630, the bailiffs of Southwold petitioned the council, who had granted in the previous season two ships as convoy to the fishers, the latter supplying the crew with victuals. Certain of the inhabitants, it would appear, having refused to pay their contribution to the charge, the council are prayed to send warrants for the arrest of such refractory persons.[5]

In 1635 the fishermen of Suffolk, together with those of Norfolk, prayed for liberty to continue buying, selling, and importing salt without impediment of any new incorporation.[6]

Convoy duty continued to be part of the office of His Majesty's ships in 1644, when F. Greene, captain of the ship *Green Dragon*, had orders to waft and convoy the North Sea fishermen to Aldeburgh Haven.[7]

In 1653 the search for men to press was being actively pursued along the Suffolk coast. Lieutenant John Scott, writing to the Admiralty Commissioners, 'could find never a man to press at Lowestoft and Pakefield, as they were all employed in the fishing-boats.'[8]

In the following year Captain Robert Wilkinson of the *Weymouth* reports himself to the Navy Commissioners as guarding the fishermen, numbering fifty sail, belonging to Lowestoft and Yarmouth.[9]

On 25 April, 1659, a disastrous fire took place at Southwold, dealing the port a blow from which it was never wholly to recover, in spite of temporary but quickly-passing periods of apparent rally. Within a few hours the town was almost entirely destroyed, the fishermen being the greatest sufferers by the loss of their nets, tackling, and fish-houses.[10]

In 1662, the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports having ceased to attend Yarmouth Fair, as they had done yearly for centuries, their place was to some extent taken, as far as the connexion between Suffolk and Kent was concerned, by the west country (Kentish) fishermen, who, from this date, used to repair to the east coast for the herring fishery, selling their catches to the merchants of Lowestoft as well as those of Yarmouth.[11]

Suffolk fishermen were accustomed to go far afield at this date. In 1666 several herring vessels sailed from Aldeburgh to Spain, 'and more were preparing. Eight hundred able young seamen were in that fleet.'[12] This fact may sufficiently account for the redoubled vigour with which the authorities applied themselves to the quest for men in the county to serve in His Majesty's Navy, the 'poor town' of Southwold being ordered to be searched from house to house.[13]

The autumn fishery of 1666 is recorded to have been exceptionally prosperous. On 4 October in that year the prospects were declared to be excellent; 'the herring fishery proves good, and will do well, if the weather continue good, and the fishermen be not taken by the men of war.' One ketch had 'just brought into Southwold seven or eight lasts of herrings.'[14] The sea at this phenomenal season is said to have been 'fuller of herrings than was ever known,' the fishermen being frequently forced to throw three or four lasts overboard during a voyage.[15] The ketches were employed, during their intervals of fishing, in carrying water and ballast to the fleet, a task for which it would seem they were occasionally but leisurely paid.[16]

Under the protection of their own convoys the Dutch continued to fish in Suffolk waters during the state of war, their fleet, together with

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619–23, p. 17.
[2] Ibid. 23.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, 253.
[5] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1629–31, p. 224.
[6] Ibid. 1635, p. 501.
[7] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 313*a*.
[8] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1652–3, pp. 406–7.
[9] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1654, p. 514.
[10] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich*, 226.
[11] North country cobles in turn took the place of the western fishers in 1756, being engaged ('hosted') by local owners. The crews received a retaining fee, or 'steerage money,' to defray the cost of the voyage home, exclusive of the sum paid per last of fish.
[12] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 341.
[13] Ibid. 1665–6, p. 462.
[14] Ibid. 1666–7, p. 181.
[15] Ibid. 187.
[16] Ibid. 188.

seventeen convoys, being seen in one instance off Southwold Bay at this time.[1]

In spite of the vigilance of the English convoys, two Southwold vessels, carrying butter, cheese, and herrings to London, were taken by one of the enemy's galliot hoys in 1666.[2]

In 1670, Suffolk owned a fishing-fleet of thirty-three boats. Of this number fourteen belonged to Pakefield and Kirkley, eleven to Southwold, eight of which were herring-boats, and three engaged in the Iceland fishery; Aldeburgh had five, two herring-boats and three Iceland barques, whilst Corton had two and Dunwich only one.[3]

Various proposals were brought forward in this year to cope with the desperate state of the fishing industry at Lowestoft, amongst others, it being suggested that 'all persons of ability should have a small quantity of herrings imposed on them, at a common rate;' also, 'that two fish-days should be observed in the week.'[4]

The townsmen prayed, moreover, that they should be relieved from the duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per barrel imposed on all beer used in the herring fishery. Fourteen fishing-boats of Pakefield and Kirkley consumed nine tuns of beer per boat.

Memories of the days of frequent coast alarms during later wars with the French are evoked by the following notice which appeared in the *Ipswich Journal* of 5 June, 1744:

> Whereas it has been represented and repeated, by some ill-designing People, that the Boats do not go to sea from Lowestoft to catch mackarels as usual, on account of the war with France; This is to give notice to all Buyers and others, that we have now at sea thirteen Boats, employed in catching mackarels, and that, during the season, all Pedlars and others, may be duly supplied with the said Fish at Lowestoft as in former years.'[5]

At this time there were three classes of boats engaged in the herring fishery at Lowestoft—the town boats, the west country cobles, and the north country cobles. In 1749, a petition was laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to prevent Dutch schuyts from fishing in Southwold Bay. In 1763 it was announced that the Dutch fishery on the east coast, and all other boats engaged in the same, would be limited to a certain number of busses, which must first be entered at an English custom-house, and be subject to a tax for the benefit of the British Herring Fishery.[6] The loss by the depredations of foreign fishermen at this time was said to be extensive.

In 1750, Southwold appeared to have entered upon a new era of prosperity with the incorporation of the Free British Fishery.[7] Buildings of various kinds were erected under the auspices of the Company: a net-house for the making and tanning of nets, a bark-mill, whilst a well with a pump attached was sunk, and a copper hung, with a cistern for tanning nets. In 1752, the tan-office was completed, together with the addition of a larger copper, with four vats, and a kiln for drying bark. A warehouse, with ample provision for the storing of salt, was built on Blackshore Wharf, and two docks were added. In 1753, two wells were sunk at Woods End Creek for supplying the fishing-fleet with water, the busses sailing from the port in that year numbering sixty-three, thirty-eight of which went to Shetland. The impetus given to trade was very great, as apart from the actual fishing, employment was also given to a large number of the townspeople in the braiding of the twine required for the nets, as well in the beeting of the nets themselves. The popular craze for the bounty system had reached its height at this date, and the Free British Fishery were not long in introducing it at Southwold. In the first year of its establishment £65 was offered in sums of £30, £20, and £15, to the respective crews of the three vessels taking the largest number of herrings per voyage. In the following year other premiums, amounting to £100, were offered.

Two kinds of bounties were granted by statute in 1808:[8]

1. Tonnage Bounties

For Herring Vessels.—£3 per ton per year was paid to every 'buss' or herring vessel over 60 and under 100 tons burden, built and owned in Great Britain, and equipped for the capture of herrings in British waters.

For Cod and Ling Vessels.—

From 1820 to 1826 . . .	50*s.* per ton
From 1826 to 1827 . . .	45*s.* ,,
From 1827 to 1830 . . .	35*s.* ,,

All the tonnage bounties ceased in 1830.

2. Bounties on Cured Fish

On Herrings.—From 1808 to 1815, 2*s.* per barrel of herrings caught in British seas and cured and packed according to the regulations prescribed by the Board.

These bounties also ceased in 1830.[9]

The office of the Free British Fishery Company at Southwold was taken down during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the materials were sold. This appears to be the last account of the undertaking according to a private MS. which we have had an opportunity of examining.

Many of the busses [adds the same authority] were left in the Dock, and in time were submerged, but about 1816 a number of men belonging to the town and out of work excavated the mud out of the Dock, and

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 212.
[2] Gillingwater, *Hist. Lowestoft*, 92.
[3] *Suff. Notes*, 1744, p. 149.
[4] Ibid. 296.
[5] Ibid. 89.
[6] Ibid. 11.
[7] Incorporated 11 October, 1750.
[8] Stat. 48 Geo. III, cap. 110.
[9] Johnstone, *British Fisheries*, 76, 77.

recovered a portion of the old timbers and oak plank, and sold them to pay their expenses and for their labour.

Whatever misfortunes had overtaken the fishing centres of the county in the century with which we are dealing, the harvest of the sea remained unfailing. Gillingwater, the historian of Lowestoft, gives 1773 as the year of the greatest herring fishery ever known, the total catch being 1,557 lasts, each last comprising 10,000 fish, being a total of 15,570,000.[1] A herring 15¾ in. long and 3 in. broad was caught by John Ferret, of the *Daniel and Mary* fishing-boat of Lowestoft, in 1797.[2]

In 1776, with an enterprise that went near to landing the town in disaster, Lowestoft proceeded to extend the operations of its fishing fleet by sending boats to Scotland and the Isle of Man with a view to bringing back the larger herrings to be found in those waters, to be submitted to the drying and curing processes in the Suffolk curing-houses. The first boat despatched on this errand was the property of Mr. Peache, and returned with 20 lasts of fish. Successive voyages merely had the effect of attracting the attention of the Scotch fishermen and masters to English methods of curing, in which Lowestoft had at this time attained to a high degree of excellence. Premiums were offered to induce men to go to Scotland to give lessons in the art, whilst agents were sent from Scotland to gather all the available information with regard to the secrets of the curing-houses. The fee paid to a Lowestoft *tower* was twenty guineas, inclusive of the services of his assistant *roarers*.[3] The port was thrown into a state of panic by the threatened passing of its staple industry into the hands of rivals. Liverpool followed the lead of Scotland, and the curing trade was soon in full vigour in these two fresh markets. Our wars with France and Spain further seriously crippled the town in its fishing commerce, as, in spite of every precaution, it was found impossible to convey a cargo to the distant Mediterranean ports (the sole market now left to it) in safety from surprise by the enemy. In the period of transition which was to elapse between this era of vicissitudes and that of its present firmly established prosperity, Lowestoft wisely devoted its attention to its sea defences, on which it has expended the sum of £68,000. To this prudent forethought must be attributed a great part of the success which has attended the development of its fishing trade at the present day.

Of the smaller Suffolk ports at this date there is little to record. Orfordness and Dunwich preserved their old reputation for 'excellent sprats.'[4] In 1748 Aldeburgh was said to be 'the only place in England for the drying and redding of the same fish.'[5] In 1752 the Bay Fishery at Walberswick was 'managed by four small boats.'[6] The system of forestallage[7] was doing great damage to the fishing at Ipswich. The peddars were in the habit of 'attending the tides' of the Orwell and 'its neighbouring seas' and buying the fish, chiefly mullets, turbots, smelts, and salmon, carried it off to supply the inland markets, refusing to sell to the townspeople at any price.[8]

In 1833 the evidence of Mr. Benjamin Brown, of Lowestoft, before the Parliamentary Commission sent to inquire into the depreciation of the British Channel fisheries, afforded much interesting information as to the state of the Lowestoft fisheries at that date. Seventy boats of 40 tons were fishing at the port, none of which were ever at sea above fourteen days at a time; 150 to 200 men were engaged on the coast stowboat or sprat fishing. The quantity of soles in the Suffolk bays, which have long been famous for this fish, had greatly diminished owing to the presence of the stowboats. The Lowestoft fishermen lodged a protest at the same time against the charge of 6*d.* which was levied upon them by the customs, the authorities alleging that they were not bringing fresh fish into port like any other fishermen, but cured, therefore, in the nature of a cargo.[9]

In 1854 thirty-two boats at Lowestoft, manned by from five to eleven boys, earned in a season

[1] Gillingwater, *Hist. Lowestoft*, 464.

[2] Suckling, *Hist. Suff.* ii, 71.

[3] *Tower* or *towcher*, the head man employed at the curing-house. A.S. *towers*, Dut. *touwer*, possibly from the tanning or steeping process employed in hanging herrings; Nall, *Hist. Yarmouth*, 675. *Roarers*, men who shovelled out the herrings from the luggers into the peds, or from the peds on to the floor of the fish-curing houses, with sturdy wooden shovels. Dan. *rore*, to stir about. The process of curing on the east coast was as follows: As soon as the herrings were brought on shore they were carried to the fish-house, where they were salted and laid on the floors in heaps about 2 ft. deep. After they had continued in this situation about fifty hours, the salt was washed from them by putting them into baskets and plunging them in water. Thence they were carried to an adjoining fish-house, where, after being pierced through the gills by small wooden spits about 4 ft. long, they were handed to the men in the upper story of the house, who placed them at proper distances as high as the roof, where they were cured or made red by the smoke of billet-wood fires. At the end of seven days these fires were put out, and the fat allowed to drip from the herrings for two days more, when the fires were relit and the herrings again smoked. The process of taking them down prior to packing them in barrels was called 'striking'; Gillingwater, *Hist Lowestoft*, 95.

[4] Tobias Gentleman, *England's Way to Win Wealth*, 21.

[5] *Westminster Journ.* 25 Jan. 1748.

[6] Gardner, *Hist. Dunwich.*

[7] Forbidden by the Great Court of Ipswich in 1281, and not allowed in 1399; Ipswich, Dom. Bk

[8] *Suff. Traveller*, 1764, p. 53.

[9] Nall, *Hist. Gt. Yarmouth*, 332.

£455. Ten years later, as evidenced before a Parliamentary Commission, the Lowestoft fishermen's wages were from 16*s.* to 18*s.*[1]

In 1863 Boulogne fishermen bought herrings for bait of the Suffolk fishermen at 10*s.* to 13*s.* per 100. One boat made for a catch of 7,000 £33, another sold a last for £60.[2]

It is to the Great Eastern Railway Company that Lowestoft owes its modern prosperity, the port ranking as third in the kingdom as regards the quantity of fish landed,[3] Yarmouth being fifth. The industry is divided into two distinct classes, as in remoter times, viz. : the herring and the mackerel fishing, in both of which floating nets are used, and the trawl fishing, in which a net is drawn or 'trawled' on the bottom of the sea for soles, turbot, plaice, and other fish swimming near the bottom. For each branch separate dock and harbour accommodation is provided, all piers and harbours in the port being owned by the Great Eastern Company.

To the total quantity of herrings landed in 1904 at the thirteen principal ports—namely, 3,151,582 cwt.—Lowestoft contributed 827,477 cwt.[4] The number of regular fishermen resident in the port and employed in fishing in 1905 is as follows :—

Number engaged in trawling (except for shrimps)	1,300
Number engaged in other modes of fishing	2,800
Total . . .	4,100[5]

The number and average net tonnage of steam fishing boats, which were also registered as 'British ships' under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 at the port of Lowestoft in 1905, was 124 of 36 average net tonnage, as against 1 of 32 in 1890. The Lowestoft yawls, which are owned by the beachmen, and are models of form and seaworthiness, are used for salvage purposes, and are exceptionally swift craft.

The following is a summary of the number of boats engaged in the fishing industry at the port of Lowestoft :—

250 Steamers 100 Sailing boats	Engaged in herring and mackerel fishing at Lowestoft, Lerwick, Cornwall, and on the Yorkshire coast.
350 Scotch boats	Catching during Oct., Nov., and Dec.
320 Sailing trawling smacks	
1,020	

On these 7,200 men and boys are employed afloat, whilst about 4,000 men, boys, and women find employment on shore in dealing with the fish caught.

The fishing fleets are made up as follows : 250 steamers and 100 sailing craft, which are used for herring and mackerel catching, and the crews of which number at least 2,800 men and boys. These vessels take part in the fishing at Newlyn and other west-country ports, going also to the Shetlands and on the Yorkshire coast. During the fishing season, which starts in October and lasts until Christmas, the Scotch fleets, numbering 350 boats, arrive in the port and carry 2,800 men with fish from Lowestoft.

The trawling fleet, which consists of 320 sailing trawlers with 1,610 men and boys, is made up of exceptionally smart craft.

The fish are all sold by auction, and buyers come from all parts of Scotland and the north of England, also from Germany, Russia, and other countries, and during the months above quoted some thousands of tons of herrings in a fresh and cured state are conveyed to Germany by steamers which run to Hamburg almost daily.[6] The Scotch curers bring the women and men whom they employ by special trains, the herrings being gutted for the Russian and other ports. Large curing-houses and yards are erected all over the town, forming a very important centre of interest as well as of industry. Bloaters and kippers are the chief fish cured, though other kinds are also dealt with in a lesser degree.

In nearly every case the men and boys on the boats work on the share system, the boats themselves being largely owned by local masters. A few fish companies are in existence, and these are all managed by local experts in the trade.

The value of the fish landed at the port during the year 1904 was £575,930; in 1905 the value was £536,840. The weight landed during these years was, respectively, 58,791 tons and 57,650 tons. In 1851 it is interesting to recall 77,999 packages of fish were despatched by rail from Lowestoft; in 1860, 13,030 tons; in 1864, 17,340 tons.

Fish on the east coast is divided into 'prime' and 'offal.' Under the former category are included soles (a general favourite), turbot, brill, and cod; 'offal' comprising haddock, plaice, and whiting. The term was formerly introduced when fish were abundant and men to catch them few, and the means of conveyance restricted, and it was therefore necessary to throw much of it overboard. It is now applied merely to the cheaper and more plentiful sorts of fish.

One of the leading fish merchants of the town is Mr. E. F. Thain, who supplies thousands of customers in every part of the kingdom, and to

[1] In the winter season of 1904 the average earning per boat at Lowestoft was slightly over £200, allowing, after clearing expenses, about £20 per man for a ten weeks' voyage. *Fish Trade Gaz.* 10 Dec. 1904, p. 24.

[2] Nall, *Gt. Yarmouth*, 304.

[3] In 1905, 667,830 cwt.

[4] *Ann. Rep. Sea Fisheries*, 1904, xiii.

[5] Ibid. 1905.

[6] 120,000 packages of cured herrings went to Holland and Germany for the Christmas season of 1904. *Fish. Trades Gaz.* Jan. 1904, p. 25.

whom we are indebted for the valuable information relative to the fishing industry of Lowestoft.

The women engaged in the fish-curing industry of Lowestoft are employed, first, in splitting the fresh herrings prior to the process of 'kippering,' and, secondly, in packing the kippers in wooden boxes and nailing the lids down. If no herrings arrive on the completion of this part of their task the workers are engaged in making boxes while awaiting the coming of a catch. After this they resume the splitting of the fish, which work is carried on while there are any herrings left. After the split herrings have been put through the pickle and washed in fresh water the women commence putting the herrings on hooks or sticks, and hand them up to the men in the curing tubs till this process is completed.[1]

The following are the number and description of sea-fishing boats at Lowestoft in 1904 :—

	Number of boats
First Class	
Steam (45 ft. keel and upwards) :	
Trawling	7
Other than trawling	105
Sailing (45 ft. keel and upwards) :	
Trawling	234
Partly trawling	—
Other than trawling	122
Less than 45 ft. keel :	
Trawling	—
Partly trawling	—
Other than trawling	8
Second Class	
26 ft. keel and upwards :	
Trawling	—
Partly trawling	—
Other than trawling	—
22–26 ft. keel :	
Trawling	2
Partly trawling	—
Other than trawling	—
Less than 22 ft. keel :	
Trawling	—
Partly trawling	10
Other than trawling	—
Third Class	
Registered	10
Unregistered	—
Total	498

There are at the present time four fishing stations in Suffolk : Lowestoft, Southwold, Thorpe, and Aldeburgh. The following table[2] gives the methods of fishing at each port, the kinds of fish caught, and the dates of fishing seasons :—

Stations	Methods of fishing	Principal kinds of fish caught by each method	Dates of fishing seasons
Lowestoft	Trawling	Brill, soles, turbot, cod, dabs, lemon soles, plaice, rays, whiting	1 Jan. to 31 Dec.
	Drift nets	Herrings	Mar. to May, June and July, Oct. to Dec.
		Mackerel	½ May, June, ½ July, Sept. to Nov.
		Sprats	Nov. and Dec.
Southwold	Trawling, inshore	Soles, plaice, dabs	May to Oct.
	Drift nets	Herrings	Mar. to June, Sept. and Oct.
		Sprats	Oct. to Jan.
	Lines	Cod	Nov. to Jan.
		Dabs	Jan. to Mar.
	Trawling	Shrimps	Feb. to Sept.
Thorpe	Trawling	Soles, plaice	June to Nov.
		Shrimps	Apr. to Nov.
	Drift nets	Herrings	Oct. to Jan.
		Sprats	Nov. to Dec.
	Pots	Crabs	Mar. to Aug.
		Lobsters	Feb. to Aug.
Aldeburgh	Trawling	Soles, plaice, shrimps	June till Mar. and Oct.
	Drift nets	Herrings	May to June, Sept. to Nov., Jan. to Mar.
		Sprats	Oct. to Jan.
	Lines	Cod, codling	Oct. onwards
	Pots	Crabs, lobsters	May to Sept.

The regulation of the sea fisheries of Suffolk at the present time is by the Board of Conservators for the Stour, Suffolk, and Essex Fishery District, acting as a Local Fisheries' Committee under the Sea Fisheries' Regulation Act of 1888, their jurisdiction lying between Covehithe, just above Southwold, and Harwich. The coast between Covehithe and Happisburgh (between Cromer and Yarmouth) is the only piece of coast on the east and south shores of England which is not included in a sea-fisheries' district, or subject to regulation by a sea-fisheries' committee. It includes the two great fishing ports and ancient rivals, Yarmouth and Lowestoft. It is interesting to note in passing that the latter port has almost entirely absorbed the trawling trade from the former.

In the light of its bearing on the pursuit and development of the fishing industry, it may be mentioned that the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom, whose head quarters are

[1] *Ann. Rep. Factories and Workshops*, 1903, p. 33.
[2] *Ann. Rep. Board of Agric. and Fisheries*, 1904, App. ii, 34–5.

at Plymouth, have been entrusted by the port of Lowestoft with the duty of carrying out the English share in the International Fishery and Hydrographical Investigations in the North Sea, and in this connexion have established a marine laboratory at Lowestoft under the direction of Dr. Garstang.

At the moment of writing, we are reminded by the daily press of the right which the Southwold Corporation claims under ancient charters of regulating the fishing in the harbour,[1] whilst Lowestoft is still further extending the scope of its fishing industry by the opening of its new Hamilton Dock for fishing vessels. The ceremony of inauguration took place 5 October, 1906, in the auction mart which has been built by the Great Eastern Railway Company at the junction of the old and new markets. The event is of special interest in the fishing trade in view of the fact that here all herrings and mackerel will in future be sold by sample, replacing the old method of sale whereby the boats' catches were shot on to the floor of the market according to the place where the vessels were moored. In future buyers will cease to suffer from the disadvantage of being unable to see the fish whilst buying, as all will be in view from a gallery in which buyers will sit. Brisk selling was the order of the day on this inaugural occasion. The mayor of Lowestoft was present, and the mayor-elect, Mr. B. S. Bradbeer, conducted the first sale of herrings. The new dock provides 9 acres of additional water area, and 1,600 ft. of landing space. It was estimated that the number of boats which would take part in this autumn's voyage would exceed a thousand sail.[2]

[1] 'Southwold Town Council have accepted half-a-sovereign for the harbour site there. Mr. W. S. Fasey, who has made the purchase, will at once develop the property, which has long lain dormant. The coin which passed is to be mounted in a gold band and attached to the mayoral chain.' *The Standard*, 20 July, 1906.

[2] *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 October, 1906.

SCHOOLS

SUFFOLK, like Essex and other east coast counties, bears manifest traces of its early commercial and industrial prosperity, due to the intercourse with Flanders and the Hanse Towns, in the number and importance of its ancient grammar schools as of its ancient churches. We find specific evidence of not less than a dozen grammar schools in the county before 1548, and we may be sure that there were many more, notices of which have not come down to us. These schools are as usual found in connexion with the secular clergy, not the monks. Indeed, the Suffolk schools emphasize this fact.

It will be seen that this county affords the earliest specific mention of the foundation of a school in England, at Dunwich in the year 631 or thereabouts, and that by a bishop who was not a monk, which school was handed over to the governorship of the regular canons of Eye, four and a half centuries later. At Thetford the school's independence of the monks, who had invaded it on the removal of the cathedral to Norwich in William Rufus' reign, was successfully asserted for the dean by the bishop, and the bishop himself is found nominating the masters till the dissolution of the monasteries. The most conspicuous case, however, is that of Bury St. Edmunds, which has been most persistently called a monastic school and credited to the foundation of the monks in the person of Abbot Samson. Yet the abbey registers themselves furnish the most conclusive proof that the school was not monastic. So far from having been founded by Abbot Samson, the accounts of the two endowments given by him;—first, about 1181, a new schoolhouse, and 18 years afterwards a yearly payment of £2 from a portion of a living in the patronage of the abbot, —afford irrefragable evidence that the school was not founded by this abbot, but was attended by him when he was a boy, a clerk, before he became a monk or a novice, and was under a master who was a clerk and not a monk. The evidence from the abbey registers that this school was outside the precinct of the abbey is equally against its being intended for monks. For the rule of the Benedictines was against the monks going outside the precinct; and though this, like most monastic rules, was often broken, it could not have been broken by boy novices. It is abundantly clear that the school was the public school of the town, that the masters were clerics, not monks, and that all the monastery had to do with it was, in virtue of the episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction transferred to the abbot, to appoint the masters and maintain their rights and privileges. There was a monastic school in the abbey, of course, but among all the voluminous records of the abbey which have descended to us, only a single mention of it—in striking contrast to the numerous references to the public grammar school—has yet been found. That was, when the chronicler vouches[1] as eyewitnesses of a miracle in 1112–14, 'three boys of the monks' school (*de scola monachorum*), namely Ralph, afterwards sacrist, Guy and Walter, who were still living, when the chronicler wrote. There are unfortunately no obedientiaries' rolls here as at Winchester and Durham, which would show us what this so-called school was in point of numbers. But it stands to reason that the number of novices in a monastery which at its highest consisted of 60 to 80 monks,[2] who stayed all their lives, could never have exceeded a dozen, and in point of fact, at Winchester and Durham, was generally under half-a-dozen, and sometimes none. Anyhow, this monks' school did nothing for the general public, who were provided for by the grammar school, which must undoubtedly have existed from the first foundation of Bury by King Athelstan, as a college, not of monks, but of secular priests. It certainly casts a lurid light on the monks' want of care for the welfare of the people by whose industry they were supported that out of their vast possessions, amounting to £2,336 a year, which cannot be put at less than £46,000 a year of our money, they never contributed a farthing of endowment to the grammar school, beyond the £2 a year given by Abbot Samson in 1198. The sole contribution to education by this great abbey, recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, is '£26 13*s.* 4*d.* in alms given yearly to 4 poor scholars of the University of Oxford for their sustentation and maintenance (*exibicione*) there at school.' Though paid by the treasurer

[1] Battely, *Antiquitates Rutupinae et Burgi S. Edmundi* (1745), 61.

[2] In 1514 at Norwich Priory, which should have consisted of 60 monks, there were only 38. At Bury at the dissolution there were 60.

of the abbey this was no monastic endowment, but 'by the foundation of Mary Pakenham by her last will' out of property in Pakenham given by her. £6 a year a piece for 4 university exhibitioners was for those times a rich exhibition, but the monks did not find the money—they were merely trustees of it. They did, of course, contribute young monks as scholars to the university, sending them at Oxford to the joint college of the southern Benedictine monasteries, Gloucester Hall, founded about 1298, and at Cambridge to a hall, the purchase of which, about 1433, by the abbot of Glastonbury on behalf of the Benedictine order in general, is recorded in a Bury register. But there were only 2 or 3 monks at a time at the university, and the obligation to give even this number a good education was due to papal statute as late as 1335.

Bury being exempt from episcopal visitation, we have no information how far the obligation to teach the novices and junior monks grammar and to send some at least to the higher faculties at the universities was observed there. But in the latter fifteenth and in the sixteenth century the reports of visitations by the bishop of Norwich of those monasteries which were not exempt have been preserved and printed.[1] The episcopal visitors at Butley Priory in 1492–5, where were a prior and 13 brethren, found that the brethren 'had no preceptor to teach them grammar,' and in 1514 it required the special interposition of the bishop to make them send to Oxford Brother Thomas Orford, who was 'a good grammarian and given to learning,' though friends were willing to maintain him at the university. John Thetford, another brother, was however studying canon law (*in decretis*) at Oxford. In 1526 they had again to be directly ordered to keep a scholar in the university 'at the expense of this house.' In 1532 they were told to provide a master 'to teach the novices and boys,' i.e. the almonry boys—'singing as far as prick-song (*priksong*) and grammar, and also to maintain a canon in the bosom of the University.' At St. Peter's, Ipswich, where Wolsey shortly afterwards planted his learned secular canons and grammar school, in 1514, they 'have no schoolmaster' and the prior was ordered, not to provide a grammar school for the public (the public, as will be seen, already did that for themselves), but to 'have the brethren taught grammar.' This injunction had to be repeated in 1526. 'Let there be an injunction to provide a teacher to teach the novices.'

At Eye Priory in 1514, there was apparently a master but 'the juniors are negligent in attending school (*in exercendis scolis*).' Eye Priory, however, maintained and clothed 4 poor boys, by ancient custom.

[1] *Norwich Visit.* (ed. Dr. Jessopp), Camd. Soc. (New Ser.), *n.* 39.

While the monasteries did nothing for general education, wherever we find a collegiate church, even in later creations, where a public grammar school was not expressly part of the original foundation, we find a public grammar school springing up. So at Mettingham, which maintained a small boarding school of 14 boys, Stoke-by-Clare, Sudbury, and Wingfield, all bore their part in education. The other grammar schools which appear in the pre-Edwardian days were in connexion with chantries or stipendiary priests or gilds.

It is difficult to make out whether there was any real increase in the number of schools in Tudor days, as in most of the schools there seems to be some evidence or suspicion of existence prior to the Chantries Act, and of the Elizabethan foundation being a revival or new endowment rather than creation *de novo*. Certain it is that there were hardly any new foundations after the reign of Elizabeth.

Most of these grammar schools seem to have flourished, and held their heads high, contributing even more largely to the universities in proportion to their numbers than the great public schools. Like them they catered for the country gentry, the clergy and yeomen of their neighbourhood, and went up or down in size and fame as the reputation of some particular master brought one or other into special prominence and attracted boarders from distant parts of Suffolk or from the neighbouring counties. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century a blight came over many of them, especially those which failed to provide buildings more suited to the times, or fell into the hands of masters, who either had livings at the same time and neglected their schools, or remained at their posts after they were too old. When first stage-coaches and then railways annihilated distance, these unfortunates languished on as third-grade grammar schools, or were degraded into elementary schools. Bury alone seems to have preserved a persistently high standard, and even as late as 1848 to have ranked among the greater public schools.

The decay of Suffolk as an industrial centre and its almost exclusively agrarian character, with the consequent falling-off in population no doubt affected these schools. This falling-off probably accounts for the exceptionally scanty number of endowed elementary schools founded in the county up to 1750, which is in marked contrast with the large number of its early grammar schools. Whether in these days, when parents seek to plant their boys at schools away from towns, a more brilliant future is not in store for Suffolk schools, time and the county council alone can tell. Certain it is that without good buildings, excellent equipment, ample recreation grounds, and well-paid assistant masters, no secondary school in these days can become or remain a centre of light and leading.

DUNWICH SCHOOL

Suffolk has the honour of having been the seat of the earliest school the foundation of which is recorded in English history. 'At this time,' says Bede,[1] speaking of about the year 631, 'Sigbert presided over the kingdom of the East Saxons. He, while he was in exile in Gaul, seeking refuge from the enmity of Redwald, received baptism. After his return, as soon as he had obtained the kingdom, wishing to imitate what he had seen well done in Gaul, he founded a school in which boys might be taught grammar (*instituit scolam, in qua pueri litteris erudirentur*) with the assistance of Bishop Felix, whom he had received from Kent, who provided them ushers and masters after the fashion of the Kentish men (*eisque pedagogos ac magistros juxta morem Cantuariorum prebente*).' This is a passage of the highest importance in the history of schools, as it shows that the school at Canterbury was an established institution long before the Greek Archbishop Theodore, establishes its claim as the oldest school in England, and irresistibly suggests that it was coeval with Christianity in England, and founded by St. Augustine. The place where the East Anglian school was set up is not stated. But we are told in another place[2] that Felix had come from Burgundy, where he was born, and was ordained by Archbishop Honorius, who had sent him to preach the word of life to the East Angles, and that he had converted the whole nation, 'and had taken (*accepit*) his see in the city of Dunwich (Dumnoc),' where eighteen years afterwards he ended his life in peace. It may therefore be safely inferred that the school also was set up in the ecclesiastical capital, just as the chief school of the 'Cantwara' was at 'Cantwarabyrig,' or Canterbury.

In 673 the East Anglian see was divided, Norfolk becoming a separate bishopric with its see at Elmham. But we may suppose that the restriction of the labours of the Bishop of Dunwich to Suffolk only did not lessen the personal interest he took in the grammar school, the maintenance of which was an important part of the episcopal duties.

Our next glimpse of the school is 500 years later, on the foundation of the priory of Eye, some time after the year 1076, and before 1083,[3] by Robert Malet. Dunwich had then long been deposed from episcopal status, and its younger rival Elmham had also been superseded in 1075 in favour of Thetford. Moreover, Dunwich was a manor in secular hands, and of the two carucates of which it consisted, one had been swallowed up by the sea. Nevertheless, while there was only one church there in the time of Edward the Confessor, now there were 3, and the burgesses had grown in number from 120 to 236, besides 178 'poor men.'

Robert Malet now granted to his new priory[4] 'all the churches of Dunwich, built or to be built' (no doubt some were then building), 'the tithe of the whole town both of cash and herrings, a fair at St. Leonard's feast for 3 days; the school also of the same town (*scolas eciam eiusdem ville*).'

In 3 other places we have seen the new Norman lord transferring to a new Norman foundation the government of the school of the town —Christchurch (Hampshire),[5] Warwick, and Pontefract—while similar transfers will be in evidence incidentally at Bedford, Derby, Gloucester, and probably elsewhere. The Normans apparently wished to tune the schools as Elizabeth in later times did the pulpits,[6] and take them out of the hands of the secular clergy, who were English, and presumably patriots, and put them in the dead hands of alien orders. At Dunwich, the result of the transfer was to destroy all further trace of the history of the school. All the registers of Eye have disappeared, though two were known to be in existence as late as 1731. When the priory was dissolved, whatever endowments (if any) this school possessed were, as part of the monastic possessions, confiscated, and the school disappeared. Successive inroads of the sea having reduced Dunwich to a village, the grammar school never revived, and we hear of this ancient foundation no more.

THETFORD SCHOOL

Thetford, which succeeded in 1075 to the pride of place from which Elmham and Dunwich had fallen, and became the East Anglian see, also furnishes very early evidence of the existence of its school. Under Edward the Confessor there had been 944 burgesses, and though they had fallen at the time of Domesday to 720, it was still one of the great towns. Probably, therefore, it had a school before it became a bishop's see, but in any case, having become a bishop's see, a grammar school would have been attached to it as a matter of course.

After Thetford was in its turn deposed from episcopal dignity, by Bishop Herbert Losinga in 1094 transferring the see to Norwich, the ex-cathedral church of St. Mary was in 1107 transmuted by Roger Bigod into a Cluniac priory. But 7 years later the priory was moved to a

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 18. The Saxon Chronicle gives the date of Felix's mission as 636; but, as Mr. Plummer has shown in his edition of Bede (ii, 106), this is five years too late; and it cannot be earlier than 630, as three years of relapse into paganism had followed Earpwald's murder in 627 or 628.

[2] Ibid. ii, 15.

[3] i.e. between the date of Robert Malet succeeding his father William and the death of Queen Matilda, who is mentioned as a patroness of his foundation.

[4] Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 405.

[5] *V. C. H. Hants*, ii, 152; *Yorks*, i.

[6] A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Warwick School and College*, p. 7.

more ample site outside the town. Though vouched by Bigod as advising the establishment of the priory, Bishop Herbert seems not to have wholly relished the establishment of this particular order in it, alien priory as it was, subject to a foreign house, and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. He successfully contested with the priory the possession of the body of its founder, and buried it in Norwich Cathedral. In like manner, on the transfer of the priory outside the town, he rescued the school from the clutches of the monks and restored it to a representative of the secular clergy, the dean, who, even if he was only dean of Christianity, at all events in that capacity retained some of the attributes of the dean of the cathedral chapter and his archidiaconal powers, including the probate of wills. Apparently the government of this school had been taken away and transferred to the monks when they were established in the ex-cathedral, but now, *circa* 1114, the dean recovered it.

Herbert[1] the bishop to his brethren[2] and his sons[3] of Thetford know ye that I have given back to Dean Bund his school at Thetford as he ever better and more fully[4] held it, and I order that no such school shall be held there, except his own or any which he shall allow.

This is extremely interesting, as it is the earliest specimen yet known to the present writer of that assertion of the monopoly of the authorized grammar schoolmaster which we find at London and Winchester under Bishop Henry of Blois in the reign of Stephen, and as will be seen below at Bury St. Edmunds in the thirteenth, and at many places in other succeeding centuries.

The school of Thetford thus restored to secular management appears at intervals afterwards in the bishop's registers, in successive appointments of head masters. Thus on 2 September, 1328, Edmund of Mendham, priest, was appointed by the bishop to the custody of the grammar school.[5]

Again, 5 August, 1329, we find that 'the lord bishop conferred the keeping and teaching of the grammar school at Thetford belonging to his collation on Master John of Morden, acolyte, with all its rights and appurtenances, to hold so long as the lord bishop pleased, and he instituted the same Master John as master and keeper of the same.'[6]

On 20 April, 1342,[7] an appointment in similar terms was made by the bishop at Thorney of Master Robert of Hulme, when letters issued to all abbots, priors, rectors, parish priests, vicars, and all persons cleric and lay throughout the diocese to accept the said Robert as master in form aforesaid. This very exceptional solemnity of notice is a testimony to the importance of the office of grammar schoolmaster of the ex-cathedral town, and shows that there must have been some challenge of the bishop's right of appointment, probably on the part of the prior of Thetford, or the prior and chapter of Norwich, or both. The appointment of Robert of Hulme (*sic*) clerk, was repeated on 10 May following, 1343,[8] by Bishop Anthony Bek at London, with a clause added :—

And although the masters and keepers of the said school for the time being used to be removed at the good pleasure of the diocesans of the place, and others substituted in the said keepership in their room, we, having regard to your personal merits, will and grant so far as in us lies, that such keepership may remain in you for the term of your life, saving in all things the episcopal customs and the right and dignity of our church of Norwich.

On 24 October, 1374,[9] Peter Rolf of Eveden, priest, was made perpetual master. On 22 August, 1402,[10] 'the lord committed the teaching and governance of the grammar-school of the town of Thetford to one Edward Eyr, and preferred him as master in the same after the form of past time.' The special mention of the school of the town at once negatives any idea of the school being in the priory, or having anything to do with it. On 23 September, 1424,[11] Master Hugh Anderton was appointed in the same form, but this time only at pleasure, while in the appointment of James Wale, clerk, 12 March, 1434–5, nothing is said about the term of appointment. In the appointment in 1496 of William Rudston, M.A., there was a reversion to the longer term, he being appointed for life. He was no doubt the William Rudston who became[12] a 'questionist,' the first stage in becoming B.A., at Cambridge in 1486–7, paying a shilling fee and depositing a silver gilt cover as security (*cautio*).

What happened to the school after this does not appear. The deanery of Thetford was

[1] 'Herbertus episcopus fratribus et filiis apud Tedford. Sciatis me reddidisse Bundo Decano scolas suas apud Tedford sicut unquam melius et integrius habuit; et precipio ut alie scole non habeantur ibi, nisi sue vel quas ipse permiserit.' Anstruther's *Epistolae Herberti Losinge* xxxij. The last word is corrected from premiserit, which would be meaningless.

[2] i.e. the monks, for Herbert had himself been an abbot, though not a Cluniac.

[3] i.e. the secular clergy of Thetford.

[4] i.e. independently.

[5] *Scolarum gramaticalium*, not as misread in Francis Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii, 128, grammar scholars.

[6] Epis. Reg. Norw. ii, fol. 30. 'Dominus episcopus contulit custodiam et regimen scolarum gramaticalium Thetford vacancium et ad collacionem suam spectancium . . . et eundem Magistrum Johannem in magistrum earundem prefecit et custodem.'

[7] Norw. Epis. Reg. iii, fol. 54.

[8] Ibid. fol. 70.

[9] Blomefield, *Norf.* ii, 128.

[10] Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, fol. 284.

[11] Ibid. viii, fol. 89.

[12] *Camb. Grace Bk. A*, ed. Stanley M. Leathes, 204, 207.

abolished in 1540, and it may have been considered to disappear with it, or there may have been some endowment held by a religious house, which, according to the legal doctrine adopted, was confiscated with the house.

By will of 23 January, 1566, Sir Robert Fulmerston gave the Trinity Churchyard and the Black Friars' Churchyard to his executors, Thomas duke of Norfolk, and three others and their heirs, and 3 tenements in St. Mary's, Thetford, in one of which R. Hargreaves dwelt and the others were decayed, and also another tenement in which certain poor folk dwelt, with lands at Croxton, on condition within 7 years after his death to procure a licence to erect and establish a free grammar school in Thetford, the 3 tenements to be chambers for the master and usher, and the Black Friars' yard for a schoolhouse to be built upon; while the poor folks' tenement was to be for an almshouse. There was to be a preacher to preach in St. Mary's and 4 times a year to preach in remembrance of the founder at 10*s.* a sermon. The lands at Croxton were to go to Edward Clare and his heirs, on condition of settling lands worth £35 a year; this sum to go in certain specified proportions to the preacher, schoolmaster, usher, and poor, which sums made up the whole £35 a year.

It is probable that Hargreaves was schoolmaster already. For what happened was that the trustees built the schoolhouse on one corner of the Black Friars' yard with a chamber for the master, but made no provision of the kind for the preacher or usher. In the first 20 years after the will they paid the schoolmaster 20 marks (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*), the usher £5, and the preacher £2 a year, and to the 4 poor people a shilling a week each. For the next 14 years they paid the schoolmaster £20 and left the others as before.

The master who enjoyed the augmented stipend was the Rev. William Jenkinson. The landowner seems to have claimed the whole surplus income as his own. But a private Bill was promoted in Parliament to establish the right of the charity to it. The matter was referred to the two Chief Justices, Fleming and the celebrated Coke of *Coke on Littleton*. Thus the Thetford School case, reported 8 Co. 130, became a famous leading case on the law of schools and charities. The chief justices certified their opinion that the whole 'revenue of the lands,' which had grown from £35 to £100 a year, 'shall be employed to increase the several stipends and, if any surplus, nothing to be converted by the devisees to their own use'; for the founder had divided up the whole income at the time and given nothing to the devisees, thereby showing that 'he intended all the profits of the land shall be employed in the charitable works by him founded.' The House of Lords, 'upon conference with all the judges,' agreed. So both Houses passed the Bill, and the principle, which has ever since governed the construction of deeds and wills founding charities, was firmly established.

A private Act of 7 James I was passed, which incorporated the foundation as 'the Master and Fellows of the School and Hospital of Thetford, founded by King James according to the will of Sir Robert Fulmerston,' the king not giving a penny of endowment to the foundation to which he affixed his name. A very ecclesiastical tinge was given to it by the preacher, who was to be always the curate, i.e. incumbent, of St. Mary's, being made Master of the Hospital at a salary of £30 a year, while the schoolmaster was only given 40 marks, or £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, the usher £20, and the poor 2*s.* a week. The municipal corporation were made the governing body, and their consent was necessary to leases by the corporation of master and fellows. A new school and houses for preacher, master, and usher, and poor, were ordered to be built. The Act gave the school new life. After a short tenure of five years by a Mr. Smith, who was also curate of St. Mary's from 1624 to 1629, the Rev. William Ward occupied the post throughout 'the troubles' undisturbed, and contributed divers boys to the Cambridge Colleges of Caius and St. John's, some of them evidently boarders from a distance. After the Restoration, under the Rev. Mr. Keene from 1662 to 1681, or later, we find the sons not only of clerics but of knights and baronets coming thence to St. John's College. After that the Rev. John Price was master. He was[1] a 'sequestrator' of St. Peter's, rector of Santon in Norfolk, and Honington in Suffolk, as well as 'master of the free school,' and curate of St. Cuthbert's, Thetford, where having died 27 February, 1736, he is buried, under a stone without inscription, by the middle buttress of the south aisle wall. The historian of Norfolk, who was 'brought up under him above 10 years,' supplies the want of an inscription by stating that he was 'a man of sound learning and great eloquence, an excellent preacher, discreet master, agreeable companion and true friend.' In 1738, the Rev. Thomas Eversdon was promoted from being usher to head master, acting as usher as well, a conjunction which points to decay in the school. St. John's College Registers know it no more. In 1818 the Rev. H. C. Manning, LL.D., had been master since 1778 and 'had for some time past from advance of years,' declined private pupils. The Rev. William Storr, LL.D., as usher, did the work, but there were only 20 or 30 boys in the school.

When the commissioners of inquiry into charities visited in 1834, they found the school practically divided into two schools, one under the master, the other under the usher, who set up as an independent potentate. The head master was the Rev. R. Ward, appointed in 1830, and he had under him precisely 12 boys,

[1] Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ii, 66.

7 boarders and 5 paying day-scholars, while one free foundationer divided his time between master and usher. The usher was Mr. Storr, the son of the former master, and had held office since 1809. He had 34 boys, 21 free and 13 paying, learning little but the 3 R's. The commissioners expressed a very strong opinion that the head master had full authority over the usher, and that in the interests of the school the corporation should see to it that this was recognized in practice. In 1866, in spite of a Chancery scheme made in 1860, there were only 25 boys at fees of £2 a year.

A scheme made under the Endowed Schools Acts on 24 March, 1876, established a representative governing body, pensioned off the then master and usher, and severed the preachership from the mastership, usually held with it. Under the Rev. Benjamin Reed, B.A. Lond., 1882, appointed head master 1884, with two assistant masters, there are now 55 boys, of whom 21 are boarders, paying tuition fees of 6 guineas a year.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It may safely be assumed that Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School began with the college of secular priests, instituted there by King Athelstan, as at Beverley in Yorkshire, Ripon, and Durham. These colleges were founded in pursuance of the settled policy of the Lady of the Mercians, Ethelfled, and King Edward the Elder, in consolidating their conquests from the Danes by the establishment of burghs with full civil and ecclesiastical institutions, conspicuous being a collegiate church with its invariable concomitant a grammar school, thus confirming 'by arts what she had achieved by arms, educating the heathen when she had subdued them.'[1]

When the secular canons were turned out, as it is said, by King Canute, the school must no doubt have been continued, and when the abbot was given episcopal powers, if it had not done so before, must have fallen under the government of the monastery. Whether that took place in the reign of William the Conqueror, as is probable, or earlier, as certain charters forged by the monks alleged, it is difficult to decide. The earliest actual mention of Bury School is about 1181. Abbot Samson, the hero of the chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond, soon after he had been made abbot (1180), when Master Walter, son of Master William of Diss (Dice), asked by way of charity for the vicarage of Cheventon, answered—

> Your father was schoolmaster, and when I was a poor clerk he granted me the entry of his school and the benefit of learning in it without any payment (*pacto*) and by way of charity, so I for God's sake grant you what you ask.

Soon after

> the abbot bought a stone house (*domos lapideas*) in the town of St. Edmunds, and assigned it for keeping school in it (*eas scolarum regimini assignavit*) on condition that four clerks should for ever be free of the rent of the house, towards which every scholar whether able or not was compelled to pay a penny or a halfpenny twice a year.

As was seen to be the case at Winchester, Durham, and St. Albans, the school was not in the abbey or its precinct, but outside it in the town, it was taught by a secular not by a monk, and was frequented by scholars who were clerks not monks. At Bury the school was not apparently endowed, as free scholars were only admitted by favour of the master, and consequently the scholars even had to pay the rent of the schoolhouse, until Abbot Samson bought the stone house and gave it to the school.

The excellent abbot's charity was not quite so great as appears at first sight, as there is every reason to believe that it was a Jew's house, which he got at a low price, since it was precisely at this time that he got leave from the king to expel the Jews from Bury, on the ground that everyone within the sacred league[2] (*bannam leucam*) must be either men of St. Edmund or go. They preferred to go, and were allowed to take their personal property with them, but had to sell their houses. The foundation of the hospital at Babwell by the same abbot at the same time was due to the utilization of the same opportunities.

We are able to fix the exact site of the school from the 13th century deeds in the Register of the cellarer of the abbey.[3] By an undated deed witnessed by Geoffrey son of Robert le Hacherman (a strange corruption for alderman) and Nicholas Fuke and Gilbert of Grim, bailiffs; Luke Johnson and John the goldsmith, Sara Sturbote gave her son Michael and his children Michael and Yvette (Ivota) for 30s. in silver half a house at the entrance of the street called Scolhallestrete by the high school (*juxta magnas*[4] *scolas*) between the street leading to the alderman's grange and the messuage of the said Michael. By a later deed of 25 April, 1295,[5] under the heading of Reymstrete and Scolhallestret the

[1] A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Warwick School and College*, 12.

[2] At Bury, as at Beverley and Ripon and others of Athelstan's foundations, the 'liberty' of the college extended for a mile in every direction, and was marked by 4 crosses at the 4 points of the compass. This liberty was a sanctuary, and heavy penalties were imposed for any breach of the peace in its limits.

[3] Camb. Univ. Lib. G.G. iv, 4, fol. 249.

[4] cf. magnus chorus = high choir; magnus cancellarius = high chancellor.

[5] Camb. Univ. Lib. G.G. iv, 4, fol. 135.

said Michael Sturbote—but whether father or son is not clear—granted to Matilda Sudbury, wife of Robert Hod, for a mark of silver, a toft at the High School (*apud magnas scolas*) lying between the king's way on one side and a messuage of Walter Hangemore on the other, abutting at one end (*caput*) on Hod's toft and at the other in Reym Strete, 17 ft. long by 16 ft. broad. The deed was endorsed 'for the Sacrist.' As Schoolhallstreet still bears the same name, and the alderman's grange is now the Shire Hall, and Reym Street is Rungate Street, there is no difficulty in pointing out the exact spot. It was and is of course well outside the abbey precinct and in the town; a conclusive proof that it was no monastic school in the sense usually attached to that term.

In process of time, just as the bishops' possessions rights and privileges became severed from those of the chapter, which they had originally held in common, so were estates allotted to the abbots separated from those of the Benedictine monasteries of the monks at large.[1] In a series of chapters (*capitula*) containing the customs or 'statutes' of the abbey (which have come down to us only in a thirteenth-century copy) the first heading or chapter is 'that some things specially belong to the abbey and some to the convent.' The sixth heading[2] is 'On the collation of schools, to whom they belong and how masters are removed or appointed.' The chapter runs as follows :—[2]

> The collation of the school of S. Edmund belongs to the abbot in the same way as the collation of churches in which the convent receives some yearly interest, and the aforesaid school ought to be conferred like the aforesaid churches, namely, with the assent of the convent. The schools indeed on the manor of Mildenhall and of Beccles are by law to be conferred by those in whose custody the manors are. And it is to be noted that when a schoolmaster (*rector scolarum*) is to be removed he ought to be given notice by the person who appointed him (*datore*) before Whitsuntide. If on the other hand the master wishes to retire, he is bound to give like notice to the person who appointed him, i.e. the abbot, the sacrist, or deputy (*vices gerentis*) of the abbot and convent.

The fifth chapter tells us how the collation is made to churches in which the convent have a yearly interest, viz. by the abbot, with the consent of the convent after due notice. The school therefore was treated just like an ecclesiastical benefice, as to all intents and purposes it was, except that the holder was not bound to be in holy orders. The implication of the ubiquity of schools by the reference to schools outside Bury in the dependent manors of the abbey is remarkable.

At first there seems to have been no endowment of Bury School, which was dependent on fees. In a statement of the ancient customs of the abbey we find[3] that on the evening before Maundy Thursday the almoner of the abbey ought to receive 150 swans[4] to make his maundy, which he ought to give to these persons; the prior 3, himself 12 or more, his sub-almoner 2, the cellarer, the principal officer of the abbey, 22, the chamberlain (or bursar) 7 and sometimes 2 more as a matter of grace, the schoolmaster (*magistro scolarum*) 13, and so on. Each private monk got one. An account is also given of a 'custom in school for cocks on Shrove Tuesday,'[5] by which someone, it does not say who, had to distribute cocks to all the servants of the abbey, the 'steyrars' having 2, the carpenter 1, and so forth. The custom of the schoolmaster providing cocks for 'cock-shys' or for cock-fights, on Shrove Tuesday extended far down in the eighteenth century in some places, and a learned origin and philosophic defence of the cock-fights was given by Christopher Johnson, M.D., head master of Winchester, to his boys in 1564. The occasion of these cock-fights was utilized for the boys to bring presents from themselves and their parents, which, in free grammar schools where fees were forbidden, afforded an ingenious way of mitigating the rigour of the law, and providing something like a decent salary for the master. We may therefore safely conclude that at Bury the schoolmaster provided these cocks and got a return for doing so.

Eighteen years after the gift of the schoolhouse, Abbot Samson gave the school a small endowment. 'When[6] (*c.* 1198) an agreement had been made between Abbot Samson and Sir Robert of Scales, knight, about a moiety of the advowson of the church of Wetherdene, and the said Robert had recognized the rights of St. Edmund and the abbot, the abbot, without a previous covenant or any promise, gave that half of the church to Master Roger of Scales, the knight's brother, on condition of his paying an annual pension of 3 marks to the sacrist for the schoolmaster who for the time being taught in the town of St. Edmund (*magistro scolarum quicunque legeret in villa S. Edmundi*). This the abbot did through gratitude for the kindness above related, that, as he had first bought the stone house for the

[1] At Bury the division of estates said to have been made *temp.* Henry I, was solemnly confirmed by charter by Edward I in 1281 at a cost, the chronicler says, of £1,000, a sum we can hardly put at less than £30,000 of our money. *Cont. Chron. Flor. Wigorn.* By B. Thorpe (Engl. Hist. Soc.), 1849, p. 225. This part of the MS. was written late in Henry III or early in the days of Edward I, in about 1260–80.

[2] Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 95*b*: 'Collacio scolarum, quibus spectat et qualiter magistri amovendi sive constituendi sint. Collacio quidem scolarum S. Edmundi sic pertinet ad abbatem sicut collacio ecclesiarum, in quibus conventus aliquid percipit annuum.'

[3] Ibid. fol. 52.

[4] Signis, apparently for cygnis.

[5] Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 213. 'Consuetudo in scolis de gallis die martis ante cineres.'

[6] Ibid. fol. 133.

school, so that poor clerks might be quit of the rent of a house, so now they might be henceforth quit of all payment of fees (*denariorum*) which the schoolmaster according to custom exacted for his teaching. 'And, by the will of God in the lifetime of the abbot the whole moiety of the aforesaid church, worth, as it is said, 100*s.* was converted to these uses.'

A note, not forming part of Brakelond's chronicle,[1] but a sort of appendix to it, informs us that—

> at the time when Abbot Samson made the schoolhouse at his own expense and caused a rent of 3 marks a year to be paid to the schoolmaster, he showed the reason for doing so, and established it in full chapter; that all the scholars both rich and poor should be quit for ever of hiring the house, and that 40 poor clerks might be free of all fees (*quieti ab omni exaccione*) to the master for their instruction. Among the 40 ought to be first reckoned the relations of the monks so long as they wish to learn, and the remainder ought to be supplied at the discretion of the schoolmaster. And for this reason the master was allowed always to have 2 clerks boarded in the almonry (*in elemosinaria comedentes*), who are bound to attend the school at three terms of the year when the master begins his lectures (*incipiente legere*), viz. Michaelmas, after Christmas, and after Easter; and when his lectures stop they must retire, except before Easter when they may stay to the Lord's Supper (i.e. till Maundy Thursday). The same custom obtains for the Usher (*Ostiario Scolarum*). And all the clerks who are boarded in the almonry ought to attend school in the same way; but they ought to be reckoned in the aforesaid number, that the master may not be overburdened.

The mention of an usher and 40 free scholars shows that the school was already well frequented and highly organized.

On 27 April,[2] 1193, John, then bishop of Norwich, at Ipswich, at the petition and presentation of Abbot Samson, patron of half the church of Wetherden, granted and confirmed in pure and perpetual alms to the master teaching school at Bury St. Edmunds, whoever he might be, three marks, i.e. 40*s.* from that half. Yet on 9 June, 1314, the payment had been challenged by the then rector and had to be solemnly confirmed by the bishop's commissioners at a visitation. A hundred years later,[3] 7 January, 1419–20, the then rector John Brigtyefe, after legal proceedings not reported, entered into a recognizance that the annual pension of 40*s.* was due from him and paid a noble (6*s.* 8*d.*) apparently by way of costs.

In that golden age of litigation, the second half of the thirteenth century, we find the rights of the grammar school the subject of several lawsuits. In the first of these—the exact date is not given, but as the next succeeding document is dated in April, 16 Edward I, it must be about 1287—one J. of C.[4] had cited R. of C. before Mr. S. of C., the schoolmaster, for defaming his state (*super status sui diffamacione*). What exactly that may mean, whether it was an allegation that the scholar was a villein, and therefore not properly admissible to the school, or whether it merely meant that the boy was charged with misconduct, is not clear. At all events, the defendant R. of C. appealed to the sacrist of the monastery, and the sacrist, William of Hoo, issued a prohibition to Mr. S. of C. telling him that his claim to have cognizance of all cases between clerks and laymen was bad, since by ancient and hitherto approved custom cases between clerks and laymen, except in the single case of violent assault by laymen on his own scholars or vice versa, belonged not to the master but to the sacrist. Further, even if the ordinary jurisdiction belonged to the schoolmaster, as he had refused to seal the article or bill brought against R. of C. by J. of C. on which he had made a decree, or to state a case for appeal, and had refused to stay execution pending an appeal, an appeal lay to the sacrist. So the sacrist forbade the master to proceed further, and called up the case to himself. He then issued a mandate to certain officials, not named, directing them to excommunicate 'all those who to the damage of the school of St. Edmund held adulterine schools in the same borough, and those who treat the said schools as deserted, till they have made satisfaction to the master, and obtained absolution.'

The schoolmaster did not sit quiet under this interference of the sacrist, but appealed to the abbot, John of Norwold. He promptly in his turn issued a prohibition to the sacrist. The abbot says he had—

> received the plaint of the schoolmaster reciting that though by ancient and approved custom the master had hitherto enjoyed full jurisdiction over all offenders against his scholars and had duly summoned W. de C. at the instance of his scholar J. de C., the sacrist, pretending that he was the schoolmaster's superior in this matter, had called up the case before himself, and had given no assistance to the injured scholar.

The abbot, therefore, finding that whatever jurisdiction the schoolmaster claimed was derived from himself, the abbot, and that if an appeal lay, it lay to his immediate superior the abbot and not to the sacrist, told the sacrist not to interfere, but to let the schoolmaster freely exercise 'his or rather our' jurisdiction. There the record with its usual tantalizing fragmentariness ends. But as the documents are found entered

[1] Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 130. A copy is in B.M. Add. MSS. 14848, fol. 136*b*.

[2] Ibid. fol. 136. [3] Ibid. fol. 120.

[4] Harl. MS. 230, fol. 5 (fol. 12 pencil.) Only the initials of the names are given in the original MS. and it seems probable that C. is used as meaning any place, as the M. or N. of the Church Catechism for any name. In B.M. Add. MSS. 14848, fol. 136*b*, is a later copy of this in which E. and not C. is the initial used.

in the sacrist's register no doubt he acquiesced in the abbot's claim and recognized the schoolmaster's jurisdiction.

The jurisdiction of the master not only over his scholars but over any cause between a scholar and an outsider was recognized, as we have seen,[1] at St. Albans and at Canterbury in the fourteenth century, and is still recognized in the Vice-Chancellors' courts at Oxford and Cambridge as between undergraduates and the public.

A year or two later we get two interesting documents in connexion with the grammar schoolmaster's legal monopoly of teaching, to the exclusion of all other schoolmasters not licensed by him; a monopoly recognized as we have seen at Thetford *circa* 1114, in the case of the schoolmaster of St. Paul's School, London, in 1137 and 1446, in the case of the schoolmaster of the High School, Winchester, in 1135, and of the head master of Winchester College in 1630, and at Canterbury, York, Lincoln and Beverley in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The document runs: 'A. of B., Official of C.' (the initials are again fictitious, the document being entered as a precedent or common form) 'to the discreet men constituted in such and such a place:'

Whereas we understand that certain pedagogues,[2] wrongly using the title of master, with sacrilegious daring usurping the jurisdiction of Sir C. of teaching, rashly presume to teach school without his authority within the liberty of Saint Edmund, keep adulterine schools,[3] pretending to teach dialecticians, grammarians, and pupils of all kinds publicly assembled, without the assent of Sir C. and against the will of the Schoolmaster of S. Edmunds, to the prejudice of the church and school of the same place, eluding the jurisdiction of the apostolic see to the scandal and contempt of the church and school (*ecclesie et scolarum*) of St. Edmund.

In most solemn form therefore

to bridle these presumptuous persons' rash audacity and in reverence to the most holy see and in consideration of the most glorious King and Martyr Edmund, and on pain of excommunication which we hereby declare if you are disobedient,

the Official directs the clergy he is addressing to excommunicate the offending 'pedagogues, grammarians, and pupils meeting indiscriminately and publicly,' and to go on doing it as long as the master shall ask it. Further, they were publicly to denounce the culprits as excommunicated with candles burning and bells ringing during high mass

until by satisfying Sir C. for their contempt and the Master for their trespass they have earned the benefit of absolution in due form of law.

[1] *V. C. H. Herts.* ii.

[2] The pedagogue was, strictly speaking, the slave who took the Greek or Roman boys to school, not the schoolmaster.

[3] Scholas [*sic*, the use of the 'h' in the word at this time is unique] infra libertatem Sancti Edmundi regant adulterinas, dialecticos glomerellos seu discipulos quoscumque pupplice congregatos indistincte dogmatizare fingentes.'

Anyone disobeying was to be brought before the Official in the chapel of St. John at the Fount.

A mandate in precisely similar terms, clearly modelled on this, is given in Abbot Curteys' Register as issuing from Clement Denston, archdeacon of Sudbury, to the Dean of T. (*sic*) in which for Dominus C. is substituted Dominus William, Abbot, i.e. Abbot Curteys: and for the chapel of St. John ad Fontem, the church of Fornham. It is undated, but must be between 1423 when Denston was made archdeacon, and 1434 when he was convicted of divers adulteries and rape.

On a later page another similar mandate is given directed against a single individual named John Harrison (*filium Henrici*) for presuming to keep an adulterine school and teaching grammarians (*glomerellos*) or other pupils (*discipulos*) not as doctor but rather as seductor (*non ut doctor quin potius seductor*) against the privileges of the monastery and school of St. Edmunds. He was directed to desist within 8 days from his adulterine school so unlawfully held on pain of the greater excommunication.

The use of the word 'glomerellos,' small grammarians, as distinguished from the dialecticians, the more advanced scholars who had passed on to dialectics, or the art of argument, shows that the school of Bury St. Edmunds was, as we should say, of the first grade. The earlier rival schoolmasters had even ventured to trespass to the extent of dialectic; the later one, John Harrison, had only held probably a kind of preparatory school which did not venture beyond grammar. The word 'glomerelli' is a curious and characteristically mediaeval corruption of grammaticuli. It was used at Cambridge, the master of Glomery being the doyen or superintendent of the grammar schools there. He is mentioned in 1533–4.[4] Oddly enough the only use of the word which has been found at Oxford is in the accounts for the year 1277 of the grammar school attached to Merton College, and remains in MS.[5] It was in use at Salisbury in the 14th century,[6] where the same house is described in a deed of 1308 as scole glomerie, and in one of 1322 as scole gramaticales, thus establishing the identity of meaning beyond doubt.

Besides the grammar school there was a song school, which was seemingly almost equally ancient, and the master of which enjoyed a like monopoly for teaching song and the psalter. On Friday after St. Agatha's Day (5 February) 1290–1, the sacrist, William of Hoo, as archdeacon, issued[7] a mandate on behalf of it to

[4] Camb. Grace Book, A. 223.

[5] Merton MSS. 3964*a*. I am indebted to the warden and fellows of Merton for the opportunity of going through these accounts.

[6] *Hist. MSS. Rep. Misc.* (1901), 343, 345.

[7] Harl. MS. 645, fol. 67*b*, (86*b*, pencil).

'all and singular chaplains as well parochial as chapels.' He recited that

by long custom it had been granted and it had from time whereof there is no memory peacefully obtained that no one should dare to teach boys their psalters or singing without the licence of the master of the Assembly of Twelve (*congregacionis duodene*) ; and we are informed that there are some who presume to keep adulterine schools in parish churches and in chapels and other places in our territory aforesaid to the prejudice of the master aforesaid and the peril of their own souls.

He ordered the parochial and other chaplains to inhibit all such persons on pain of excommunication from presuming

to do such things henceforth without the licence of the master, in the places aforesaid or elsewhere except in the Song School.

Any disobeying were to be summoned before the sacrist at Glashows, from which place he dated his letter, on Thursday after 24 February.

The reference to the Assembly of Twelve explains an institution which has been a matter of mystery and some bad guessing. It refers undoubtedly to the gild, which in a will of 1435[1] is called 'the gilde of the translacione of Seynt Nicholas, otherwyse called Dusgilde,' of which a leaden token has been found with the inscription : *Signum Gilde S. Nichi Congregacio Dusse*. Various wild derivations have been made and assigned to explain the word Dusse. One was that it might have been the mark of the merchant gild with their Pie-poudre or *Dusty* foot court[2] (!) and another that it was a corruption of Deus. It is clear that Dusse is merely a corruption, or rather anglification, of Douze, i.e. twelve. In a Latin will made in 1418, Agnes Stubbard gave 'to two chaplains gilde de dusze 3*s*. 4*d*., and to the rest of the chaplains of the said gild each of them 2*s*. A 'Priour of Dusgylde' is mentioned in the will of John Baret in 1435 already quoted. In 1503 John Coote bequeathed 'to Seynt Nicholas Gild named Dusse gild holden in the colage 3*s*. 4*d*.' The college was a much later foundation, which was not yet incorporate, when John Smith, the founder of what is called the Guildhall Feoffment Charity, made his will 12 December, 1480, and gave land to it 'whensomever the said collage be so incorporate.' It was the Gild of Jesus, and incorporated shortly afterwards.

In 1281,[3] on Edward I's visit to Bury in the course of raising a forced loan for the conquest of Wales, the brotherhood of the twelve (*Fraternitas duodene ville S. Edmundi*) was taxed 12 marks towards it, while the abbot and convent contributed 100 marks. A contribution of this magnitude points to the possession of considerable property and a well-established organization. In London the Gild of St. Nicholas was the gild of the parish clerks, who were persons in minor orders, whose duty, or at all events practice, it was to keep song and reading schools. At Lincoln[4] in 1305 we saw the precentor summoning all the parish clerks of the city for keeping adulterine schools and teaching song and music to the prejudice of the song schoolmaster of the cathedral. But this Bury gild seems to have consisted of priests. The requirement of their licence for the establishment of song schools remains at present unexplained. One can only conjecture that it was in some way representative of the parish chaplains and clerks, and was therefore interested in preventing undue competition from unlicensed persons.

On 1 May, 1370,[5] Abbot John Tynemouth, very much in the language of the document of 1291, which is written below it, evidently for use as a precedent, addressed a letter to 'all and singular the parish priests of Bury St. Edmunds and their vicegerents.' He informed them that by long custom without the licence of the song schoolmaster (*magister scolarum cantus*) no one ought to teach boys in the town aforesaid their psalters or singing (*psalteria vel cantum*), but he understood that in divers places in the town illicit schools were held, and he directed the excommunication of all those who without the master's licence presumed to keep school except in the song school, and if they objected they were to appear before him in St. Robert's Chapel. Nothing is said in this instance of the Douze Gild.

But on 12 May, 1426, Brother William Barrow (Barwe), sacrist, addressing the parish chaplains of the town, puts the gild in the forefront and gives them a very high antiquity :—

Whereas our beloved in Christ, the clerks of the Assembly of the Twelve (*congregacionis duodene*), within our jurisdiction of Bury by their charters from the most holy King Edward and other kings of England, also by charter of the most holy Abbot Baldwin and other abbots of the monastery aforesaid, amongst other things have this privilege (*libertatem*) that none within the town of Bury ought[6] to administer teaching of reading or singing without the licence of the clerks of the assembly aforesaid first obtained for the purpose.

The song school has now definitely become also apparently a reading school, as literature here does not seem to be used in the sense of grammar but of the elements of literature, letters or reading, meaning reading Latin.

[1] *Bury Wills* (Camd. Soc. 49), 35.
[2] Ibid. 230.
[3] *Cont. Chron. Flor. Wigorn.* 22 ed. B. Thorpe, (Engl. Hist. Soc. 1849). The continuation is by John of Taxter, a monk of Bury.
[4] *V.C.H. Linc.* ii, 'Schools.'
[5] Harl. MS. 645, fol. 67 (86 pencil).
[6] Quod nullus infra villam de Bury supradictam doctrinam literature sive cantus alicui debeat ministrare sine licencia clericorum congregacionis predicte ad hoc per prius optenta.

The chaplains were as usual to excommunicate the delinquents, and inhibit everyone henceforth from 'keeping such schools elsewhere than in the school of the clerks of the congregation aforesaid or presuming to teach any boy song or letters within the said jurisdiction.'

Here then the St. Nicholas' Gild appears as one of clerks, no doubt parish clerks, and their charters of immemorial antiquity.

It is strange that in the returns of gilds made to chancery in 1389, the Gild of St. Nicholas[1] is said to have been founded only in 1282, when

certain priests in the honour of the Lord Jesus Christ, Blessed Mary the Mother of God, and Saint Nicholas the most illustrious bishop, to celebrate yearly the day of the translation of that saint and attest a purer unity in love of the brotherhood, made a brotherhood after the manner of a gild. They elected a governor (*gubernatorem*) who with 12 priests should rule and keep the said brotherhood,

while 'up to 60 brethren and sisters' might be admitted to it, priests or laity. The ordinances are only the usual provisions for a yearly meeting, obits, and daily prayers for dead and living members.

But St. Nicholas' Gild seems to be only an offshoot or secession from the original Douze Gild, the Fraternity[2] of Clerks of Glemsford. According to their return in 1389 they consisted of a master and 12 clerks 'afterwards changed into priests.'

Under the heading of 'Cnutus,' the return says that the origin of the congregation was that

in the time of King Canute faithful christians who then existed, with the counsel and help and licence of that most pious king, began it and established it and handed it down to our brethren and to us, and from the time of King Edward and William the father and William his son, and the most wise and prudent King Henry [I] has been kept with great diligence and reverence (religione) and to the end of the world will by God's gift be observed and kept for the benefit of all the saints of God living and dead.

It then sets out the number of masses that each priest, and the number of psalters that each deacon of the gild said for the king and queen, and the brethren and sisters living and the total number of masses in a year was 1,037, and of psalms 3,008, and the same number for the dead. The laws of the gild under which it was practically a sick and burial club are then stated. Then in the time of Edward the Confessor Abbot Baldwin decreed that the congregation and its sixty clerks should be free from all public customs and labour such as burgate, watch (wasche) and ward, army service (hereget), harvest labour (bedrepe) and gelds payable by the borough, in consideration of their keeping wakes day and night for the good estate of the church of St. Edmund, and the abbot and monks, singing psalms round the corpses of dead monks and praying for their souls.

Confirmation charters of William the Conqueror, Henry I and Henry II, and of Archbishop Thomas à Becket are given; while an undated one of Abbot Samson is the first to mention a dedication to Blessed Nicholas the Confessor, and adds the remarkable provision that—

if any layman in the town deputed to a vile office (*vili officio deputatus*) wishes to send his son to letters (*filium suum tradere litteris*) he shall by no means do so without the leave of the congregation.

A farther confirmation charter of Abbot Simon dated 5 February, 1267–8, is the first to contain the clause—

No clerk in the town of St. Edmund shall presume to teach anyone the psalter or singing without the licence of this congregation, and if he does, he shall owe 2*s.* to the congregation, as appears in the aforesaid grants,

in which, in fact, it does not appear.

The entrance fee of the gild was 5*s.* for a clerk, 13*s.* 4*d.* for a layman, and nothing for a priest. The endowment, alleged to have been given in the time of Canute, was very small, consisting only of 13 acres in Melford, five shops in Bury, and quit-rents of 7*s.* 6½*d.* and 1 lb. of cummin. Not a word is said to explain why this gild in Bury is called 'the congregation of Glemsford,' but as Glemsford is in the tithing of Melford it was probably so-called simply from the situation of their small landed property.

One of the abbey registers gives a still more exalted origin for this gild, viz. that the twelve clerks represent the secular clerks dispossessed by Canute in 1020 to make room for the monks, who after wandering about the country for forty years were finally housed by Abbot Baldwin in Bury, on condition of praying for the monks; a curious reversal of the normal order of things, monks being established on purpose to hold up the ever-burning lamp of prayer for laymen and seculars.

To return from the song to the grammar school. In the Bury Register of the time of Henry IV–V, preserved in the Cambridge University Library (MS. Ff. 11–29), we again find the schoolmaster being attacked, and again getting the abbot's support against his assailants. This time it was against a secular enemy, the bailiffs of Bury, and it was the person of the master himself that had to be defended, and we get the name of the master, the first known to us—William of Kimberley. On 4 August [1420 ?], the year is not given—Brother William, abbot, tells his bailiffs of the town of St. Edmund, that

whereas the grammar schoolmaster of the town of Bury for the time being, the collation and disposition of which school belongs to us, by immemorial custom enjoys the privilege and immunity that on all

[1] B.P.O. Bk. vi, 30, 103; Bk. viii, 68; P.R.O. Gild Cert. 415. The ordinances are printed in *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Archaeol.* xii, 14, by Mr. V. B. Redstone.

[2] P.R.O. Gild Cert. 419.

contracts entered into in the said town and on all trespasses there committed he cannot be called on to answer to another in this behalf, but only before us (the abbot) or our special deputy ; and we have learnt that you, at the instance and procurement of one Alexander of Walsham, a scholar of his, have brought Mr. William of Kimberle, appointed master of the said school by us, before yourselves on the case of a fictitious trespass falsely pretended to have been committed in the same, molesting and disquieting him from day to day

—they are to stay the proceedings.

In Abbot Curteys' Register,[1] on the appointment of Robert Lawshull, priest, to the teaching and mastership (*regimen et magisterium*), of the grammar school we find it still with only the same endowment, viz. 3 marks or 40*s.* from the moiety of Wetherden rectory, which it acquired from the gift of Abbot Samson 300 years before. Under the heading 'Copy of a letter issued on the collation of the mastership (*regiminis*) of the Grammar School of the town of Bury (*scolarum gramaticalium ville de Bury*),' the following document[2] dated 24 September, 1444, shows a small increase in value, the master now being boarded and lodged in the almonry of the monastery.

William by divine permission abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund of Bury immediately pertaining to the church of Rome, to our beloved in Christ, Mr. Robert Farceux, graduate in the science of grammar and in the faculty of arts, Greeting. The rectorship and mastership of the grammar school in the town of St. Edmunds of Bury now vacant and in our collation, with all its rights and appurtenances, and a yearly pension of 40*s.* of silver from the moiety of the parish church of Wetherden in our patronage, due from the hands of the rectors to us and our monastery, and all right of action we have to the same pension ; also 13*s.* 4*d.* and a gown (*roba*) to be yearly delivered by the hands of the Almoner of our said monastery for the time being, with eatables and drinkables to be served to you and one clerk in the almonry of the said monastery daily,[3] and a proper chamber for you and your said clerk, while you rule the said school in your own person in praiseworthy fashion (*dummodo scolas in propria persona laudabiliter rexeris*) and duly instruct the scholars there meeting (*confluentes*) for the sake of the teaching, in manners and learning (*moribus et sciencia debite informaveris*) as the rank (*condicio*) and conscience of a good teacher or master (*doctoris sive magistri*) demand, we grant you by grace by these presents for life, as long as you have not been elsewhere promoted ; adding, that if it should happen that you desert the said school at an unreasonable time, without lawful impediment and without our leave, thenceforth we will that this our grant shall lose all its force and virtue ; so that it may be lawful for us and our successors freely to confer the said school on any one we may please, notwithstanding this present grant. In witness whereof we have made these our letters patent, &c.

We are not, however, without indirect evidence of the school's continuance. In two Account Rolls of the sacrist of the abbey,[4] one of 1426–7 contains the item, 'Given to S. Nicholas, bishop, 12*d.*' ; and a similar entry, 'Given in honour of S. Nicholas,' is contained in the roll of 1537–8. The boy-bishop's ceremony thus duly kept up is presumptive evidence of boys to keep it up. So, too, in the will of Anne Barett of Bury, widow, 21 August, 1504, is the provision for the purchase of land to the value of 11 marks (£7 10*s.*) a year, for a stipendiary priest for 20 years, and then '40*s.* of the same I wyll that yt be geven amongs poore scolers to help them to their exibicion and lernyng tho that be good and honest' ; while Edmund Goodbody, her godson, was to have the 'service' when he became a priest, and 'be fownd to scoole with my goods tyll he be of lawfull age to be prystyd.'

So, too, John Hedge by his will, 28 April, 1504, gave, in the event of his son's death, a tenement to be sold, and with the proceeds 'I wyll have a priest or priests to go to scoole at Cambridge to art and to non other science, and so to continue as long as the money thereof laste.' It would have been no use providing university exhibitions if the exhibitioners could not get a grammar school education first.

When the dissolution of monasteries took place, here, as at St. Albans and elsewhere, a vicious construction of the law made all the trust property of the abbey pass to the king as if it was part of the monastic property, and the school endowment went with the abbey endowments into the royal coffers. At least in the chantry certificate for Suffolk in 1548[5] there is a

Memorandum yt is to be considered that the said townne of Bury is a great and a populus townne, havinge in yt twoo parryshe churches and in the same parrishes above the nombre of 3000 howselinge peoples [representing a population of some 9,000] and a greate nombre of yowth.

The king takes all the tithes, finding only two parish priests.

And further theare is no schoole nor other lyke divise founded within the seide towne or wythin 20 miles of yt for the vertuous educacyon and bringing upp of yowth, nor any hospytall or other like foundacion for the comfort or relieffe of the pover, of which theare is exceedinge greate nombre within the seide townne.

[1] B.M. MSS. Add. 14848, fol. 52*b*, 'Collacio scolarum de Bury facta Roberto Lawshull, presbitero.'

[2] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, edited by Thomas Arnold (Rolls Ser.), 1896, p. 249, from B.M. Add. MSS. 7096, fol. 110.

[3] *Diatim*, not as printed by Mr. Arnold 'diutine,' which is no word and makes no sense.

[4] Town Hall Muniments.

[5] *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 216, from Chan. Cert. 45, No. 46.

The two parochial incumbents take all the profits and do nothing for the poor.

In consideracyon whereof yt maye please the Kinges maiestie of his most charitable benignitie, moved with pittie in that behalfe, to converte the revenues and profits of some of the said promocions in to sume godly foundacion, whearby the said pover inhabitantes daily there multyplying may be relieved, and the yowght instructed and browghte upp vertuously, or otherwyse accordinge to his most godly and discrete wisedome; and the seide inhabitantes shall dayly praye to God for the prosperous preservacyon of his most excellente maiestie longe to endure.

This piteous petition, which is evidently incorporated in the certificate in the form framed by the inhabitants themselves, took no effect till Protector Somerset had given place to the much maligned John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. At last on 25 July,[1] 1550, an order was made by Richard Sakevyle, then chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, in pursuance of instructions from the Privy Council, to

make a graunte of the premysses unto William May, D.D. and deane of Paules; Nicholas Bakon, [afterwards Lord Keeper and father of the more famous Lord Chancellor Bacon], John Eyer and Christopher Peyton, esquyers; William Tassel, Stephen Hayward, gentlemen; Roger Barbour, and eight others, 'of Bury Seynt Edmonde, yomen' to the use of a scole ther to be founded by the kinges Maiestie in like maner and forme as the scole of Sherborne is graunted, reservyng unto the kinges maiestie in the name of a yerely rente 28*s*.

The premises in question were lands of the Chantry in Kirketon *alias* Shotley, worth 100*s*. a year, subject to a yearly distribution to the poor, which the king was to discharge; the chantry called Clopton's chantry founded by Sir William Clopton, worth £6 9*s*. 8*d*.; the manor of Calingham Hall worth £8 a year, part of the possessions of a chantry founded by Sir John Freye, knight, in Little Saint Bartholomew's, London; and certain other lands in Kirketon *alias* Shotley worth gross 40*s*. 8*d*. and net 38*s*. 4*d*. a year, part of lands, given by will of Nicholas Fikkett for 'the sepulcre light' i.e. the light at the Easter sepulchre, in the churches of Kelmeton and Shotley and for doles every Friday to poor men of those parishes, the repairs of the churches and his own obit. The whole yearly value of the property to be granted to the school was £21 8*s*.

By letters patent under the Great Seal dated at Leighes 3 August, 1550,

at the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of Bury Saint Edmunds the king granted that there should be henceforth a grammar school called 'the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI' for the education institution and instruction of boys and youths there in grammar for ever to endure; and he erected the school of a master (*magistro seu pedagogo*) and usher (*hipodidascalo seu subpedagogo*).

The foundation was therefore entirely open with no special trust for or privilege to the inhabitants of the town. And that the king's 'intention might better take effect' he granted the lands before mentioned to 16 persons named and incorporated them as 'governors of the goods possessions and revenues of the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI of Bury St. Edmunds in the county of Suffolk' with licence to hold other lands in mortmain up to £20 a year. The governors were empowered to make statutes with the advice of the Bishop of Norwich for the time being—a sufficient proof that a free school did not mean as has been sometimes wildly alleged a school free from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The school has been claimed as the first and earliest of Edward VI so-called foundations, for no better reason apparently than that in a casual and entirely imperfect and erroneous list concocted by Stow it was put first. The warrant already granted directing the Bury charter to be drafted after the model of the Sherborne charter is sufficient refutation of the claim. The Sherborne charter was dated in May and the Bury charter in August, 1550. Nor is that all. As has been shown[2] the free grammar schools of St. Albans and Berkhampstead, of Stamford and Pocklington were founded or rather refounded by Act of Parliament in the first year of Edward VI, Bury was not till the fourth year. And if insistence is placed on foundation by charter instead of by Act of Parliament, or on new endowment being given out of confiscated chantries, Saffron Walden, the charter of which was given on 18 February, 2 Edward VI, i.e. 1548, and divers others must take precedence of Sherborne and Bury.

It was supposed that the original statutes made in 1550 had wholly disappeared, though they were mentioned by Edward Leedes, head master in 1683, as then existing and as printed. No copy can be found at Bury, but one is fortunately preserved in the British Museum.[3] As Edwardian statutes are exceedingly rare these must be treated at some length. Dr. Donaldson described them as beginning with a complimentary address to the master. This is hardly the case. The preface is an extremely priggish discourse on the importance of having good masters and still more good rules to govern them, and consequently an endeavour 'to embrace in the decrees the whole method of teaching of our school, which are contained in the chapters following.' Then follow 62 chapters

[1] By a slip of the pen the date was given as 1552, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 222, from P. R. O. 'Particulars for Schools,' Roll ii.

[2] *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, *Lincs.* ii, *Yorks.* i.

[3] Lansd. MSS. 119. I am indebted to Lord Francis Hervey for this reference. He printed the statutes in 1888.

which appear to be modelled on the *Tabula Legum Pedagogicarum*, which may still be seen painted on a board on the walls of 'School' at Winchester College, are believed to have been copied from the original school of William of Wykeham's day, and are couched in the language of the laws of the Twelve Tables of Rome. But the Bury edition is very much enlarged and altered. They are for the most part the most useless of vague generalities, e.g.—

1. In the first place let the masters be good men, diligently teach their flock, instil good morals at the same time as letters.[1] 2. Let them abstain from dice, play and drink.[2] . . . 4. Let them neither rage with too great harshness, nor be easily bent to lenity. . . . 6. Let them have equal regard to poor and rich, and show the same zeal in teaching each.

The usher was to come at 6 and teach till 11 a.m., and the master at 7 and teach to 10.30 a.m. Both were to return at 1 p.m., and the head master might go at 4.30, the usher at 5 p.m. On Saturdays and half-holidays they were to go on till 3 p.m. The boys were not to exceed 100 (*eorum numerus centenarius esto*), and the poor were to be given a preference for admission, but those who could not read nor write were not to be admitted—an effective exclusion of the gutter poor. There follows a sentence which expressed the law of grammar schools in a nutshell :—

Let[3] them seek elsewhere the ability to read and write. Let ours (? masters) give nothing but the rules of grammar and the learning of the Latin and Greek tongue.

The 23rd rule is—

Let none come to school with hair uncombed, hands or face unwashed, dirty boots or stockings, torn or unbuttoned clothes.

The boys were to be divided into 5 classes, the first 3 under the master, the rest under the usher. This does not look as if a school of the first grade was contemplated, as at this time the great schools were divided into 8, 7, or 6 forms. Nor do the books prescribed. The first or highest form was to be taught (*audiunto*, listen to, i.e. be lectured to on), Cicero, *De Officiis* ; Caesar's *Commentaries* ; Virgil's *Æneid* ; Quintilian's *Institutes of Rhetoric* ; or Herennius' *Precepts of Rhetoric*. Form II. were to read Sallust, Virgil's *Bucolics* or *Georgics*, Horace, and Erasmus *On Copiousness of Diction and Letterwriting*. Form III. Erasmus *On Deportment* (*de civilitate morum*), the *King's Grammar*, Ovid's *Tristia*, and the chaster plays of Plautus and Terence. Form IV. were to be instructed by the usher in *Mimus*, *Public paraemias*, Erasmus' *Dialogues*, Æsop's *Fables*, Cato's *Couplets*, Mancinus' *Poems on the Four Virtues*. The rest were to learn the elements of grammar.

30. Barbarous writers, obscene poets, because the last corrupt their morals and the first their Latin, are not to be obtruded on the boys. 32. They are to talk Latin continually.

The Winchester 'Let the arms of scholars be always ready,' appears in the more prosaic form :

34. Ink, parchment, knife, pens, note books, let all have ready.

A curiously old-world arrangement was

35. When they have to write let them use their knees for a table.

At the end of the week the work of the week was rehearsed.

40. On Fridays and Saturdays let the masters read nothing, but let the boys give an account of what they have learnt in the preceding days. Let them bring short speeches (*declamatiunculas*) which they have commented on in their leisure hours (*horis subsecivis*).

43. The schoolmaster every evening is to dictate three Latin sayings and explain them in English, the scholars are to write them down next day. 46. Half an hour before dinner or supper let them dispute on the inflections and cases of nouns, the conjugations, tenses, and moods of verbs, or dictate in turns proverbs, adages, sentences, verses, silently and without noise. 47. These speeches are to end at the first stroke of the clock, and the boy who has beaten his fellows, shall have the first place by way of prize. He shall hold it until he has been overcome by another's industry.

After 5 years (48) everyone must leave either for Cambridge or to go to other arts.

50. When they want relaxation, they are to indulge in some gentlemanly (*honesto*) sport such as running, throwing darts, or archery. Dice, knuckle-bones, quoits, and all games unworthy of a free man are to be avoided.

No leave to play is to be granted except on Thursday, and then only if it is fine, and the boys have been industrious. They are all to go to church on saints' days, and are to learn the 'Lord's Prayer,' the 'Ten Commandments,' and other institutes of the Christian faith. There are to be two pupils named by the masters to act as censors. A mean and unique addition is made of a third secretly added by the masters to report on the censors, and of all crimes unreported by them. Friday was the day when inquiry was to be held into all crimes, and punishment inflicted.

The usher was to teach under the order of the master. He was to open the school doors in the morning and shut them at night—whence, of course, his name of the doorkeeper (*ostiarius*)—and

[1] 'Pedagogi in primis viri boni sunto, diligenter gregem docento, bonos mores simul cum litteris inserunto.'

[2] 'Alea, lusu, potatione abstinento.'

[3] 18. Legendi vel scribendi alibi quærant facultatem. Nostri praeter grammaticæ institutiones et linguæ latinæ et Graecæ informationem nihil aliud tradunt.

to see that the school and benches, when the boys go away in the evening are swept, cobwebs, dust, and dirt carried away. The last statute is

62. The masters are not to keep a family under the school roofs, nor have beds there ; let women, as deadly pests, be kept away (*mulieres tanquam pestes capitales absunto*).

Then comes a pompous and long-winded admonition, addressed to the masters, to the effect that they may add anything that occurs to them as useful, and, as with mock modesty the governors add, 'for all we know, better,' and a reminder that though their province is small it is of great importance.

Lastly, follow in English, 'Articles to be recited to them that shall offer their children to be taught in the schoole.' They comprise an undertaking that the child shall obey the master and 'huisher,' that the parents will find him paper, ink, pens, books, candles in winter, and other things necessary ; and allow him

at all tymes, a bow, 3 shaftes, bowstrynges, and a braser to exercise shootynge. You shall be contente to receive your childe and put him to some occupacion if after one yere's experience he shall be founde unapte to the learnynge of Gramer.

Finally ; 4*d*. was to be paid the usher 'for enrollinge of your childe's name.'

The first schoolmaster under the charter, who we may reasonably conjecture was carrying on the school at the time of the grant, was John King, who described himself as 'of Bury, Scolmayster,' in making his will[1] on 12 August, 1552, 'in the syxt yere' of Edward VI, and gave 20*s*. and a silver spoon to each of 5 people, including his mother, Margaret Tomlynson, wife of Richard Tomlynson of Colchester, whom he calls his father-in-law. But his wife was dead, and he lodged at 'my hostyes Cheston,' to whom he gave 'my cobbornes, the fire pans, and the tonges,' and William Cheston, tanner, no doubt her husband, he made executor and residuary legatee. The most interesting legacy was—

Item I do geue for implements to remayne unto the scholle the hangyns in my chamber, one table, one joyned form, one sede [no doubt his master's chair], Pline de naturali historia, Virgilius cum commento, Oratius cum commento, Ouidius cum commento.

Item I geve to Mr. Stirman, Eusebius ecclesie historia.

The boys of Bury were therefore already reading the best classical authors.

The resuscitated Bury school quickly regained, if it had ever lost, the highest rank among the schools of the county. For it appears in the Gonville and Caius College Register as one of the chief contributors to that college in the early years of Elizabeth, when the register begins. In 1562 2 boys from that school, in 1563 3 boys, in 1564 2 boys, were admitted. As they came at the ripe ages of 18 and 20, instead of at such immature years as 16 and even 12, as boys did from smaller and inferior schools ; and comprised boys not only from Bury itself, but from Stanningfield, Brettenham, Stowmarket, Moulton, Tuddenham, and West Wickham in Cambridgeshire, and as several of them were described as the sons of gentlemen, though most of them, it is true, were sons of those of middling means or middle class (*mediocris fortunae*), it is pretty clear that it occupied the position of a great public school.

Similar evidence of status is afforded by the St. John's College Register when that begins in 1630, the boys being drawn from all over Suffolk and comprising not only yeomen (*agricolae*), whose sons were mostly admitted as sizars, but esquires and D.D.'s, whose sons were admitted as 'pensioners,' or paying pupils and as fellow commoners.

The school library, to which John King contributed, received a considerable accession from Henry Hervey's gift in 1560. He had succeeded Stephen Gardiner as master of Trinity Hall, and was no doubt one of the neighbouring family at Ickworth, who became earls and then marquises of Bristol. Stephen Cheston, a witness to King's will, who became archdeacon of Winchester, gave Cicero's works in 1561; and one of the governors, Thomas Andrews, gave a large number of books in 1565.

The master in 1562 is said to have been Philip Mandeville.

The first accretion to the endowment was an exhibition foundation by Edward Hewer, citizen of London, and no doubt an old boy. He gave by will 6 February, 1569, three houses in Botolph Lane near Billingsgate, London, for the maintenance of 4 scholars from Bury School to be 'found and presented by the several oaths of the schoolmaster and usher to be most apt to learnings and likely to continue in the same,' to have yearly each £6 13*s*. 4*d*. The scholars were 'to principally and chiefly study physic and civil law after they should have proceeded in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues and other arts,' 2 to civil law and 2 to physic. These exhibitions have been regularly kept up.

On 12 March, 1583, the governors made new statutes with the expressed consent of Edmund [Scambler] bishop of Norwich. This time they were in English, but were inscribed in the governors' statute book in black letter. They provided for yearly meetings on Thursday after the Epiphany, 6 January. One main object of the new statutes appears to have been to devolve the duties of the governors, during the interval between the yearly meetings, on two 'comptrollers,' to manage the affairs of the school, including the admission of boys, and render account at the yearly meeting, writing the account in a book. The books, unfortunately, have disappeared. After the account the senior comptroller had to go out

[1] *Bury Wills*, Camd. Soc. 1850, p. 140.

of office, the junior becoming senior for the next year. Leases, however, were only to be granted under the common seal and with the consent of a majority of the governors. The election of master and usher and their installation was also to be done by the majority of the governors. Any governor absent from a meeting was fined 1*s*. The first twenty-four entries are wholly taken up with the business arrangements.

By article 25 the master's 'wages' were fixed at £20, and by article 26 the 'huisher's' at £10 a year. The rest of the statutes are with few exceptions only translations of the Latin statutes of 1550. One exception was that by article 50 the morning prayers were now to be in English and 'at night or afternoone' in Latin. In article 70, on games, the two sports of shooting and running are explained to be shooting at the long-bow and 'runnynge at base,' but whether this means 'prisoners' base' or 'base-ball' is left in doubt. In article 75 the prefects or monitors appear as 'enquestors' (i.e. inquisitors), and the spies on them 'especials and withe skowt watches.'

On 1 September, 1583, 'John Wright, Master of Arte' was 'admytted and inducted to be scholemaster' from Michaelmas following

duringe his naturall life if he shall be duringe the saide tyme of good behaveour and diligently and faithfully behave himself in teachinge and governinge the saide schole and scholers there for the tyme beinge as shall appertayne to the dutie of a good scholemaster.

The earliest extant record of the acts of the governors is in

the Register beginning the last daie of December in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande Five Hundred fourscore and nine of the names, elections, actes, and remembrances of the governors,

etc., setting out their full legal title and date of foundation. The first entry contains the names of the governors on 31 December, 1589, only eleven in number, headed by William Baker, the last survivor of the original governors, followed by Albert Goldinge, esq., and Anthony Payne, gent. Five others are described as 'gent.,' Henry Horningold and Thomas Gippes having no qualification appended to their names. When in a subsequent document names were signed, it is noticeable that Horningold could not sign his name, but made his mark. The next entry is of the election seven years before, 21 January, 1582–3, of four additional colleagues by the four then surviving original governors, named in the Letters Patent of Edward VI. The fact that this entry is made on a loose two-page paper inserted in the book, coupled with the opening words of the register already quoted, seems to show that there had been no register before and that the business had been rather carelessly conducted. The first act of the governors in the new register was to bring up their body to the full number of 16. There seems to have been some doubt of the regularity of the new elections as on 3 January following, 1589–90, all those elected before 31 December, were declared elected by Baker as sole survivor of the original governors. They then proceeded to re-elect those appointed on 31 December, 1589, in the presence of a notary public, George Smyth, who solemnly witnessed the process in a lengthy Latin 'instrument' under his notarial mark, quite in the mediaeval style. It is interesting to note that the governors kept a beadle (*bedell*) whose wages were 26*s*. 8*d*. a year.

On 8 December, 1590, William Baker, the last of the original governors, died.

On 26 February, 1590–1, the governors raised the salary of the 'Scholemaister' from £20 to £24, and of the 'huyssher, in respect that he nowe is maister of arts' from £10 to £13 6*s*. 8*d*. There were then 2 'comptrollers' elected annually, one of them being always new, who apparently received all rents and made all payments, accounting yearly to the governors. The account books have unfortunately disappeared, and as the register naturally contains little else than elections of governors, and grants of leases of the school lands, it sheds only casual lights on the school history. On 26 December, 1595, we find the comptroller ordered to

twice in the yere call twoo Apposers with which the companye of the same comptrollers or one of them and ij or iij of the other Governors shall resort to this Schole to appose the Schollers of the same Schole.

The term apposer for an examiner is of course a relic of the old system of learning by debate, the examiner putting or posing a question and the examinee answering or responding. The examiners for New College at Winchester are still called Posers, and the prize-giving at St. Paul's and the Mercers' dinner to celebrate it are still called Apposition Day and Apposition Dinner. On 1 June, 1596, Edmund Coote, M.A., was appointed master on Wright's resignation, but his tenure was changed from 'for good behaviour,' like that of judges, to that of the

will and pleasure of the governors, which seeme the most agreable to the true intent and meanynge of the king's lettres patentes.

On 11 January, 1596–7, William Clarke, B.A., was elected usher *per viam probationis*—the governors' minutes show a curious see-saw between the English and Latin tongues—by way of probation to Lady Day next. This mode of tenure however displeased him and he utterly refused to accept office, so Edmund Aldham was elected instead, on probation, and was elected on Lady Day to hold at pleasure of the governors. On 15 May, 1597, Coote resigned the mastership and as the resignation is accompanied by the long

mediaeval formula about not doing so under stress of fear or being tricked into doing it, but spontaneously and freely, we may probably conclude that his resignation was an enforced one. Yet he had signalized[1] his short term of office by the publication of *The English Schoolmaster*, the object of which was to introduce a knowledge of their own language not only to grammar school boys but to everyone. Thus he tells the tradesman, i.e. the working artificer—

> Thou mayest sit on thy shop board, at thy loom, or at thy needle and never hinder thy work to hear thy scholars, after once thou hast made this little book familiar to thee.

The book was so arranged, each chapter repeating what went before, while adding new matter that 'if a child should tear out every leaf so fast as he learneth, yet it shall not be greatly hurtful.' So successful was the book that between 1596 and 1673 it went through no less than 37 editions. Mr. Nicholas Martin, whose signature is much superior in its scholarliness to that of his predecessor, was elected master 18 May, 1597. On 17 April, 1598, the usher Edmund Aldham 'by reason of the sicknes and other infirmitie of his body' surrendered up his place of 'huysher' and a week afterwards, Rowland Wilson, M.A. was elected. On 23 February, 1631–2, John Mosse became master, and the usher's salary was raised to £16 a year. A quaint article was inserted by the Bury Town Council in their 'constitutions' on 18 July, 1607,[2] directed at Popish schoolmasters, which seems incidentally to suggest that there were subjects such as French and Spanish taught in the school of the day which are rather unexpected, and at the same time testify to the confidence reposed in the sound Protestant principles of the grammar school masters.

CONSTITUTIONS

15 *July*, 5 *James I*

11. To prevent the infectinge of youth in Poperie by Scholemasters.

Item that the constables of every ward within this Burghe shall once every quarter of a yeare certifie the Aldermen, Recorder and Justices of Peace of this Burghe the names of all and every person or persons that doe keepe any Schole for the teaching of youth to write reade or understand the English, Latin, French, Italian or Spanish tongues, upon paine to forfeit for every defalt 6*s*. 8*d*. and withall yt is ordered that none shall be permitted to keepe a schole or to teach any children to write, reade or understand any of the said tongues other than the Mr. and Huisher of the free gramer schole without license under the hands and seals of the Alderman and chief burgesses or 4 of them at the least whereof the Alderman to be one, upon paine that every one putting any childe to suche a scholemaster to forfeit for every weeke 6*s*. 8*d*.

John Dickinson was elected 28 September, 1605, 'did take the place' on 26 March, 1606, and the oath of supremacy on 17 September, 1606.

Under Dickinson the school had rest over 30 years, and was extremely successful. The income of the school lands was seemingly growing, and the governors recognized the master's services, increasing his salary (18 September, 1607), to £30, and the usher's to £18. On 1 April, 1608, the order of 1596 as to the schoolmaster not having a patent was repealed, and 'upon speciall consideration in respect of the scholemaster then being,' Dickinson was given a patent for life, while a third master, Thomas Allam, who was now employed, had his wages increased to £16. On 2 August, 1609, Rowland Wilson the usher received notice to quit at Lady Day. On 6 October Laurence Plumbe was elected in his place, and Wilson retired, receiving his wages up to Lady Day, and '20*s*. more for a gratuitie in regard of his longe service done in the schole,' some 10 years. The new usher was to live on the 'benevolence of such parents as have children under his tuition' till Lady Day. A month after that time Plumbe was given notice to quit at Midsummer for 'very slandrous speache by him uttered against one of the governors.'

Mr. Dickinson was in much request, for on 4 August, 1615, 'at the instance of Sir Thomas Jermyn, knight, Mr. Dickinson, Highemaster[3] of this schoole,' had leave for a whole year from 31 October next to 'travell into Fraunce with Mr. Robert Jermyn, the eldest son of Sir Thomas,' and Mr. Robert Peley, the eldest son of Sir William Peley, knight 'for their governance and instruction.' But afterwards, on receiving 'a gratuity' of £5 a year by way of addition to his salary, Dickinson gave up the journey.

Sir Simonds d'Ewes, the Puritan antiquary and diarist says, under 1616 :—

> It was hard to tell after I had once seen and conversed with Mr. John Dickenson the upper master of Bury Schools whether I more rejoiced to leave the place I had been at or to settle with him. . . This was the fifth school I had been at, yet certainly I have profited more in this short space (1½ years) under his mild and loving government than I had done at 4 other schools in divers years before. I was at my first coming put into a form somewhat too high for me, by which means I made haste and took great pains to become equal to those with whom I now ranked. My employment also about half a year before my departure thence to teach most of the upper end (for the lower end was taught by an usher) did admirably further my progress in learning, so as I became able to instruct and overlook them who . . . had better profited than myself at my first coming to Bury. I was also able to discourse somewhat readily in the Latin tongue.

[1] *Retrospective Address*, pp. 28–9.

[2] Among the Town Muniments at the Town Hall.

[3] The title of 'High Master,' now known only at St. Paul's and Manchester Schools, is invariably used in the Governors' Register up to 1760 for the head master of Bury School.

This pert diarist then proceeds to tell how he once routed Mr. Hubbard, an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, who came and examined his form :—

I took him twice or thrice tripping in false Latin and gave him notice of it, which so nettled him he broke off abruptly with me and awhile after departed out of the school.

The system of using the upper boys as pupil teachers and of talking Latin in school was common to all the public schools at this time.

On 17 April, 1618, 'the highe master,' as by

his continuall prayers and dilligence he hathe much weakness of body and spirits . . . unlesse he may take some other helpe unto him to goe throughe with his worke in the busines of the schole,

the governors,

considering the great losse that a multitude of youth shoulde susteyne in their education and instruction if the said master should give up his place,

gave him £5 a year more, £40 a year in all, 'whereby he maye at his owne charge take some helpe unto him,' a third master in addition to the usher. This was to be 'no president' for his successor as 'highe master.'

On 26 October, 1624, the first mention of a leaving exhibition from the school was given, 'John Glover, nowe a scholler whoe hath formerly hadd £3 a year allowed him by this Company,' apparently by way of exhibition at the school, being given '£6 a year towards his mayntenaunce in Cambridge,' and 20*s.* towards a gown.

In 1626 the governors bought lands at Bradfield from Sir Thomas Jermyn.

On 16 January, 1632–3, £10 a year was given the 'highe master' towards his 'under huisher,' and Mr. John Hobman, the 'chief huisher's' salary was raised from £20 to £25 a year : and an exhibition of £4 a year at Cambridge given to Thomas Fison. On 12 March, 1635–6, the governors paid 'as a voluntary gift 20 marks towards £213 16*s.* 8*d.*' assessed on Bury as part of £8,000, ship-money levied from the county of Suffolk, but it was refused in 1640 when Parliament had declared it illegal.

Dickinson produced one most distinguished scholar in William Sancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, after standing up to James II as one of the 'seven bishops' while he was king, blindly adhered to his allegiance to him when he had abdicated. Sancroft was from Fressingfield in Suffolk, and went from Bury to Emmanuel, the great Puritan college at Cambridge, 3 July, 1634.

Another was John Gauden, the real author of that creation of dreary platitudes, *Ikon Basilike*, which had a furore of success as the reputed work of the 'royal martyr, Charles I.' More perhaps than any other book it contributed to the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, and its author was rewarded with the bishopric of Worcester.

On 1 April, 1637, Dickinson's long and prosperous reign came to an end, and an entry in Latin records his solemn surrender of office 'in the upper chambre' of the school. Edward Frances, M.A., was the same day elected to succeed him, but on 27 July, 1638, 'according to his former promyse' he delivered up his place, receiving £5 towards his charge 'during the sicknesse' (? the plague) at Bury. Mr. Hobman, the usher, received a similar sum. Dickinson retired to the living of Barton, where he died in 1643 at the age of 70, having 'ruled Bury School through 34 years most prudently,' as his epitaph records. On 16 August William Cowper, M.A., was elected master, only to resign on 29 September.

On 10 October, 1638, Thomas Stevens (or Stephens, as he writes it himself), M.A., was elected, to be 'high master of the free grammar schoole.' He was a considerable author as well as schoolmaster. He acquired fame by his edition, and still more by his translation into English verse, of Statius' *Achilleis* and *Sylvae*, published during his second term of office, the former in 1648, the latter in 1651. In a dedication to the governors he thanks them for restoring the school buildings. The statues of Grammatica (or Grammar) and Rhetorica (or Rhetoric) which used to adorn the old school are believed to have been of his procuring. He enjoyed the singular distinction of being the only master who had two terms of office, having after his retirement in 1645 been solicited to return 2 years afterwards, and enjoying a second reign longer than the first. His entry into office was signalized by new developments. On 27 March, 1639, it was agreed that 'a house shall be bought for the present mayntenaunce of Mr. Stephens the high master,' and for that purpose a house was bought from Mr. Hayes in the upper end of Eastgate Street, and £100 paid for it on 9 September, 1640. This house, in his second term, on 29 April, 1652, Mr. Stevens bought from the governors for £120, perhaps in view of the removal of the school, which, though it actually took place only in 1665, after Stevens' retirement, was decided upon, during his mastership, on 15 April, 1661. At the same time that a house was bought, the school library was overhauled—

the bokes belonging to the schole shalbe perused and those which are superfluous and not fit for use shalbe sold and newe of better use to be bought with the money by Mr. Stephens.

Another new development or, at least, one, if not new, hitherto unnoticed in the governors' books, was a school play ; the high master being, on 10 October, 1639, allowed £6 13*s.* 4*d.* towards his charges in the late acting of a 'comedye by the schollers.' On 16 December

following another play was in contemplation, he being ordered to be paid what he had

> layd out and disbursed for the makyng of a stage at the Abby for a commodye for the entertaynment of the High Sheriff of the county of Suffolk that now is ; and the seid stage to be kept and preserved to the use of the schoole.

On 9 September, 1640, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* was again paid to the 'high mayster towards his charges of performing a commodye.'

There are continual entries of exhibitions, one of £5 on 27 March, 1641, to Thomas Fletcher, 'for his reedying at Lincolnes Inne,' while Thomas Sargent the barber was ordered, 4 May, 1641, to have an exhibition of £4 a year at Cambridge 'soe long as he shall well behave himself,' and on 20 June, 1641–2, Thomas son of Sibell Crew was given 40*s.* 'towards his setting forth for Cambridge.'

The Civil War made no difference to the school. Some arrears of rent due for 1644 were not recovered till 1649, but the school itself went on as usual, and so did the governors' meetings. On 15 October, 1645, Thomas Stevens resigned the mastership. Thomas Lye, B.A., was the same day appointed in his stead. On 23 December following John Hobman retired, after being usher apparently ever since Plumbe's dismissal in 1609, and at all events for some years before 1633, when as we saw his salary was raised.

On 9 April, 1646, Mr. Isaac Tucker was appointed usher. But on 20 January following both he and the high master Lye received notice to go at Lady Day. On Lady Day, 1647, Jeremy Welby, M.A., was elected high master (*quamdiu se bene gesserit*); and on 30 March Reginald Bokenham, usher. The latter held for 8 years. The former, though he received £40 a year and the house, surrendered the place 17 days later, 12 April.

For 6 months there was no master. Then, on 11 September, 1647, the governors, 'takinge into consideration that the schoole . . . is become muche decayed and very few schollers left therein,' as Mr. Stevens undertook to 'use his utmost endeavoure to replenyshe the hye schoole with many of his schollers which he now teachethe,' and having had 'experience of his abilities,' elected him high master again. It is interesting to find the term 'high school' used in the thirteenth century thus being still applied, like the term 'school hall,' to the ancient school in its new quarters. Probably the ill-success of Stevens's successors had been due to the competition of Stevens himself, who seemingly was conducting a private school in the town all the time. At Lady Day following Mr. Bokenham, the usher, was given £5 for teaching the whole school during the interregnum.

Very soon after Stevens's new election we find exhibitions again being given: Edward son of John Pettyt 'of this towne' being allowed £5 a year for maintenance and 33*s.* 4*d.* for 'a gowne and other necessaryes.' On 4 August, 1649, William son of Lancelot Thetford was given an exhibition to keep him at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; while in the following March 2 exhibitions were given to John Clarke and William Elliott, both sons of poor ministers deceased, for a year; and these were subsequently extended, Clarke's ceasing in 1654, and Elliott then receiving 20*s.* 'towards the charge of his commencement,' i.e. taking his degree. On 20 December, 1655, on the resignation of the usher Reginald Bokenham, this William Elliott was made 'huissher' in his place. He seems to have been a Puritan, as he resigned 23 June, 1660, when Mr. John Norris replaced him.

The exhibitions were not confined to town boys, for on 12 October, 1655, on the cessation of Thomas Cressner's exhibition, John son of William Cobell of Horningsheath was awarded one of £5 a year. Nor were they confined to the county, for on 11 February, 1656, William Dubye,[1] of Issham, Cambridgeshire, was given an exhibition of the same amount.

On 30 March, 1654, in consideration of Stevens's 'service in advanceinge the schole,' £15 out of £20, the residue of the purchase-money still due for his house, was remitted.

In 1656 we get the first and only list of boys in the school until quite modern times, in spite of the explicit directions in the statutes for the maintenance of a register of admissions and the daily reading of the roll.

There were 86 boys.[2] Of these 26 were from Bury, 13 of them sons of tradesmen. The bulk of the residue must have been boarders, as they include boys from Cambridgeshire and Norfolk as well as Suffolk, sons of country gentlemen and clerics and knights. The most distinguished names are those of Dudley North and his brother John North, sons of Sir Dudley North, knight of the Bath; Sir William Spring, already a baronet; Henry Boldero, son of a merchant of Dort, whose uncle became master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and was then keeping an illegal Anglican conventicle at Bury; Thomas son of Clement Everard, then governor of St. Christopher's, West Indies; Thomas son of Sir William Poley of Boxted; Lees, sons of Sir John Lee; Jermyns, Lovels, and so forth.

Ten pounds was contributed by the governors to the public charge of £44 12*s.* 10*d.* at the 'solempnizacion' on the Restoration of Charles II.

On 1 February, 1660–1, the first institution of school prizes appears. 'For the incouragement of the Boyes or Schollers of the two high formes of the upper end of the schole and the highest form of the lower end' every Easter and

[1] He seems to be the same person who heads the list of scholars as Davye or perhaps Dadge.

[2] The list was printed by Dr. Donaldson in his *Retrospective Addres* in 1850, pp. 36–41.

Christmas 20s. was to be 'bestowed upon the 3 best deserving scholars of either form, in books or otherwise, at the high master's discretion, at the breaking-up before the said feasts.' At this meeting Dudley North, esq., was chosen a governor.

On 15 April, 1661, it was ordered 'that a new school should be built upon the same ground as the present school now standeth.' Moneys out on interest were to be called in, and 'the High Master, his Usher, and the Governors were desired to use their respective interests with such gents as will subscribe' for the new buildings 'as speedily as may be.' But the idea of building on the old site was abandoned in favour of the purchase, 7 September, 1662, of a house and grounds in Northgate Street for £215. On 30 October, 1662, a committee was appointed to take order 'of laying the foundacion of the New Schole'; which by a further order of 8 March, 1662–3, was to be before 31 March. The new school took two years to build.

Before it was finished its undoubted inceptor, Dr. Stevens, had retired. On 30 October, 1662, 'Doctor Stephens' was to 'bee att libertie to declare whether he will hold to his lyveing and leave the schoole between this and Lady Day.' On 15 June, 1662, 'intending for the future to imploy himself in the work of the ministry,' he resigned the place of high master.

Roger North's 'Lives of the Norths'[1] throw an interesting light on the inner life of the school, and show Dr. Stevens as a staunch cavalier, fully imbued with one prominent characteristic of that party—what is euphoniously termed 'wet epicureanism.'

Much may be attributed to the finishing of him (Francis North, Lord Keeper Guildford) at Bury School, under Dr. Stephens, a cavalier master. He was so forward and exact a scholar there that the bulky doctor, in his pedantic strain, used to say he was the crown of all his endeavours. Before he went to Cambridge the master employed him to make an alphabetical index of all the verbs neuter, and he did it so completely that the doctor had it printed with Lilly's Grammar for the proper use of his own school.

Of Dr. John North we are told :—

His scholastic education was altogether at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, under Dr. Stephens. . . . The master was pedant enough, and noted for high flights in poetry and criticism, and what we now call jingling, not a little derived from the last age. All which qualities were not amiss in his employment. The worst of him was what his corpulence declared, the being a wet epicure, the common vice of bookish professions. We pass by his partialities, which were indeed scandalous and pernicious to many of his scholars, because they happened to turn in favour of our Doctor, for his master was exceedingly fond and proud of him. One happiness was that he was a noted cavalier . . . [The master] being reputed little better than a malignant, he was forced to use outwardly an occasional conformity by observing the church duties and days of super-hypocritical fastings and seekings, wherewith the people in those days were tormented, though now worn out of almost all credibility; and he walked to church after his brigade of boys there to endure the infliction of divers holders-forth, tiring themselves and everybody else; and by these means he made a shift to hold his school. It happened that in the dawning of the restoration, the cancer of the times mitigated; and one Dr. Boldero . . . kept a Church of England conventicle at Bury, using the Common prayer; and our master often went to his congregation, and ordinarily took some of his boarders with him, of whom our doctor was, for the most part, one. . . . After the happy restoration, and while our doctor was still at school, the master took occasion to publish his cavaliership by all the ways he could contrive; and one was putting all the boarders, who were of the chief families in the country, into red cloaks, because the cavaliers about the court usually wore such, and scarlet was commonly called the king's colour. Of these he had near thirty to parade before him, through that observing town, to church, which made no vulgar appearance. . . . I may remember, for the credit of that scarlet troop and their scholastic education, that not above one, or two, of the whole company, after they came to act in their country ministrations, proved anti-monarchic or fanatic. . . . The methods of the school were no slight advantage, for the master required all his scholars to fill a quarter of a sheet of paper with their Latin themes, and write the English on the opposite page. At the presenting them, a desk was set in the middle of the school, where the boy stood and rehearsed his theme in Latin or English, as was required; and at this act a form or two of boys were called up from the lower end, and placed by way of audience; and the master had opportunity to correct faults of any kind, pronunciation as well as composition. This discipline, used generally in free schools, might prevent an obloquy, as when it is said that in the grand assemblies for English affairs there are found many talkers, but very few speakers.

After Dr. Stevens's resignation on 12 September, 1663, a committee, of whom Dudley North was one, was appointed to 'review the statutes of the school and prepare such alterations as they shall think requisite.' If the new master's memory is to be trusted this revision was undertaken because when the statutes were read over to him, 'on my objection that there were some which I could not observe,' they were altered. But it was only on 30 September the new high master was chosen in the person of Mr. Edward Leeds, 'late high master of the free school of Newark,' at a salary of £40 with the house newly purchased near the school now in building. A year later, 5 September, 1664, the old school was sold to Rev. John Salkeld for £85. The grip of the reaction of the Restoration and the Conventicles Acts was now felt in a resolution passed on 27 January, 1664–5, that any scholar refusing to attend church and sermon according to the discipline of the Church of England was to be expelled. On 7 August, 1665, new statutes were brought up, and a week later sent to the bishop for confirmation.

[1] Quoted in *Gent. Mag.* (1850), i, 40.

They were confirmed 2 September, but before the confirmation was received, which was on 25 September, one important article, number 39, which limited the number of boys to 120, as the first statutes had to 100, had to be altered under a power reserved to the governors, 'It now appearing that more schollers are already comeing or come to the schole.' The number was enlarged to 160.

The main change in the new statutes was for the worse. For the first time a distinction was introduced between Bury boys and others. While both the Edwardian and Elizabethan statutes had provided only that the poor as well as the rich should be taught gratis and without partiality, a preference for admission being given to the poorest; now it was only the 'townsmen's children' that were to be taught gratis, and differential admission fees were imposed in favour of the town. The masters 'shall teach all townsmen's children gratis. Yet may receive what is voluntarily proffered. Granted alsoe that the usher may demand for admission of every town child 12*d*. and for every foreigner 2*s*. 6*d*. and not more.' The addition of optional Hebrew to the curriculum is curious. But as the Renaissance in its reaction against the schoolmen and the Vulgate brought Greek into fashion for the New Testament, so the Biblical controversies of the Civil War and the reliance on the Old Testament covenant had brought Hebrew into vogue, and it threatened to become permanent in the schools.

The removal of the school took place at 1 p.m. on Monday after the Whitsuntide holidays 1665, when the governors, leading the boys, headed by the high master and followed by the usher, marched two and two in procession from the old buildings across the bridge in Eastgate to the new ones in Northgate. The walls of the new school were hung with Latin verses made by the boys, some of them exceedingly good. They are preserved in a book in the possession of the school, Mr. Leeds remarking in the preface that 'it may seem ridiculous to the present age that they should be here preserved, but to a future age perhaps not so.' And the future age has now arrived. They ought without delay, and before the book breaks up, as it has begun to do, to be printed in the school paper, *The Burian*.

The new master held sway under the new statutes in the new school for no less than 40 years. During that time the school enjoyed great repute. Leeds published several school books, and in the *Methodus Graecam Linguam Docendi*, published in 1690, he gives the names of the county families whose scions were at the school; some were from Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, including Beckwiths, Legards, Widdringtons, and Greys. Leeds was decidedly of the willow kind, not of the oak. When James II wished in 1687 to relax the restrictions on recusants and Nonconformists, and the governors petitioned for it, Leeds argued against, and one of the governors, Dr. Battely, an old Burian, who was archdeacon of Canterbury, in favour of it, saying what was perfectly true then and needs to be repeated now, that

> the matter itself or any civil consequences, let it go this way or that way, is not worth a straw, excepting only what the recusants and Nonconformists may gain and lose thereby in the education of their children.

With equal compliance with the existing order he wrote in 1695 to a parent to defend allegiance to William III.

By deed 14 June, 1670, Dr. John Sudbury, dean of Durham, gave 81 acres of land in Hepworth, Barningham, and Stanton, in Suffolk, upon trust after spending £30 in apprenticing 3 or 4 children, for the benefit of the grammar school or for the maintenance of four scholars sent thence to the University of Cambridge. In later days, however, the trustees spent the bulk of the money on apprenticing instead of on exhibitions, so that the intention of the donor was partially defeated.

Leeds died at the age of 80 on 17 November, 1707, and was buried at Ingham, in the church of which is a mural tablet to his memory. John Norris, the usher, who had held office for 29 years, resigned owing to age and infirmity on 29 August, to take effect at Michaelmas, 1689. His successor, William Hammond, B.A., was given a salary of £30. Hammond died next year, and on 19 November, 1690, John Randall, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, was elected usher. On Leeds's death, he became high master, Edward Leeds, one of the late master's sons, becoming usher. Young Leeds resigned in 1712, going to be head master of Ipswich, to be succeeded by Joseph Lathbury. Randall, on taking a living in 1715, was given notice to go. Arthur Kinnesman, an assistant master at Westminster, became high master. He enlarged the schoolhouse in 1717, receiving £60 from the governors towards the cost. In 1722 it was resolved to pull the house down and rebuild it, but this was found too costly a plan, so in 1724 £100 was spent in repairs instead. Kinnesman, after being pressed to reconsider his decision, resigned on 5 October, 1745, and was presented with a piece of plate. Robert Garnham, fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, was elected master on 17 October, and 'instated' on 13 January, 1745. The picturesque old title of high master was now dropped and never resumed. Garnham refused to live in the master's house, and was allowed £25 for rent of a house elsewhere. In 1750 a committee was appointed to pull the old house down; but it was still standing in 1758, when another committee considered plans for a new house with accommodation for 30 boarders. But the repair

of the school and rebuilding of the master's house were not actually begun until 1759. The work was finished in 1762 at a cost of some £1,100.

On 19 April, 1763, William Irving, fellow of Trinity College, who had been usher since 23 January, 1755, succeeding the Rev. John Barker, was admonished for (1) his inability or inaccuracy in teaching, and not teaching in a proper method after having been informed or advised otherwise by the head master,[1] (2) for neglect of duty in not taking the boys to church, and (3) 'for too severely correcting the boys under his care.' He thereupon resigned 24 September, 1763. John Franklin Squire—the first master with two Christian names—of Caius College, Cambridge, was appointed usher, but only held for 3 years. On his resignation, for the first time a 'signis' or advertisement for a new man was ordered to be put into the Ipswich newspapers. Thomas Smith was chosen. On 30 July, 1767, both master and usher resigned. Garnham was given a piece of plate 'for his great services.' He had produced at least two bishops: Thomas Thurlow, bishop of Durham, who left Bury School for Queen's College, Oxford, in 1754; and George Pretyman Tomline, a native of Bury, an exhibitioner from the school to Pembroke, Cambridge, tutor of William Pitt, and bishop of Lincoln and Winchester.

The Rev. Laurence Wright was elected 13 October, 1767, and in August, 1768, the Rev. G. W. Lemon, the usher, appealed to the governors against Wright's ill-usage. No proof being produced, the governors recommended them to be reconciled and both to do their duty. But next year an advertisement was issued for a new usher. He was Richard Wightwick of St. John's College, who was in turn admonished 3 April, 1771, for breach of statutes and neglect of duty and ordered to demean himself better for the future; so he resigned. But his successor, Thomas Archer, of Trinity, Cambridge, received his second admonition to return to duty on 10 September, 1772, and resigned on the 15th. On 10 January, 1776, Wright retired. His reign was signalised by Prince, Kedington, Pretyman, and Brundish being successively in 1773–6 fourth, second, and the last two senior, wranglers.

Philip Laurents of Trinity, Cambridge, 1776–1788, had for second master R. Valpy, afterwards head master of Reading, of Greek delectus fame, and then Mr. Priest, a senior wrangler. He is said to have been a *plagosus magister*. But the drama flourished under him. The 'young gentlemen of the grammar school' performed tragedies and comedies at the Assembly House and distributed the profits of the performance, amounting in 1784 to 'upwards of £40,' in charity to the poor. An interesting painting by Mr. Randall, of which many prints are preserved, in March, 1785, records their dresses for posterity.

[1] This is the first use of that term.

From 1788 to 1809 Dr. P. Becher, fellow of King's and assistant master at Harrow, was master. He died in office and was buried in St. James's Church. One of his pupils was Charles James Blomfield, a Bury boy, who became a bishop of London, dying in 1857, well known for his courtly manners and learned epigrams. He was at Bury from 1795 to 1801.

Two others were Edward Hall Alderson, who became the well-known judge, Baron Alderson, and Robert Monsey Rolfe, who became Lord Chancellor as Lord Cranworth. But neither of these can be really claimed as Bury products since they used it only as a preparatory school, the first going on to Charterhouse and the second to Winchester, and being numbered among the celebrated Carthusians and Wykehamists respectively.

In 1809, in the interregnum on Becher's departure, new statutes were made under which the head master's salary was fixed at £60, and the usher's at £30 a year. The townspeople's children, who it seems were now termed 'royalists,' as if they were the sole objects of the supposed royal bounty, though no special mention even was made of them in the charter, were to be taught gratis, i.e. free from yearly tuition fees. But admission fees of £2 2s. might be charged, divided between the head master and usher, while on Maundy Thursday a guinea was to be paid by royalists learning Latin and 2 guineas by those learning Greek as well. Besides the Catechism and English grammar, by a repetition of the statute of 1665, 'nothing should be taught in the school but the best Greek and Latin classics, except that the head master might teach those who should desire it, the rudiments of Hebrew.'

The next head master was again a Trinity Cambridge man, Benjamin Heath Malkin. A striking sketch of him by James Spedding, the biographer and editor of Bacon, was printed as an appendix to Dr. Donaldson's Retrospective Address in 1850:—

> The Homeric Zeus has in my imagination many of the features and all the voice of Dr. Malkin . . . his sympathy declared itself as his authority maintained itself by his own nature. . . . When his portly figure and handsome rosy face appeared at the window of his library that overlooked the school we knew that he came there not to see who was working and who was idle, but to enjoy the sight of boys enjoying themselves.

Like Goddard and Arnold 'he trusted to the natural sense of honour and justice which formed the public opinion of the school—trusted it largely and frankly.' He had his defects.

> Dr. Malkin had a way of setting lessons and exercises according to some predetermined inflexible rule; for instance, that each lesson should consist of a single section in a variorum edition. This in 9 sections out of 10 was light work enough; but in the 10th occurred some unhappy word upon which the commentators had exhausted all their learning. On such

occasions I have known morning school prolonged far into the afternoon . . . the rest disperse and re-assemble again having dined between, while the VI were still occupied in galloping at full speed through that interminable wilderness of commentation ; and all for no reason whatever except that that arbitrary rule might not be violated. Yet in securing the primal and essential condition of all education Dr. Malkin shone. He taught his boys to think for themselves.

It was proved by Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury, that in the years 1806 to 1814 the largest number of classical prizes at Cambridge was won by Bury boys, Shrewsbury coming next, and Eton and Charterhouse with their large numbers, bracketed third. Among other famous products of Bury at this time may be reckoned John Mitchell Kemble, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, who ought to be mentioned with special reverence in this work as one of the fathers of the scientific treatment of English history. He was at Bury from about 1822 to 1826, when he got from thence an exhibition at Trinity College, Cambridge.

In April, 1828, John Edwards of Jesus College, Cambridge, an assistant master at Harrow School, and before that, second master at Richmond School, Yorkshire, was appointed head master. For increase of stipend he was allowed 6 guineas a year for each 'Royalist,' out of the endowment, not exceeding £52 10s. in all, whatever their number, in addition to the statutable (1809) stipend of £60 a year. At that time there were 68 boys in all, 37 foreigners, and 31 royalists. In 1830 the number in the school had risen to 110.[1] But there do not seem to have been any very distinguished alumni of the school in his day.

In 1841 came John Williamson Donaldson, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Educated at a private school in Scotland, he early achieved distinction by introducing the results of scientific philology, a German product, to English readers in *The New Cratylus*, published in 1839, and of archaeological research in his *Theatre of the Greeks*.

In spite of his fame as a scholar the school did not grow under Dr. Donaldson, but rather decayed. The domestic arrangements were very rough.

> The fires in the Big Hall were scanty and seldom. There was never any at all in the Outer Hall. The so-called studies, approached by a passage open at one end to every wind that blew, were mere cabins . . badly heated by a smoky flue. The sanitary arrangements . . were absolutely indescribably vile.

Yet Dr. Donaldson brooked no criticism from parents either of the arrangements or the bills. Take it or leave it was his answer.

Dr. Donaldson was rather distant and severe in his judgements on the boys. There was little or no flogging, but impositions raged. He was perhaps too much taken up with his books and too little with his boys. One of his books produced a great sensation. Among his other accomplishments he was a great Hebrew scholar. In an evil moment he set to work to extract and put together as 'the Book of Jasher,' which is referred to à propos of the song of Deborah and Barak, the poetical fragments which he detected embedded in the Old Testament. Among them was the first chapter of Genesis, to which he gave a somewhat startling interpretation, connecting it with phallic worship. Though the book was published in Latin and in Germany, the author was, most unfairly, fiercely attacked, and held up to reprobation as a heretic, and a depraver of the youth, in an English pamphlet by J. Perowne, afterwards dean of Worcester. Donaldson resigned the head mastership in 1855 and returned to be a successful tutor at Cambridge.

In 1855 the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had been for a short time head master of Felsted School, was appointed head master. He was a man of remarkably wide and varied accomplishments. For his classical scholarship his position in the first five of the Classical Tripos is sufficient evidence. He was one of the highest authorities on Czech language and literature ; and was—which was rarer—eminent in many branches of natural history, especially entomology and botany. The edible 'fungi' which those of his boarders who remained after him, and who had grasped his lore, used to bring home to be cooked after their rambles, were a perpetual, though quite groundless, terror to his successor in the head mastership. His power of initiative was shown by his being perhaps the first head master of any public school to adopt the 'new' pronunciation of Latin and he extended it—*mutatis mutandis*—to Greek also. But after the stir in the educational world which resulted in the creation of the Endowed Schools Commission and the re-creation of many schools, the inadequate site and building of Bury School began to tell heavily against it in competition with other schools, and the numbers fell. After a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts became law on 4 February, 1879, Mr. Wratislaw retired on a pension to be vicar of Manorbier in Pembrokeshire.

The new scheme established a governing body of eleven: one nominated by the Bishop of Ely, another by the university of Cambridge, two by the town council of Bury, and two by the justices of West Suffolk, with 5 co-optatives. The tuition fees were fixed at £15 to £24 a year, with a reduction of one-third for 'Royalists,' while the boarding fees were not to exceed £65 a year. The 'Hewer Exhibitions' were reduced to 3 of £60 a year. A scheme made on the same day for Dean Sudbury's Charity

[1] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxv, 551.

incorporated it with the grammar school, and settled the apprenticeship part at the proper and original sum of not more than £30 a year, establishing 4 scholarships in the school of £10 each for Royalists, and a Sudbury Exhibition tenable at Oxford or Cambridge or other place of higher education of £60 a year.

The promise of new buildings drew a large field to compete for the vacant mastership when Mr. Charles Sankey, late scholar of Queen's College, Oxford, and assistant master in Marlborough College, was appointed. He found some 45 boys in the school; 9 of them were boarders, of whom 3 left at the end of term. The head of the school was G. L. King, scholar of Clare College, and now bishop of Madagascar. No changes of note were introduced by the newcomer, but the annual speech-day was put at the end of the summer term, and the printing of the 'Prolusiones' or Prize Exercises at the cost of the parents of the prize-winners was stopped. All the scholars, both 'royalists' and 'foreigners,' were brought into the seats allotted to the school in St. James's Church: and the play, at the end of the winter term, was henceforth performed in the schoolroom, and not, as before, at the Athenaeum.

Meanwhile the governors found considerable difficulty in deciding on a site for new buildings. In the end, the vinefields of the old abbey won the day. Generous terms were granted by the Marquis of Bristol, the comptroller of the governors and owner of the site; the difficulty of approach was solved by the formation of a new road leading out of Eastgate and the concession of a right of way to the scholars through the abbey grounds. The eminent ecclesiastical architect, Mr., afterwards Sir Arthur, Blomfield, produced a red brick pile in the Elizabethan style of imposing aspect. Its internal arrangements with stone staircases and narrow passages are more suited to a monastery than a school; but the dormitories are light and airy. The mahogany fittings of the governors' room and master's study, and a board painted with the royal arms and the line adapted from Lucretius, *Haec patrio princeps donavit nomine regem* (containing as we have seen a historical untruth, since Bury was far from being the first school to give King Edward the name of father), were almost the only part of the old buildings transferred, though long desks scored with engineering devices of old boys recall the old days before science was brought to bear on school buildings and school furniture.

Half-way through the spring term of 1883 an outbreak of scarlet fever caused the school to be broken up. The old buildings were at once abandoned. After a slight extension of the Easter holidays the summer term began in the new school, with about 70 boys, 30 of whom were boarders.

The numbers in the school had increased slowly; but they never quite rose to 80; nor were more than 37 of the 40 beds in the head master's house ever filled. A large proportion of the boarders (i.e. 14 out of 34 in October, 1886; 11 out of 25 in October, 1888) were the sons of clergymen. Though only one first class was obtained during Mr. Sankey's head mastership, viz. by H. Wing of Trinity, Cambridge, in the Classical Tripos, yet other distinctions, second classes, admissions to Sandhurst, &c., were common; and the school was vigorous both in work and games.

In July, 1890, Mr. Sankey resigned his head mastership, and left in December to become an assistant master in Harrow School. His successor was Mr. J. H. F. Peile, assistant master in Sherborne School, and late scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After three years he resigned, and is now Fellow of University College, Oxford, and a select preacher. During his time the gymnasium and cricket pavilion were built. The present head master, the Rev. Arthur Wright Callis, M.A. Cantab., was head master of Wymondham School, Norfolk, and was appointed in 1894. He has seen added to the school a chemical laboratory; a carpenter's shop with lathe room; a 'tuck' shop; a sanatorium; an Eton fives court and the restoration of the Rugby fives court; and a cadet corps, of which the head master is captain, attached to the 2nd V.B. Suffolk Regiment. He has adorned the school with a gallery of the portraits of over sixty distinguished old Burians. As a Jubilee memorial, in 1897 a bust of the respected founder, Edward VI, was unveiled by the marchioness of Bristol. It already looks like an antique owing to the perishable nature of the stone of which it is made. A South African War memorial, unveiled by Brigadier-General Alderson, son of the old Burian, Baron Alderson, records the contribution of 6 old boys to the death roll of that regrettable episode. He has revived the school magazine, *The Burian*, while the opening of a preparatory department in the school hall gives promise of a large contingent of youthful scholars. On the appointment of the present head master there were 27 boys in the school; this number was quickly doubled, and an average of 50 to 60 has been steadily maintained. Within the last ten years the following among other distinctions have been gained:—17 scholarships or exhibitions at the universities; 3 first classes and 7 second classes in the Cambridge triposes; a first in 'Greats' and a second in moderations at Oxford, and passes into Sandhurst, Cooper's Hill, and the Royal Naval College.

The immediate needs of the school are more endowment and more just appreciation and generous assistance and support from the Suffolk County Council to this *facile princeps* of the schools of the county in the past.

HADLEIGH SCHOOL

The unsuspected antiquity of some schools is evinced by casual gleanings from the most unexpected quarters. Rash indeed would he be who should boast that Hadleigh School is older than Ipswich School. Yet if the evidence only of extant documents be concerned, we should have to pronounce the former the elder by nearly a century; though as the first extant mention of each school shows it as no new creation, but an already going concern, we can, in fact, draw no inference as to the date of their origin, except that it was, in the one case, before 1477, and in the case of Hadleigh, before 1382.

On 7 May, 1382, six months be it observed before the foundation of Winchester College, William Courtenay,[1] archbishop of Canterbury, in the first year of his translation to that see, in his manor of Croydon, addressed letters under his privy seal to his beloved son, Sir John Catour, priest:—

> Having due regard to the merits of probity and other virtuous gifts with which we have learnt of the evidence of trustworthy persons that you are distinguished we commit to you the teaching and governance of the grammar school of the town of Hadleigh under our immediate jurisdiction to exercise the same and prefer you as master of the same by these presents.

No earlier or later archbishop has been good enough to record in his register his presentations to this ancient school. So we cannot add the names of any more masters before the Reformation, or indeed, before the Restoration, to that of the Rev. John Catour. But we may safely infer that it was of much older foundation than 1382, and that William Courtenay was not by any means the first archbishop to see that the grammar school of his own town of Hadleigh was served by an efficient master. Nor is there any reason to suppose that he was the last, or that the school was at any time suffered to fall into abeyance.

This school, which Carlisle, in 1818, calls a free grammar school—though he does not vouchsafe the least information as to its origin or his authority for the term—seems certainly to have survived the Reformation, and enjoyed a continuous life to the nineteenth century.

Before the days of Queen Elizabeth, John Bois, who matriculated at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1560,[2] used to walk 4 miles daily when quite a child to attend the school.

Among other scholars of this school who have been heard of, were William Alabaster, author of *Roxana* and the unlucky prisoner, first of Whitgift, and (after his conversion to Romanism) of the Inquisition; John Overall, one of the Hampton Court Conference divines, and bishop of the diocese of Norwich; Joseph Beaumont, author of *Psyche*, and master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

William Hawkins—who from 1622 to 1626 held this post during the interval between his B.A. and M.A. graduations, and was later on curate of the parish—was a poet whom Milton is supposed to have honoured by plagiarizing.[4] The boys acted his *Apollo Shroving*, as well as the dialogue *Pestifugium*, which was performed before Cambridge runaways from the plague in 1630.

In 1626, Mr. William Avis, M.A., succeeded him and was master until his death in 1641,[5] when Mr. Atkinson[6] followed. His having one of the Grahams, of Netherby, in Cumberland, as a pupil shows that the school then still enjoyed a high repute.

In 1655, the only discoverable endowment of the school, namely £100, was given by Elias Jordayn.[7]

In 1667, the master is found asserting himself and obtaining an injunction ordering the teacher of Alabaster's Elementary School 'not to meddle with or claim any stipend paid to the teacher of the Grammar School in Hadleigh.'[8]

Up to the latter part of the eighteenth century a boy was occasionally sent to the university from the school. But in 1818 it was 'enjoyed by the lower classes of Humanity;'[9] and the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities report in 1840 that it was 'kept in a house or building in the Churchyard, but it has long been discontinued.'[10]

IPSWICH SCHOOL

Ipswich, which had a gild merchant in the days of King John, probably had a grammar school in days equally early. But the first mention of one yet discovered is in an order by the General Court of the Borough on Monday before Lady Day, 1476–7, hitherto known only in a late—and, as it now transpires, inaccurate—translation in a book called Bacon's Book, a collection of extracts from the corporation minute books made by Nathaniel Bacon, recorder and town clerk, *temp.* Charles I, printed in

[1] Lambeth MSS. Cant. Epis. Reg. Courtenay, fol. 106, headed 'Collacio scolarum gramaticalium ville de Haddelegh.'

[2] Tibi regimen et gubernacionem scolarum gramaticalium ville de Haddelegh nostre jurisdiccionis immediate committimus exercendum, teque magistrum tenore presencium preficimus earundem.

[3] *Suff. Arch. Inst.* iii, 112.

[4] *Paradise Lost*, viii, 40–7.

[5] *Reg. of Burials.*

[6] *Reg. of St. John's College, Camb.* He was probably assistant in the school a little earlier.

[7] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 507.

[8] Ibid. xx.

[9] Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii.

[10] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx.

Ipswich Legacies, a book on the charities of Ipswich, published in 1747. The actual entry[1] is :—

Ordinance. [And it is ordered] that the grammar school master shall henceforth have jurisdiction and governance of all scholars within the liberty and precinct of this town except only petties [little ones] called Apesyes and Songe, taking for his salary from each grammar scholar, psalter scholar and primer scholar, according to the tariff fixed by the Bishop of Norwich, viz. for each grammarian, 10*d.*, psalterian, 8*d.*, and primerian, 6*d.* a quarter.

This is an extremely interesting entry, the interest of which is much diminished in Bacon's version, as he only gives 'excepting little ones called Apes eyes taking such salary as by the Bishop of Norwich is appointed,' omitting the reference to psalterians and primerians. The original passage gives us no less than five different classes of children undergoing instruction ; the grammar boys, the psalterians, or boys learning their psalter, the primerians, or boys learning their primer, all of whom attended the grammar school and were under the master of that school ; and, besides these, the pettits (petties), the little boys not old enough to go to the grammar school, but, as we should say, at a preparatory school, and the songsters, or those attending the song school, who learnt only song and possibly reading ; and, as the lowest class of these, the apsyes, pronounced as absies, whom Bacon's mis-spelling converted into 'Apes-eyes,' or Abecedarians as they are elsewhere called—those learning the alphabet.

As usual, the information we do get only whets our appetite for more. Why was this order made, and what authority had the borough court to make it? Schools were a matter of ecclesiastical not of civil cognizance, and it was for the ecclesiastical not the civil authorities to regulate them, their fees, and scholars. We can but conjecture that the Bishop of Norwich, the ordinary of the diocese, had decided some dispute between the grammar schoolmaster, established under some charter of the crown and the bishop, and some chantry priests or parish clerks, as to the extent of the monopoly of teaching enjoyed by the authorized grammar schoolmaster ; and that the town council gave effect to his decision by ordering the townspeople over whom they exercised jurisdiction to carry it out. The decision was in strict accordance with ancient precedents ; that all those who were advanced as far as the primer i.e. Aelius Donatus' Elementary Latin Grammar, must go to the grammar school ; but that the grammar school had no right to a monopoly of instruction of those attending song schools, or of infants under 7, merely learning their A B C. The reason for this was that both song and reading were taught by song schoolmasters, sometimes separately endowed chantry priests, but more often the parish clerks, who were not, it may be remembered, mere grave-diggers and illiterates as they became in later days, but real clerics and men of some, though it may be humble, learning—sufficient at all events to read the lessons and help the priest to sing mass. In Surrey, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, and in Yorkshire[2] we have seen similar orders. A salient instance may be found in the history of Warwick School about 1315, when the Donatists, corresponding to the 'primerians' of this order, were assigned to the grammar schoolmaster, as distinct from the song schoolmaster. The distinction drawn between grammarians, psalterians, and primerians is almost unique. The only other mentions of reading the psalter as a distinct stage in education is in a diocesan constitution of John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, in 1295 :—[3]

Parents should be induced to let their boys learn singing after they know how to read the psalter, so that after they have learnt higher subjects they may not be obliged to go back to this (i.e. singing), or not having learnt it be less fit for divine service ;

and in orders made in the case of the Bury St. Edmunds Song School[4] in 1290 and 1370.

The tariff of 10*d.* a quarter for grammarians was perhaps somewhat high ; for at Oxford the tariff in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was 8*d.* a quarter, the sum paid by the psalterians at Ipswich. At all events, 5 years later, on Tuesday before SS. Simon and Jude, 1482, the tariff was lowered,[5] it being ordered that 'every burgess living in Ipswich shall pay to the grammar schoolmaster 8*d.* a quarter for his boy and not above.' Apparently by way of consolation, it was also ordered that 'the said grammar master shall celebrate for term of his life for the Corpus Christi gild,' and presumably receive the stipend for doing so. At an earlier court in the same year every foreign burgess had been ordered to pay 1*s.* 4*d.* a quarter to the gild. The schoolmaster was an appropriate person to act as the gild chaplain, for the gild furnished the yearly Corpus Christi play. In 1443–4 John Causton had been admitted a burgess of Ipswich 'on condition that for 7 years he would keep all the

[1] Ipswich Court Bk. B.M. MS. Add. 30158, fol. 34. Ordinacio : Et quod magister scole gramaticalis de cetero habebit jurisdiccionem et gubernacionem omnium scolarium infra libertatem et procinctum istius ville, exceptis petytis vocatis Apesyes et Songe, tantum capiendo pro suo salario de quolibet gramatico saltario et primario secundum taxacionem Domini Episcopi Norwicenis, videlicet pro gramatico x^{d} quarteragii, saltario viij^{d} et primario vj^{d}.

[2] *V. C. H. Surrey*, ii ; *Linc.* ii ; *Essex*, ii ; *Yorks.* i.

[3] *V. C. H. Hants*, ii, 253.

[4] See under Bury, above.

[5] B.M. Add. MS. 30158. 'Et quod quilibet burgensis infra villam Gippwici commorans solvat Magistro Gramatico pro puero suo pro quarterio anni, 8*d.* et non ultra ; et quod dictus Magister Gramaticus celebrabit ad totum terminum vite sue pro gilda Corporis Christi.

ornaments of the scenes (*de les pagents*) of the gild of Corpus Christi and provide for their repair, and make the stages for the players as well inside as outside the town, together with the common (i.e. town) clerk, under the supervision of the bailiffs, receiving the money for the repairs and for hiring properties (*arraiamentorum*), costumes, and others things necessary for the said pageants from the farmer of the town marsh and Portman's meadow.'

But meanwhile an endowment had been given specifically for the school to make it free, and relieve the poorer inhabitants of tuition fees. On 2 January, 1482–3, Richard Felaw, who had been eight times bailiff and twice M.P. for the borough, in 1460 and 1461, with wages at 2*s*. a day, made his will whereby he ordained that his

mees beyng agayn the gate of the Fryers Preachers in Ipswich be ordained to be for ever a common schoolhouse and dwelling-place for a convenient schoolmaster to be there set and deputed by the ordinary of the diocese of Norwich at the nomination of the baileys . . . and . . . have the said mees for his dwelling-place and schoolhouse freely without anything therefor yielding.

This provided a new school and a master's house. But besides that Felaw gave an income-producing endowment. 'Also the said master shall have to him and his successors a messuage with a curtilage adjoining to the' schoolhouse

on the North side of the same, and other lands and tenements, that is to say, 3 closes in the town of Whitton and within the lordship of Brooks Hall; for the which messuage curtilage lands and tenements the master for the time being shall receive and teach all children born and dwelling within the said town of Ipswich coming to the said school, freely, without taking anything for their teaching, except children of such persons as have lands and tenements to the yearly value of 20*s*. or else goods to the value of £20 to be sold,

a standard of wealth equivalent in modern language to being assessed for income-tax.

Over that the said master shall with the said children keep the mass of Our Lady at the north altar within the said Fryers at six o'clock on the morrow daily.

The governing body to establish the will concerning this article was to be the bailiffs of the town with Felaw's executors. Felaw also by the same will established a hospital or almshouse in another messuage 'at the Town end at the south part of the way there' with two closes thereto newly purchased. In 1486 the corporation, the bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty, granted a piece of their common soil under the walls of the friars preachers to John Squier,[1] clerk, apparently in perpetuity, at a rent of 3*s*. 4*d*. and a red rose at midsummer if demanded, the said Squyer (*sic*) being bound to build on the said land 'a latrine for the grammar boys of the said town.' This entry shows that the grammar school was then established in the house given by Richard Felaw. John Squier[2] clerk was elected an inner burgess (*burgensis intrinsecus*) on Thursday before 24 June, 1 Edward V, i.e. 1483, and made treasurer the same day, receiving as the balance in hand £11 22*d*. The will of a John Squire of St. Albright's chapel near Ipswich is in the Ipswich Probate office *circa* 1518.[3]

In 1488–9 Mr. Heed had succeeded him as schoolmaster. He is probably Dominus Thomas Heede,[4] who on 25 January, 1478–9, as a B.A. paid 2*s*. to the proctors of Cambridge University for 'his common' fee, and the Mr. Hede who in January 1481–2 paid 20*d* as inceptor i.e. newly made master of arts, being then granted by the corporation 20 marks 'to celebrate the Gild Day,' i.e. the Corpus Christi procession and play. The value of the endowment given by Felaw appears from a lease of 3 closes in Whitton 'part of Mr. Felaw's gift' to Robert Gooday, 'rendering to the bailiffs 30*s*. a year to the schoolmaster's use.' On 14 March, 1521, we find the grammar school tenement and part of the garden let to James Lilly for 20 years at 6*s*. rent, and persons 'appointed to divide the garden.' It would seem that the endowment was even for those days insignificant, as £5 a year was not large pay for a grammar schoolmaster, £10 a year being more usual in a place of any size or importance.

How entirely unfounded is the notion that the monasteries did anything for general education may be gauged by the fact that at this very time, while the town and Corpus Christi gild were supporting and regulating its public grammar school, the priory of St. Peter's was being scolded by the bishop at his visitations[5] for lack of learning amongst its own members. In 1514 it was a matter of complaint that they have no schoolmaster (*non habent ludimagistrum*), and in 1526 they were ordered to provide a teacher to teach the novices grammar (*fiat injunccio de preceptore providendo ad docendos novicios in gramatica*).

On Wednesday after the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January), 1520,[6] it was granted to William Stephenson, clerk, to celebrate the service for the souls of the 'brethren and sisters' of the Corpus Christi gild, and likewise it was granted to him to keep the grammar school (*ad exercendum scolas gramaticales*) for the coming year, and to enter on the said service and into the school aforesaid at Easter. So that here, as in many other places, if the Corpus Christi gild had not for one of its

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. p. 235 (*b*). Deed No. 42. Bacon misread (or has been represented as misreading) the name as Smier. 'Latrinam pro pueris gramaticalibus.'

[2] B.M. Add. MS. 30158.

[3] Bk. vii, fol. 23*b*. Ref. supplied by Mr. V. B. Redstone.

[4] Camb. Grace Book A, 127, 162.

[5] *Visit. of Dioc. of Norw.* (Camd. Soc. 1888, ed. Dr. Jessopp), 137, 221.

[6] B.M. Add. MS. 24435, fol. 153*b*; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*

primary objects the maintenance of the grammar school, it used its revenues partly for that purpose. It is a curious thing that in each of the years covered by the Court Books, from which this entry comes, viz. 1513–21, there is an entry that the *prandium vocatum le Corpus Christi dynner* and the *ludus vocatus le Corpus Christi play* shall not be held this year. It looks as if the good people of Ipswich were already tired of the superstitious mummery long before the king began to move in the direction of the Reformation. William Stevynson, grammar master in the said town of Ipswich, occurs as a witness to the will of Richard Oke of Brooks Street in 1522.[1]

Meanwhile it would appear that John Squire or Mr. Heed had the honour of superintending the first beginnings of the education of the Ipswichian who has loomed largest in history, Cardinal Wolsey. His father Robert Wolsey lived in the parish of St. Nicholas, and the cardinal was born there about 1470, since the father's will of 21 September, 1496, contains a bequest that

if Thomas my son be a priest within a year after my decease then I will that he sing for me and my friends of the space of a year and he to have for his salary 10 marks.

If not, 'another honest priest' was to have it. Presumably the son's priesthood was delayed only by lack of the canonical age of 24. The fact that Wolsey had gone up to Oxford at the age of 15 as a demy of Magdalen College may perhaps show that Ipswich Grammar School was not at this time of the highest grade, but it may only show that Wolsey was an exceptionally clever boy. At all events, we may fairly infer that he was an Ipswich Grammar School boy before entering on the career that led to the summit of fortune and of fame.

On 14 May, 1528, Pope Clement VII issued a bull authorizing the suppression of the priories of Rumburgh (Romeborow), Felixstowe, Bromhill, Blythburgh (Bliberow), and Mountjoy. On 26 May letters patent of the king ratified a bull for the suppression of St. Peter's Priory, Ipswich, and the conversion of the priory into a college, and on 31 May further bulls issued empowering Cardinal College, Oxford, to transfer to Cardinal College, Ipswich, the priories of Snape, Dodnash, Wikes, Horksley, and Tiptree (Typtre) in Essex. On 26 June the king granted the rectory of St. Matthew's, Ipswich.

On 29 June the letters patent of Henry VIII for the foundation of the college issued. Three counterparts of the original—one with what is evidently a portrait of the king in the initial letter, beautifully drawn and tinted—are preserved at the Record Office among Cardinal Wolsey's charters. In view of these impending events they have a curious sound. For in language that was more appropriate in the mouths of Edward III and William of Wykeham, they recite how it was because of 'the sincere devotion and special affection which he felt for the most glorious Virgin, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the augmentation and increase of divine worship in celebration of masses, prayers, and other divine offices and for the increase of the art and science of grammar and the exaltation and establishment in this behalf of most holy mother church, his bride,' that the king, on the 'pious proposal and humble petition' of his chancellor the cardinal, wished to found a college in the parish of St. Matthew, Ipswich,[2] 'in and of the number of 1 dean, 12 priest fellows, 8 clerks, and 8 chorister boys, there daily to serve at divine worship, and of poor (*egenorum*) scholars desiring to learn grammar, and 13 poor men perpetually to pray for our good estate while alive and for our souls when we have passed from this light.'

On 3 July Wolsey issued a commission in almost royal style to John Higden, dean of Cardinal College, Oxford, Lawrence Stubbs his almoner, Richard Ducke, dean of his chapel, William Capon, dean of the college to be erected at Ipswich, Cuthbert Martial, afterwards dean of Darlington, and, most famous name of all, Stephen Gardiner, LL.D., to prepare statutes for Ipswich College. On 6 July further letters granted to Wolsey 'perpetual caretaker[3] of St. Alban's Abbey' the nunnery of Our Lady de Pratis, otherwise Pray, in Hertfordshire, extinct by the death of Eleanor Barnard, late prioress. On 9 July Wolsey was empowered to grant St. Matthew's to the college. On 15 July the foundation stone of the college was laid by John Longlands, bishop of Lincoln. On 26 July two sets of letters patent were issued granting the lands of the suppressed priories of St. Peter's, Ipswich, and the priories of Rumburgh, Felixstowe, Bromhill, Blythburgh, and Mountjoy.

On 28 July Wolsey executed his foundation deed in pursuance of the letters patent, erecting 'Saint Mary Cardynall College of Ipswich' and converting the priory of St. Peter's into a college to consist of a dean, &c., echoing precisely the words of the letters patent,

'also' of one Master Teacher or Preceptor and one Undermaster in grammar whose duty it is to instruct or teach the poor scholars and others whatsoever and wheresoever from the realm of England coming to the

[1] Wills in Ipswich Probate office. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. V. B. Redstone, an assistant master of Woodbridge School.

[2] The licence in mortmain for the grant of lands was for the largest amount then given, being up to £1,000 a year.

[3] This is the plain English. In ecclesiastico-legal 'jargon,' it is commendatory or holding *in commendam*.'

[4] Necnon unius magistri Informatoris sive Preceptoris et unius hypodidascali in gramatica qui egenos scholares aliosque quoscunque et undecumque de dicto regno Anglie ad dictum collegium confluentes in rudimentis gramatice gratis absque pecunie vel alterius rei exaccione debeant informare sive erudire juxta ordinaciones fiendas, in villa Gippwici erigimus.

said college in the rudiments of grammar, gratis without exaction of money or other thing, according to ordinances to be made.'

William Capon, professor of sacred theology (a variant for D.D.), was appointed dean or master. On a vacancy in the deanery the priests, clerks and scholars were to elect his successor; and vacancies among the priests, clerks or scholars were in like manner to be filled by election by them with the dean. On 20 August the king inspected and confirmed a bull of Clement VII dated 12 June by which, 'that the inmates of the college might more quietly and freely give their labour to learning,' he exempted it from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction but that of the pope, and appointed the 2 archbishops for the time being guardians of its liberties.

There can be no manner of doubt that in this foundation Wolsey was consciously and of set purpose copying the foundation of Winchester and Eton; following the latter where it deviated from the model of Winchester, particularly in making the school expressly a free grammar school, open, free of payment, to all comers from the kingdom of England, whereas Wykeham had expressly provided that besides the 70 scholars only 10 gentlemen-commoners (*nobilium*) should be admitted, and they were to pay for their board and schooling, so as to be no burden to the college.

How far Wolsey intended to follow these precedents by uniting his college at Ipswich with his college at Oxford, in the same way as Winchester College sent its boys to New College, Oxford, and Eton College sent its boys to King's College, Cambridge, we do not know, as the statutes of the college were never made. But it may be noted that William Capon the dean was not an Oxford but a Cambridge man, proctor there in 1509 and Master of Jesus College in 1516, amply beneficed with prebends at Bangor, Beverley, &c., and precentor of St. Mary's, Southampton, where by his will 31 July, 1550, he founded (or refounded and endowed) the still existing grammar school.

It is strange to observe that while Cardinal College at Oxford far exceeded in size New College, until that time by far the largest foundation in that University, Ipswich College Grammar School was not on so large a scale as the Grammar Schools of the colleges of Eton and Winchester. We know the exact details of what was contemplated from a most interesting document prepared by and perhaps in the handwriting of Thomas Cromwell, the famous *malleus monachorum*, who was Wolsey's business factotum in the establishment of the two colleges :— [1]

Rate of charges of wages, comons and lyveres for the Master, felaws, conducts, scolars and bedesmen to be maintained in a College entended by my lorde cardinalle grace to be established within the town of Ipswich.

	£	s.	d.
A President or Master . .	13	6	8
12 felaws, prests, £4 each .	26	13	4
A master in gramer, taking to his stipend yerely . . .	13	6	8
A Usher taking for his wages yerely	4	0	0
A second Usher and keeper of the Scolehouse . . .	2	0	0
To 12 olde men eche taking for his wages by yere 13*s.*4*d.*	8	0	0
	115	6	8

There were to be 9 servants costing £17 13*s.* 4*d.*, and fees of lawyers and stewards £5.

Under the heading of 'Comons' were, the Master's Commons . .	8	13	4
12 'felaws' at 16*d.* a week	42	0	0
'8 clerkys and 2 ushers' at 12*d.* a week	26	0	0
'Scolemaster' at 16*d.* a week	3	9	4
'The comons of 50 children after 6*d.*[2] a pece wekely' .	63	5	4
8 'queresters' at 6*d.* a week	10	8	0

which with servants at 10*d.* and old men at 6*d.* made a total for Commons of £184 5*s.* 4*d.*

Under the heading of 'Lyveres' there was a strict gradation; the President was to have 5 yds. of cloth at 6*s.* a yard, costing 30*s.*; the schoolmaster 4 yards at 5*s.* a yard, the fellows 4 yards at 4*s.*, the clerks 3½ yards at 3*s.* 4*d.*, the 2 ushers 3½ yards at 3*s.*, the 50 'childerne' 3 yards at 2*s.* 8*d.*, the servants at the same rate, the queresters 2½ yards at 2*s.* 4*d.*, and finally the bedemen 3½ yards at 2*s.* The cost of all the liveries was £47 15*s.* The total charge of the college was £345 6*s.* a year.

It will be noticed that the number of 'children,' i.e. resident scholars, was only 50, instead of 70 as at Winchester and Eton, and the cost of their commons was placed considerably lower, at 6*d.* a week instead of 8*d.* to a shilling. So, too, the number of choristers was 8 instead of 16. It is noticeable on the other hand that the head master has risen in status and pay relatively to the head of the college. For while at Winchester and Eton the warden got £30 a year and the head master only £10 a year, at Ipswich the head master got the same stipend as the dean, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* The fellows were 12 in number instead of 10, but on the other hand they only received £4 a year and commons at 1*s.* 4*d.* a week instead of £7 a year and commons at 2*s.* a week.[3] It may be that living had become cheaper since the days of Wykeham and Henry VI, though it hardly seems likely; or that the supply

[1] Chapter House Books, now called Exchequer Treasury of Receipt. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 4229 (8).

[2] In Wodderspoon's *Mem. of Ipswich* this is quoted as 8*d.* per week. But this would mean over £21 a year more than the sum given.

[3] This figure needs explanation; probably it is for part of a year, or the number of priests had not been filled up.

of learned clergy had increased with the supply of colleges and their pay had fallen.

When exactly the school was opened is unknown. At all events it was in full swing by 1 September, 1528, when Wolsey sent the master of it a grammar for the use of the boys; while his elaborate orders for the curriculum are dated the same day.[1] These orders are particularly valuable, as issuing from one who owed his rise in life to having been master of one of the then most famous schools in the kingdom, that of Magdalen College School, Oxford, and was no doubt intimately acquainted with the later developments of schools.

The school was to be divided into eight forms. We know that both at Winchester and Eton there were seven forms and at St. Paul's probably, as now, eight. In Form I, the lowest, the boys learnt only the parts of speech, our old friend the *Donat*, and pronunciation. In Form II they were to talk Latin and turn into Latin 'some common proposition, not dull or inappropriate.' They were to write Roman hand. Their books, 'if any,' for it would seem their work was to be mainly viva voce, were to be Lily's *Carmen Monitorium* and the so-called Cato's *Precepts*, better known as the *Moralia*, moral sayings in verse. In Form III they were to read 'Aesop, who is wittier? Terence, who is more useful?' —for talking Latin be it understood—and Lily's Genders. In Form IV they went on in Lily's Grammar to preterites and supines, and in authors to Virgil, 'prince of all poets,' whose 'majestic verses' they were 'to give out with sonorous voice.' In passing on to Form V, which was probably the lowest under the master, Wolsey interrupts himself to give special directions that 'the tender youth is not to be treated with severe blows, or threatening faces or any kind of tyranny. For by injustice of this kind the keenness of their intelligence is often extinguished, or to a great extent blunted.' We may recall the lecture on the same subject given by Robert Sherborne, bishop of Chichester, in founding his grammar school at Rolleston in 1524, who remarked that some teachers of the day behaved more like madmen than teachers; and the stories by Erasmus of the brutal methods he had seen adopted in some German schools; and may congratulate Wolsey, following Wykeham, on his superiority to the stupid and reactionary ferocity of one of Sherborne's successors in the see of Chichester and of his own in the see of York, Samuel Harsnett, who, founding a school at Chigwell almost exactly a century later—1629—actually directs the master to be 'severe in his government' and to apply the ferula if they do not speak Latin in school and to chastise them severely for divers offences. In a similar kindly spirit Wolsey, when he comes to Form VII, says that a good deal of play should be allowed and studies made pleasant. The books prescribed are: In Form V, Cicero's *Select Letters;* in VI, Sallust or Caesar; in VII, Horace's *Epistles*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*; in VIII, Valla's *Elegantiae*, Donatus' *Figurae*, and any ancient authors in the Latin tongue, while Terence is to be studied with lectures on the life of the day, style, and the like. The veteran diplomatist wished the boys to be taught précis-writing in English and the method of writing essays or themes.

William Goldwin was the master who presided over the school. A Latin letter of his to Wolsey of 10 January, 1528–9,[2] tells him how—

> everybody, especially at Ipswich, vies in extolling his munificence, and how they rejoice in his having been born there, who had bestowed such benefits not only on them but on posterity. Especially they admired his judgement not only in having established and adorned the college but in having set over it a man whose learning and wisdom all praise; and whom the inmates of the college love and venerate, who omits nothing which tends to the worship of God in chapel or the good instruction of the boys in school.

Goldwin renews his promises for his own zeal and diligence, and—

> as he has laboured not sluggishly hitherto he already begins to see a more plentiful crop growing so that he does not despair of the harvest. But it must have time to ripen. What could be done in so short a time that I have done as your majesty[3] may see. For I have sent some writings of my pupils, not of all but of some, who as they now write so I hope they will soon be able to speak Latin (*Italice*) as they ought: for no one ever employed a sower on more fertile soil, so full are they all of good intelligence and disposition. The flock hourly increase so that the house is too small to hold the number of boys comfortably.

Brewer, in his short mention of this letter, makes Goldwin promise that the boys shall learn to speak Italian—a shocking anachronism. By 'writing Italian' Goldwin meant the clear round Roman hand he himself wrote, as compared with the crabbed Gothic script of the day; and the Italian they were to talk was similarly the 'very Roman tongue' which Colet spoke of in the St. Paul's statutes, though Wolsey's and Goldwin's ideas of where that 'very Roman tongue' was to be found had advanced considerably since the days, only 16 years before, when Colet recommended Sedulius and Juvencus and other low Latin authors.

The same day that Goldwin wrote in 'Italian,' the bailiffs wrote in English in answer to a request of Wolsey's that they would grant him

[1] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* i, pt. 2, p. 139. Strype does not say whence he got them.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5159.

[3] This address was almost a hanging matter, seeing that until the days of Henry VIII not even the king was addressed as 'your majesty.'

the old endowment of the school for the college school, giving their cordial assent :—

Pleasith it your grace to be advertised that we the balies portmen and enhabitaunts of this the Kings Towne of Yppswich have lately apperceyved by Master Deane of your newe College of Yppswich aforesaid, that your pleasour and desire is that all such Lands and Tenements as of old tyme have been lymyted and appoynted to the Gramer Maister ther shuld be mortised and gevene to the said College toward the sustentacion of your newe Maister of Gramer of your Schole ther and his successours nowe by your grace ther appoyncted and ordeigned, And that your grace wold have our ffree assents unto the same. It maie please your grace to be advertised that we welle apperceyve and considre the manyfold goodness that your grace hath shewed, as welle in the ereccyone of the said College and gramer scole ther, as also in many and divers other thingis that it hath liked your grace to do to the welth of the said Towne ; ffor the which we confesse our selffs unable to make unto yor grace any sufficient Recompence. But as towchinge your said request and desire, we alle be not only content frely wit oon assent to accomplishe and fulfille the same, but also to do and execute alle and every other thinge that hereafter shalbe yor gracious pleasour to advertise us to do for the corroboracione of the same. As knoweth our lord god, we send unto yor grace, our especalle good and gracious lord long lief and honourable to his pleasour, and to the fulle accomplishment of alle yor honorable affaires. Wreten at Yppswich the xth day of Januarye

By yor humble and daylye bedemen the Bailies of Yppswich aforesaid

James Hyll
Thomas Manser [1]

In pursuance of their promise, at an assembly of the bailiffs, portmen, twenty-four, and some of the commoners on 7 October, 1528, the corporation granted to the dean and canons of the Cardinal College of St. Mary in Ipswich all the interest of the town in the lands in Whitton and Ipswich which the town claimed by the last will and testament of Richard Felaw or otherwise.

But, alas, the enlarged school was not of long continuance. We do not know whether the 50 scholars were ever appointed. On 1 December, 1529, Sir Thomas More the chancellor and other members of the House of Lords presented articles of impeachment against Wolsey, some of which were grounded on his proceedings in relation to the two colleges. He was eventually found guilty of incurring the penalties of a praemunire for having on 2 December, 1523 accepted a papal bull without the royal licence. On 9 July following the dean, 'William Capon, priest,' wrote to Wolsey [2] that

Mr. Fayerfax, serjeant, and divers other counsel and the Lord Chief Justice all advised that the college at Ipswich would not stand,

as the grants had been made to Wolsey after he had 'ronne in the praemunire.' On the 20th he wrote again to say that the king had resolved to dissolve the college by Michaelmas, and that the lands had already been seized to the king's use. On 19 September, 1530, a commission sat at Woodbridge and gave a verdict that all the college lands were forfeited to the king. On 4 October Capon writes that he had received through the Duke of Norfolk, now practically Prime Minister, orders to dissolve the college 'retaining only the subdean, schoolmaster, usher, and six grammar children until the king's future pleasure should be known.'

In an undated document,[3] but presumably some time in 1530 or early in 1531, there is preserved an assignment of the forfeited property amounting to £2,234 a year in all, to various persons, leaving to the king only £359 a year.

England. Lordships, manors, land, tenements, rectories, pensions, portions and other possessions spiritual and temporal there, now in the hands of King Henry VIII, and by mandate of the same king assigned and appointed to divers persons following.

To the college at Oxford were assigned rents and farms amounting to £200 a year, besides the late monastery of St. Frideswide £227 a year, and the monastery of Littlemore, another £40 ; in all £667 18*s.* 6¾*d.* To 'the college of Wyndesore,' i.e. St. George's, were given lands worth £603 a year. Then came :—

Assigned to the College or school of Ipswich (*assignata collegio sive schole Gippewici*) :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rent of manors of Felixstowe and Fakenham with their appurtenances.	20	0	0
Rectories, pensions, and portions late belonging to the monastery of St. Peter, Ipswich, as appears by the valuation aforesaid . . .	23	8	4
Rent of the rectory of Blakamore 66*s.* 8*d.*, and Ginge Margaret, £12, in all . .	15	6	8
Rectory of Marybourn . . .	0	13	4
	59	8	4

The school was therefore intended to be left amply endowed, even without the endowment left by Felaw. But what exactly happened is unknown and apparently unknowable. For another edition of the same document [4] gives under the heading 'assigned to the school of Ipswich (*assignata scole Gippwici*)' in more detail what was assigned. The items mentioned are :—

Rent of the site of the manor of Felixstowe with demesne lands rents and farms in Felixstowe and

[1] The name is wrongly read by Brewer into Chanser. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5160.

[2] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 6510.

[3] The reference to it is *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 6816 (5).

[4] Misc. Bks. Exch. T.R. 117, fol. 87.

divers other towns £20 a year, including the rent of the manor of Falkenham with rents marshland and tithes of corn there: The monastery of St. Peter's, Ipswich; rent of the tithe of corn in St. Peter's parish, £5; in Wharstow £5; the rent of Thurston rectory, £8 3s. 8d.; and divers pensions in the town of Ipswich, viz. from the parish of St. Mary at Key 40s., and from St. Clement's 40s.

But the total value of this is £43 0s. 4d. only. If ever this endowment was effectively given, the king at some time took it back, and gave instead a charge on the crown lands in the county. For it is recited in Queen Elizabeth's charter to the school in 1565 that there was

a certain general and free grammar school (*generalis et libera scola gramaticalis*) founded by our most dear father consisting of a master and usher (*magistro informatore et hypodidascalo*) to instruct the children . . . within the town aforesaid and elsewhere within the kingdom of England; which offices of master and usher are in our disposal and the said master and usher have had and were to have for their wages and stipends £38 13s. 4d. a year . . . out of the issues and profits of our manors lands tenements possessions and hereditaments in our said county of Suffolk.

Probably this charge on the crown revenues was by warrant to the Exchequer or of the Court of Augmentations.

Somehow or another the corporation of Ipswich recovered Felaw's endowment, for in 1550 they granted part of the grammar school lands to the chamberlains for 21 years at a small reserved rent; and in 1551[1] a lease for 21 years at 6s. 8d. a year was granted by the bailiffs of 8 acres of land 'beyng parcel of the closes sometimes called the Grammer Scole landes.'

Foxe, the martyrologist,[2] made a somewhat violent attack on 'Richard Argentine, doctor of physic,' (he took the M.D. degree at Cambridge in 1541) who was usher and then head master from Henry VIII to the end of Mary's time. Under Edward VI, he says, Argentine was a professing Protestant,

but when Mary came to her reign none more hot in all papistry and superstition than he, painting the posts of the town with 'Vivat Regina Maria,' and in every corner . . . till at length towards the end of Queen Mary he came to London, and in this queen (Elizabeth's) time began to show himself again a perfect Protestant.

The Ipswich records give only the following item about him on 3 June, 1552: 'Mr. Argentine shall have 40s. for translating the charter into English to be payed by moieties at Midsummer and Michaelmas.' He published, while at Ipswich, in 1548, a school-book, '*Certeyne preceptes*, gathered by Hulricus Zuinglius, declaring how the ingenuous youth ought to be instructed and brought unto Christ.' In virtue of this and some sermons he finds a niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

There seems to have been some difficulty about the due supply of masters after Argentine's removal to London. This led to the granting of a charter by Queen Elizabeth, which has resulted in the school being wrongly dubbed 'Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School,' though even the charter itself did not, as was usual, give it any such title. The difficulty arose from the appointment being vested in the crown, and the consequent delays in getting a new master on a vacancy. The charter dated 18 March, 1564–5, after reciting Henry VIII's so-called foundation as already set out, proceeds:—

And whereas we are given to understand that the school aforesaid hath often been vacant by the death or cession of the master of the school for a long time before it has been provided with another master, whence it has happened that the boys there at school during the times of such vacancy have not been taught, and have spent the time idly without any benefit, to their great loss and detriment;

besides which the salaries have been in arrear,

whence it has often happened that the said master and usher have been the less able to stay there longer and give their diligence in instructing boys in learning, to the great prejudice and loss as well of the boys as of the inhabitants of the whole town and contrary to the pious and good intention of the aforesaid founder.

Moreover, there was no governing body to keep the master in order:

Also the master and usher have often been remiss and negligent in executing their offices in all things relating to their attendance and teaching of the children and scholars, because neither the bailiffs burgesses and commonalty nor any other our magistrates has any right or authority to animadvert upon them, to the great detriment of the scholars aforesaid.

For remedy of these grievances—which must surely be considerably overstated, as they relate only to a period of some 8 years—the charter gave the corporation 'after the death of our beloved subject John Scot, who now possesses and exercises the office of headmaster,' the power of 'presenting a fit person' to the Bishop of Norwich 'being ordinary' to be head master, who on approval by the bishop, was to be admitted by the corporation. They were also to appoint an usher 'such . . . as the master . . . shall have adjudged fit to undertake the said office,' and to remove such usher. Of the crown endowment the master was to receive £24 6s. 8d. and the usher £14 6s. 8d., and the corporation were empowered to retain the money out of the fee-farm rent payable by the town to the crown. The corporation were also empowered to make statutes with the consent of the ordinary.

Somewhere about the same time the school was removed into the ancient chapel of the

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. p. 236*b*.
[2] *Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1839), 222.

Black Friars, situate in what is now called Foundation Street. Here it remained for some two centuries till 1763, when it was again removed a few yards into the refectory of the Black Friars, where it stayed till the demolition of that building in 1851.

John Scot was still master on 24 September, 1587,[1] when 'fower persons' were

appointed to view what reparacions have been donne to the Grammer Scole by Mr. Scott and the same to allow or disallow in part or in whole, and to cause payment to be made.

This seems to have been on the retirement of Scot, as in 1567 we find John Dawes master. He held office till his resignation on 8 September, 1582. The corporation exercised their power of making statutes in 'ordinancies made at a Great Court held in the Moot Hall, in 1571':—

That the Master and Usher, with their Scholars, shall, kneeling upon their knees, devoutly, every day, say or sing such godly morning and evening prayers or psalms as shall be written in a Table to be hanged up in the Upper Part of the said School.

The master was to be there

by 7 of the clock and the Usher at 6, and there remain and abide until 11, and every afternoon to be there at 1 of the clock, and to remain there until 4 throughout the year.

That there be ordained in the said school for ever seven Forms . . . and that the Scholars in every Form during their school times speak Latin the one to the other.

The Master and Usher every Saturday and Holiday even at afternoon . . . to instruct them in Good Manners and Behaviour towards their Parents, and toward every other State and Degree.

That the school be daily swept and made clean, by the appointment of Master or Usher.

Towards the latter end of John Dawes' time his son was usher. On 14 April, 1580,

Joseph Dawes, usher of the Grammar Schoole, hath surrendered up his place, and the bailiffs and portmen with the consent of Mr. Dawes, the schoolmaster, shalle elect another in his roome.

On 5 April, 1582, an exhibition of £4 a year was ordered to 'be paid to Robert Dixon, the town's scoller at Cambridge till midsummer come 12 months.' On 5 December, 1580, it was agreed by the corporation that 'on lettres commendatory from Sir Christopher Wray Chief Justice of England,' John Smith 'shall be presented to the bishop for his allowance of him to be master of the Grammer Schoole.'

John Smith, an Ipswichian born, fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, who took his B.A. degree in 1576 and M.A. in 1579, owed his recommendation from Sir Christopher Wray to a letter from Foxe the martyrologist:—[2]

Jesus.

Forasmuch as thys yong man for whom I wryte ys not so well known to your honour peradventure, as he is to me, by long acquayntance and continnuance, to signifie therfore to your Lordshyp, not only upon privat affection, but upon truth and knowledge in hys behalf: thys ys breifly to testifie to your good Lordship that if the town of Ypsewich stand in neade of a worthy, godly, and lerned scholmaster, for all such indowments and ornaments requisite in such a function, as trew religion, lernyng, diligence, and practice, for these and such other gyftes of abilitie, I know not how, nor where, they may be better spedd than in receavyng thys Mr. J. Smythe, beying hymself born in the same town of ypsewych, whom both present occasion of tyme, and the good vocation of Jesus Christ, I trust, offereth now unto them. Certifeyng moreover your good Lordshyp, and not only you, but also the whole town of ypsewych, that whosoever shall receave hym for guydyng of theire schole, shal doe no such pleasure to hym, as profyts to themselves, and commoditie to theire yougth. Dominus iesus tibi benedicat et tuis. Amen.

Yours in Christ iesu,

Lond. Noveb. 23. Joh Foxe.

To ye ryght honorable and hys very good Lord ye Lord Chiefe Justice of England.

The corporation were taking time by the forelock, for Dawes still remained master for nearly two years more. On 6 April, 1582—

Mr. Sterne[3] having surrendered the usher's place . . . Robert Brown shall be admitted thereto soe a Dr. Norton, Mr. Pemberton, and Mr. Dawes doe approve him for his learning and religion.'

It was not till 8 September, 1582, that Smith was formally elected master 'for life from Michaelmas next.' On 15 October the garden plot at the north end of the grammar school was let to him with 'parcell of the tenement next Shermans' at 6s. a year 'during his continuance.' On 19 December he was granted '40s. for his paines and charges in presenting certain publique pageants in joy of the queene's coronation upon the last 17 of November.' So that here as elsewhere throughout Tudor times the schoolmaster was looked to for plays and pageants.

Mr. Smith stayed no long time. On 19 September, 1585, his petition to the corporation for the admittance of Mr. Bartley to be master 'upon the surrender of the said Mr. Smith' was referred to a committee. The committee apparently reported favourably, as on 19 April,

[1] Bacon, *Ann.* 277.

[2] Harl. MS. 416, fols. 135, 155: printed by Mr. C. S. Partridge in the *Ips. Sch. Mag.*

[3] Mr. Sterne can hardly have been, as suggested by Mr. Partridge in the *Ips. Sch. Mag.* John Sterne who matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1560, and took his M.A. degree at St. John's College in 1568, being then Usher at Ely Grammar School.

1586, it was resolved that 'Mr. John Bartley, master of arts, shall be presented to the Bishop of Norwich for the injoying of the mastership of the grammer schoole.' He gave place in 1589 to George Downing of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he had taken his M.A. degree in 1577. He was grandfather of Sir George Downing, British Envoy in Holland during the Protectorate, and owner of the property which became Downing Street, and great-great-grandfather of the founder of Downing College, Cambridge.

On 29 September, 1594, Robert Brown, the usher, was 'discharged for neglecting his place,' and James Leman 'permitted to execute that place till another usher shall be elected.' He was himself elected on 11 April, 1595, and held for nearly 10 years, when he became head master. Leman was an old boy and exhibitioner from the school. For on 24 March, 1583, it was ordered that

James Leman, bachelour of arts, a poore young man borne in this towne being indebted at Cambridge for his commencement, shall have £5 paid out of the towne money, and the same shall be deducted out of Roger Barnys gift if by law it may soe be.

He took his M.A. degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1595. As usher he was paid 20 December, 1595, 'for speeches upon the Coronation Day made by his scollers and other charges, £4.' From 19 July, 1594, to 17 May, 1599, William Johnson of Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he became B.A. 1597, M.A. 1601, held an exhibition of £4 a year out of Mr. Barnys' gift, and from 16 July, 1696, 'Samuel Bird, sonne of Mr. Bird, minister of St. Peter's at Cambridge,' was given an exhibition from the same source of £4 a year for five years.

On 25 December, 1599, Mr. Downing the schoolmaster was given 20s. 'for making a speech on the coronacion day,' meaning probably making a play or oration for his boys to deliver. On 12 March, 1604, James Leman became head master, but however successful he may have been as usher he seems to have been a failure as head master. The corporation tried to turn him out. At least that seems to be the explanation of some otherwise mysterious entries in the corporation books :—

10 Nov. 1606 : The houses and lands which Mr. Felaw gave shall be employed according to the gift, and that a master shall be provided for the schoole. 26 Oct. 1607 : The treasures of the Hospital from time to time shall receive the rents of Mr. Felaw's lands and pay the same to William Awder, selected schoolmaster, by halfyeres, without warrant from the bailiffs.

The hospital was Christ's Hospital, Ipswich, founded in 1569 in the vacant Black Friars' house, just as Christ's Hospital in London was in the dissolved Grey Friars. It was on the precise model of its London prototype, being founded by public subscription and supported by rates, viz. a 'tonnage' on all ships coming to Ipswich ; and including poor people, orphans, and also a workhouse for vagabonds and disorderly persons. In later days it also followed its model in becoming simply a charity school for poor boys, of the grammar school type ; though of course the Ipswich Hospital was of a lower grade.

Awder was of Christ's College, Cambridge, M.A. 1606. On 6 June, 1608, James Leman

is discharged from being schoolmaster for his evill behaviour and unproffitable teaching and an agreement shall be sealed of the house and lands in James Leman's occupacion and of the schoole lands.

The same day the late master 'Mr. George Downing is elected master of the Grammer Schoole for one yere to comme,' and this appointment was similarly renewed yearly till 1611. But on 5 October, 1608, we read 'Mr. Leman shall have the last quarter's wages and 20s. out of Mr. Smart's revenues' ; and on 14 August next year a committee was appointed 'to debate and conclude with Mr. Leman of all causes in controversy betweene them.' But it was two years before peace came, and, on 30 October, 1611, Downing ceased to be *locum tenens*. Then was 'Mr. John Cottisford elected master, and a writing of presentation of him shall be made to the Bishop of Norwich for his allowance.' Cottisford was of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1590, M.A. 1594. The usher seems to have been Mr. John Corry, whose stipend was increased 8 August, 1614, to £20.

On 6 December, 1616, apparently on a new mastership, a general statement of the masters' pay is made :—

The Grammar Schoolemaster, Mr. Eston, shall have £30 per annum, viz. £24 6*s.* 8*d.* by the chamberlains as the king's stipend, £4 out of Mr. Smart's revenewes, and 33*s.* 4*d.* out of Mr. Felaw's revenewes ; and Mr. Cottisford the usher shall have £28 yerely, viz. £15 6*s.* 8*d.* the king's stipend, 53*s.* 4*d.* out of Mr. Smart's revenewes and £11 out of Mr. Felaw's revenewes.

Eston was of Pembroke College, Cambridge, M.A. 1593. If Cottisford was the former master who had descended to the post of usher, he need not have been ashamed to take that office under one so much his senior as Eston, especially as his total salary of £28 was scarcely inferior to the total of £29 13*s.* 4*d.* of the master. St. John's College Register records the admission on 5 June, 1632, of two Lowes, sons of the rector of Tendring, Essex, aged nearly 18 and 19 respectively, as having been at school at Ipswich under Mr. Eston. But the Ipswich records, if correctly quoted by Bacon, contain the entry of the election of Mr. Clarke on 22 November, 1630, with Mr. Woodsett as usher. Since Eston appears as sending boys from Botesdale School, Suffolk, in 1633, who had been under him two

years, it may be that the Lowes had not gone to college direct from Ipswich school, but had followed him to Botesdale in 1630. William Clarke was probably a Cambridge man, but has not been identified between three persons of that name who were contemporaries at Cambridge at this period. The St. John's College Register shows Mr. Holt as master in 1638. On 19 December, 1644,

Mr. Glascok is made master and £20 bestowed upon the schoolmaster's house, or, if he like not there he shall have 45*s.* yearly towards the providing of him a house elsewhere, and libertie to make benefit of the schoolemaster's house over and besides.

Christopher Glasscock was perhaps an Ipswich man, as one of the name was chief custom-house master there in 1604. But he was a boy at Felsted School,[1] and B.A. at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge in 1634. He sent boys to St. John's up to 1650, when he resigned to be appointed head master of his own old school, where he attained great fame and held office for no less than 40 years.

Mr. Nathaniel Seaman, son of a draper at Chelmsford, at the grammar school of which place he was educated, and admitted a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1639, was elected usher 20 May, 1645.

In March, 1648,[2] he received promotion by election to the head-mastership of Colchester Grammar School which he combined with three livings. On Glasscock's migration to Essex, John Mereweather held for a year, to be succeeded by Cave Beck. He was son of an innkeeper at Clerkenwell, admitted pensioner at St. John's in 1638.

To St. John's he sent boys from Ipswich up to 1655. He wrote 'On the Universal Character.' In 1657 he was succeeded by Robert Woodside; in 1659 came Henry Wickham; in 1662 Mr. Colson; in 1663 Jeremy, father of Jeremy Collier, the celebrated non-juror.

It is said[3] that Jeremy Collier himself was educated under his father at Ipswich School, and went thence to Caius College, Cambridge, in 1669, with an exhibition as a poor scholar. But if he was at the school he owed little to his father's tuition, as the same year, 1663, Joseph Thomas became head master, and he also stayed only a year in the place.

Meanwhile the ushers, William Dixon 1657, Andrew Weston 1658, John Hildeyard 1660, Nathaniel Hudson 1661, Thomas Page 1663, changed even more rapidly than the head masters. At length the school rested for over 30 years under Robert Stevenson, 1664–95. Whether he was a successful master does not appear. He sent no boys to St. John's College, Cambridge. His tombstone in the north aisle of St. Mary Quay, Ipswich, records his death at the age of 61, on 10 June, 1695. Robert Conningsby, 1695–1712, renewed the connexion with St. John's College, sending three boys there, one the son of the parson of Woodbridge. Edward Leeds who followed, from 1712 to 1737, was a son of the head master of Bury St. Edmunds School, 1666–1703, and was himself usher there. He successfully asserted on his retirement his rights to the full value of Felaw's lands, making the corporation pay up all arrears, amounting to about £200. But the only result for his successors was that they were admitted on terms which precluded their claiming the rents.

From 1734 to 1743 the Rev. Thomas Breton, and from 1743 to 1766 the Rev. Robert Hingeston held office. In 1767 the Rev. John King,[4] a Richmond (Yorkshire) Grammar School boy and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, left the under-mastership of Newcastle Grammar School for the head-mastership of Ipswich. He was also given the town lectureship in the parish church. He held office for 32 years. He is said to have had 70 boarders at one time, and 9 sons of his own. From 1776 he also held the college living of Witnesham. He retired from the school in 1798 on account of ill-health, but survived till 1822.

The Rev. Rowland Ingram held office but for 2 years, 1798 to 1800. Another long reign of 32 years, that of William Howorth, followed. The free boys were restricted to 30, the salaries of master and usher were combined, but only amounted to £50, and boarders varied. James Collett Ebden ruled from 1832 to 1842. In that year the Black Friars' School was abandoned for a new building—now 23, Lower Brook Street—next to the head master's house, numbered 19 to 21 in that street. John Fenwick was the first master in the new site, 1843 to 1850.

Next came Stephen Gordon Rigaud, D.D.—who has left his name and fame in one of the boarding houses at Westminster School, still called 'Rigaud's'—from 1850 to 1858. In his time the new school buildings in Henley Street, on a hill then well out of the town, were erected in 1850 to 1852. The new buildings, in the Elizabethan style, though presenting a fine appearance, were not scientifically built. A big school on the old model was provided, in which the whole school, including a junior school, in some 9 forms, were all taught and prepared their lessons together. Moreover, more rent was exacted from the head master for the new buildings than the total income from the endowment, which even in 1864 was only £109 a year. Further, though land there was then cheap only 6 acres were allotted for playing fields, a most short-sighted parsimony.

[1] *V.C.H. Essex* ii, 'Schools,' under Felsted School.
[2] Ibid. under Colchester School.
[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[4] *Annual Register* (1822), p. 267.

Among the masters on the removal may be noted Mr. Montagu Williams, afterwards a most successful Old Bailey barrister and police magistrate, and author of two volumes of racy reminiscences. The name of the next head master, the Rev. Hubert Ashton Holden, whose tenure was actually a quarter of a century, was for many years a household word to all boys in the public schools of England, and is still to many classical scholars; and since his death in 1896 has found a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He edited and wrote on many classics, Plutarch's *Lives* and Cicero's *Speeches inter alia*. But the two books which made him famous were *Folia Centuriae*, a collection of pieces from English prose authors for translation into Latin or Greek prose; and, more especially, *Folia Silvulae*, a similar cento of English poetry. Many a boy who perhaps profited little by the translation of the pieces into the dead languages has imbibed a knowledge and love of English classics, which he would never otherwise have made acquaintance with, from finding them in Holden's storehouse. Holden himself was a product of King Edward's School, Birmingham, in its palmy days, when its head-mastership seemed a passport to a bishopric. At Cambridge he won the Bell University Scholarship in his first year, 1842, was senior classic and a senior optime, scholar, and fellow of Trinity College.

The school was very successful under him. In 1864[2] the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commissioners' Report showed 103 boys, of whom 58 were day-boys, 20 of them on the foundation paying no fees, the rest paid £12 to £18 a year according to their position in the school. In 1867 there were 18 Old Ipswichians up at Cambridge, of whom 6 held open scholarships, among them the present Cambridge secretary of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examinations Board; while the present bishop of Salisbury, John Wordsworth, was there as a preparatory school to Winchester. Though Dr. Holden—he was LL.D.—was before all things a classical scholar, and his pupils achieved great distinction in classics, mathematics were also followed with effect, and German and French were not neglected.

On 29 November, 1881, a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Act became law, which put the finances of the school on a better footing, and was designed to put the whole secondary education of the town on a scientific basis; by putting Christ's Hospital and the grammar school under the same representative governing body, and providing for 3 schools—the grammar school, a middle school, and the girls' school. But it assigned only five-twelfths of the income to the grammar school, and four-twelfths to the middle school, though the grammar school was at least twice as expensive to maintain. The usual thing happened. The middle school was not content to do its work in its own sphere, but tried to trespass on that of the grammar school; and though it was expressly forbidden to be a boarding school yet was allowed by the governors to become so.

Dr. Holden retired in 1883, and died in 1896. His name has been commemorated by the establishment of a Holden Library. Under the Rev. F. H. Browne this school grew for a time, but an unfortunate personal incident ended in decline of the school and the suicide of the head master. The Rev. Philip Edwin Raynor, a scholar of Winchester and of New College, who had been head master of St. Peter's College, Adelaide, in Western Australia, succeeded in 1894. The school averaged about 120 under him. In the *Daily Chronicle* record of open scholarships for 1901 Ipswich stood very high, having won 36 in the previous 15 years, or 30 per cent. of the number of boys, and it has had a good number of athletic distinctions at the universities as well.

After the passing of the Education Act, 1902, there was much stir in Ipswich about the relations of the middle school and the grammar school, which ended in two new schemes made by the Board of Education, under which both head masters are pensioned off. Mr. Raynor has retired to a college living.

By a scheme of 14 June, 1906, the middle school and the girls' school have become the Ipswich Municipal Secondary Schools under a governing body of 13—10 of whom are to be appointed by the town council, 2 by the municipal charity trustees, with educational experience represented by one person appointed by Cambridge University. A third of the income of the endowment is given to those 2 schools, which are to be mainly financed out of the rates, tuition fees being £6 to £12 a year. As no less than 40 free scholarships, with—for 10 at least and perhaps more—cash payments of £2 to £4 a year in addition, are to be provided the rates may have something to bear.

The grammar school, under the name of Ipswich School, is given two-thirds of the endowment, which will amount to about £800 a year, when debts for building are discharged. The governing body is to consist of 8 representatives of the town council and 4 municipal charity trustees, tempered by one representative of each of the three universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London. The tuition fees are to be £12 to £18 a year. There are two leaving exhibitions, with a hope of more from the town council if it should see fit. There are 10 Queen's Scholarships, so-called after Queen Elizabeth, though, as she did not found or pretend to found the school, nor give anything, not even her name, to it, the title is somewhat misplaced.

[2] *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xiii, 194.

BECCLES GRAMMAR SCHOOL

As we noticed under Bury School, the thirteenth century custumary of St. Edmunds Abbey states that the appointment of schoolmasters to grammar schools or manors and possessions of the abbey outside Bury, belonged to the officer to whose office the possessions were appropriated. Accordingly we find in a register[1] of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries an appointment of such a master at Beccles by the chamberlain. The document is headed 'Collacio Scolarum de Beklys.'

By it, on 1 June, 1396, William Bray, chamberlain of the monastery, 'to whose office by ancient laudable and approved custom the collation of the school of the town of Beclys belongs' fully confers

the teaching (regimen) of the said school on Master Reginald Leche, chaplain, to the end that he may well and duly teach and occupy the same school in his proper person so that no one else, of whatsoever estate or degree he may be, shall presume to keep school there in any wise, under the penalty which we intend to invoke against any rashly violating this present grant.

He then revokes and annuls 'all other commissions granted to any other person by us or any of our predecessors.' But the grant was only at pleasure 'these presents not to be in force longer than it may please us or our successors.'

A few years later in 1403–4 we find the master receiving 16*d.*, for teaching two clerks from Mettingham College,[2] but after this date we have few traces of the school until the Cambridge registers are available. Mr. Dorlet (or Darley) was master between 1591 and 1608, Mr. Brant about 1606, Mr. West in 1615 and Mr. Rayner in 1624–6. Mr. Neane taught there from 1630 to 1637. Other names are those of Mr. Capp 1645–8, Mr. Nuttle 1650–5, Mr. Cannon 1656, Mr. John Forby, who was licensed to teach in Beccles in 1667, Mr. Busby 1667–9, Mr. Atkinson 1672–5 and Mr. Leeds 1697–1714, who educated Richard Playter the future master of Mendlesham.

In 1712 Henry Falconbridge, LL.D., devised by will[3] real estate in Corton &c., to endow a school, after the death of his wife. The master was to be nominated by the Bishop of Norwich, the archdeacon of Suffolk and the rector of Beccles. He was to be 'well learned and experienced in the Latine and Greeke tongues so as to capacitate youth fitting for the Universities.' If the mastership remained vacant for six months, Falconbridge's heir was to receive the rents for that time.

Several life tenants intervened before the school benefited by this bequest in 1770, and meantime the teaching, as shown by the matriculations at Cambridge, continued at a tolerably high level. Mr. Symonds was master from 1735 to 1744. Mr. Peter Routhe must be counted the first head master of Falconbridge's Grammar School. He combined this office with that of rector of Beccles. Mr. Routhe had a genial personality which along with his notion of discipline, was pleasingly shown when a pupil from Mr. Brightley's private school broke one of his windows. The culprit was made to pay up in public, but the money quietly found its way back to his pocket when justice was satisfied. This mild tempered master ruled until 1788, sending several pupils to the universities meanwhile. His son, Martin J. Routhe, became president of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1791. Until that date, he had paid a yearly visit to his father and had frequently, to the delight of the boys, taken his place in the schoolroom. Dr. Girdlestone, M.A., was the next master, and during his time the school was held in the old Guild Hall.[4] Mr. Burrows advertises as master of the 'Free School at Beccles' in 1807, but this probably refers to Leman's school, as Dr. Girdlestone remained until 1813, removing to Mr. Routhe's house in 1802 when the old master died. Girdlestone was a 'character.' He was

reserved in social habits and singular in appearance, rarely to be seen except clad in a short blue spencer, worn through all kinds of weather, and with a walking cane which was never known to touch the ground.[5]

He was both strict and generous tempered, and was always ready to grant a holiday for skating.[6] The Rev. Hugh Owen succeeded him in 1813.

The Commissioners of Inquiry in 1829 came to the conclusion that the founder had not intended to establish a free grammar school. Poor boys were however free, while others paid £1 1*s.* a quarter.[7]

In 1846 the Rev. Henry Burrows became head master, and was followed in 1853 by the Rev. A. O. Hartley. In 1867[8] Mr. J. L. Hammond, bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, acting as Assistant Commissioner to the Schools Inquiry Commission found a school of 52 boys, of whom 19 were day boys. It was mainly a preparatory school for the public schools. The Rev. J. H. Raven became master in 1873. A new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 19 July, 1883, recognized its status as a grammar school. The Rev. Percy Elliott Bateman, fellow

[1] Camb. Univ. Lib. ff. 11, 29, 47. It is wrongly entered in the University MSS. Calendar as a presentation to Bury School.

[2] Mettingham Coll. Acct. Bks.

[3] Proved 17 Feb. 1713, P.C.C.

[4] The Dr. Philip who taught in Beccles 1793–6 was probably a private master.

[5] Rix, *The Falconberge Mem.*, 39, 40.

[6] He published a *Translation of Pindar's Odes* in 1810.

[7] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 232.

[8] *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xiii, 121.

of Jesus College, Cambridge, was master from 1901 to 1904. The school in 1905 numbered 46 boys, of whom 23 were boarders, under the Rev. Percy Raymond Humphreys, of Repton School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with 3 assistant masters and 3 visiting teachers in art, music, and woodwork.

EYE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The origin of Eye Grammar School is to be sought in the 'lands and tenements put in feoffment by John Fluke and others for the finding of a scoolemaister in Eye for ever.' At what date this was has not yet been shown. But it must have been before the reign of Henry VIII, for William Gale, clerk of Eye, provided in his will for two scholars from Eye at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge;[1] and Humphrey Bysby gave an endowment of 35*s.* a year for a similar purpose in 1540.

The chantry certificate in 1548 avers that the school had continued till Michaelmas, 1547,

saving that the same scoole was voide of a scoolemaister sumtyme by the space of halfe a yeare, bicause they could nott be provided of oone in that tyme, and for the same cause yt is nowe voyde.

The parishioners also made the interesting averment that this schoolmaster had been 'sometyme a layeman and sometyme a prieste.' The yearly net value of the lands was £5 2*s.* 1*d.*, which the town at this time did 'take to their own use.'[2]

In a letter from Sir William Cardall to the Bishop of Norwich, dated 10 October, 1556,[3] he tells how he and Sir Edward Waldegrave summoned the town authorities before them to answer charges of the 'abusyng of town lands.' The Commissioners considered that the founders of the late chantry had

a meanyng in themselves that the same preste suld be a scolemaster and lernyd in latyn tunng to teache and trayne up the yowught of the town in good lernyng and vertu, and accordyngly thexpens theroff hat hytherto ben.

Sir William goes on to say that they arranged for the election of such a master by 'the Vicar and Balyves off the towne,' with the stipulation that 'none at all be chosen as scolemaster except he be also a preste.'[4]

Ten years later, in 1566, we find it stated in the 'Constitutions of the Borough'—hitherto reckoned the first notice of the school—that such townlands as had been given for a schoolmaster's use should now be employed for maintenance of a learned man 'to teach a grammar school in Eye.' He was to receive £10 for his work, was not required to teach writing, showing that the authorities were determined the school should not be reduced to an elementary status unless the master pleased, and was not to remove without half a year's warning.

Among the documents relating to the 'Eye' is a Memorandum Book which contains a note of William Lambert's appointment as usher in the grammar school in accordance with the will of Francis Kent of Oxborough, Norfolk,[5] who by will 18 September, 1593, bequeathed lands and tenements in Bedfield and Worlingworth as an endowment for

a sufficient usher to teach freely all such children of Eye, Horham,[6] Allington, and Bedfield as should be put into school to learn grammar and also to teach them all to write.

He therefore wished to make the school do the double work of elementary as well as secondary teaching.

There is a succession of matriculations at Caius College during the sixteenth century, but in no case is the master's name given until 1585, when a Mr. Popson held the post. He was followed in 1590 by Mr. Lomax, and in 1608 by Mr. Mosse.

The school received another endowment from Edward Mallows, who by will 5 December, 1614, directed estate to the value of £200 to be settled for two or three scholarships at Cambridge for boys from Eye; or failing a demand for this, for the grammar school itself.

In 1623 came Mr. Dorman (or Dormer). Mr. Hall was licensed in 1624, and held office for a long time, apparently up to the Restoration. The usher Henry Youll sent his son up to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1634.

Thomas Browne was licensed in 1642, presumably as usher, and he eventually succeeded Mr. Hall, and was for many years *moderator dignissimus, grammaticus in ignis*,[7] dying only in 1695, aged 79.

In 1666 Mr. Francis seems to have been usher.

In 1692 the town authorities agreed that as the school had decreased in numbers the usher might be dispensed with, the master doing all the work and receiving pay from both endowments, and his salary being increased to £20 a year. From 1717 to 1739 only £18 a year was paid. Naturally, under these conditions, we find little trace of the school in the college registers. The existence of an endowed grammar school at Eye was unsuspected by Nicholas Carlisle, in 1817, so that if it went on at all it must have been at a

[1] Sept. 1504; will proved 9 Nov. 1509.
[2] Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation*, 213, from Chant. Cert. 45, No. 5.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, 533. [4] Ibid.
[5] Will of Francis Kent, gent. 1593.
[6] Memorandum Book (unbound and marked B — Eliza). This book also contains 'Orders to be observed by the Usher in the Gramer Schole, made by the Feoffees of the lands given for his mayntenance by Francis Kent, Gent,' 2 May, 1600.
[7] Venn, *Biogr. Hist. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*

very low ebb in point of numbers and education. The Commission of Inquiry of 1822 found 18 or 20 free scholars receiving elementary education and Latin 'when desired.'[1]

The school was then held in a large room in the Guildhall, the master living in other rooms in the same building up to 1827. The Commissioners advised the consolidation of the usher's endowments with those of the mastership and the continuance of the existing educational system.

When under the Municipal Reform Act the management of the grammar school, like that of other charities, was taken out of the hands of the corporation and vested in Municipal Charity Trustees, the corporation refused to pay any stipend at all. The school was therefore reduced to the endowment given by Francis Kent for the usher, then producing about £37 a year. The Schools Inquiry Commission in 1866 found the Rev. Charles Notley, B.D., had been master for 20 years. The old Guildhall was then used for the school and master's house, in which Mr. Notley had at one time 14 or 15 boarders. But in 1866 the school consisted only of 30 boys in all, 23 free boys and 7 paying 15*s.* a quarter crowded in a room 'with a low ceiling and insufficient means of ventilation, which they quite filled.' Practically no Latin was learnt, and even the reading 'would have been but fairly good in a village school.'

The school was restored to its grammar school status by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts of 12 August, 1876.

The present head master, Mr. William George Watkins, was appointed in 1895. He now has 70 boys, of whom 40 are boarders in two houses, and 3 assistant masters.

STOKE BY CLARE SCHOOL

Under licence in mortmain of 16 October, 1414, Edmund, earl of March and Ulster, lord of Wigmore and of Clare, founded, on 19 May, 1419, the College of St. John in Stoke by Clare; a bull of Pope John XXIII sanctioning the transference of the property from the alien Benedictine priory then in possession of the site.[2] The foundation consisted of a dean, 6 canons, 8 vicars (choral), 2 chief clerks, 2 meaner clerks, a verger, a porter, and 5 choristers.

In the statutes of the college it was ordered that

> there shall be also 5 choristers or well-bred (*honesti*) boys to sing and minister in the choir to such a number as the provision made for their maintenance will allow, and each of them shall have 5 marks a year, or at least sufficient food and clothing with other necessaries.

There was also to be a master assigned by the dean and chapter to teach the boys of the said college 'reading and other good and well bred manners, and the said master shall have for his trouble 40*s.* a year.'

There is here no question of grammar teaching. This college, unlike those of ancient foundation, was no body of missionary priests or learned clerks, but only a large chantry to pray the souls of the founders out of purgatory. The choristers had to receive some education, but a song and reading school—a not unusual combination—was thought enough for these 5 'well-bred boys.'

The college did not attempt a general education for the place. Whether this was because there was no population to provide for, or whether the provision had been made already before the college was founded, there is nothing to show. But presumably the latter was the case, since, at the dissolution of the college in 1548,[3] when Matthew Parker, the afterwards celebrated manuscript-collecting archbishop of Canterbury, was dean, while we find 'Thomas Wilson, clerke, Scolemaster in the colledge,' i.e. the song school master, receiving the statutory stipend of 40*s.*, we also find 'John Crosier, clerke, Scolemaister of the free scoole,' receiving the very ample salary for a grammar school master of £10.[4]

It may be that this grammar school is a later foundation than the college, as we are told in the chantry certificate that 'syns the firste foundacion dyvers other benefactors hath both encreased the nombre and lyving.' If so, it is perhaps an example how universal was the connexion in thought between a college or collegiate church and a grammar school, that though this college was founded without one, some subsequent benefactor to or legislator in the college thought it necessary to add one.

The college itself, though dissolved, continued to support learning, by being granted to Sir John Cheke, who, though he was not the first to teach Cambridge Greek, as Milton says, was at all events the first ex-Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge and classical tutor to King Edward VI. Matthew Parker, too, continued to draw a pension of some £50 from it to add to his other ecclesiastical promotions and his headship of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In the absence of any Receiver-General's accounts for Suffolk we do not know exactly what happened. But there appears to be no doubt that the school was continued by the warrants of Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway like other grammar schools, though the endowments of the college were confiscated to the crown, and the master paid at the fixed rate of £10 a year, as before; for at the re-settlement

[1] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 140.

[2] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 47; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1417; *Papal Bull* 16 Kal. Feb. 5 John XXIII.

[3] Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation*, 217.

[4] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 47.

of the land revenues of the crown after the Restoration this sum was included in the pension list of Charles II. This inference is confirmed by finding in the register of Caius College, Cambridge, a fair sprinkling of students who matriculated from Stoke by Clare School. The St. John's College Register for the year 1639 gives us Richard Cutts, of Debden, M.A., esquire, admitted a pensioner from that school, and the name of the master, Mr. Bevior, apparently Peter Beauvoir of Jesus College, Cambridge.

After the Restoration, the payment, though it seems to have been irregularly made, still continued.[1] For Sir Gervas Elwes, bart., by will 20 September, 1678, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 25 October, 1706, reciting that £10 a year had been allowed out of the revenues of the crown to the schoolmaster of Stoke, and that Mr. John Owen was schoolmaster, in case the £10 should cease to be paid out of the revenue, gave £10 a year to John Owen and his successors, Protestant divines, and £20 more for board and lodging. The Land Revenue Accounts from 1674 to 1705 are missing, but from 1660 to 1674 and from 1706 downwards, no pension of £10 has been paid to the schoolmaster at Stoke, though provided for by the pension deed of Charles II. The schoolhouse was pulled down about 1780, and by 1818,[2] there was 'no vestige of a school house; neither does there exist at this time a Free School of any description in this parish.' So this collegiate school must be reckoned among those done to death by the reputed founder of schools, Edward VI, and by his Chantries Act, ostensibly passed in order to substitute grammar schools for homes of superstition. Some remains of the college itself are still standing as part of a private residence.[3]

CLARE SCHOOL

The neighbouring town of Clare, the capital of the honour, described in 1548 as 'a greate and populous towne,' was even less happy in the fortunes of its school. For it, too, possessed a grammar school due to the lords of the honour, acting rather as legislators making a new scheme for a charitable endowment than as actual donors and benefactors; for in 1445–6[4] Richard, duke of York and lord of the honour of Clare, gave by deed a free chapel in Clare and its possessions to the gild of St. John the Baptist, in Chilton, a hamlet of Clare, to find, says the chantry certificate of 1548,

a prieste to saye masse one day in the weke in the saide chapple to praye for the sowles of the same Duke and other.

It proceeds—

And oone Sir Roberte Wyncome, clerk of thage of xxx^tie yeres having no other lyvinge, well learnid, doth now as well the said devyne service, as also the reste of the weake he singeth in the churche of Clare, and helpyth the curatte to discharge his cure. And also he teacheth oone grammer scole to the goode and vertuous instruccion and education of the yowthe theyre.[5]

This chantry school came to an end, not being a grammar school, by the express terms of the foundation.

We hear no more of any school in Clare until William Cadge, yeoman, who died in 1669, gave by will a farm called Borhard's in Barnardiston, then let at £28 a year, of which £15 was to go in clothing poor widows, and £10 a year to a schoolmaster for teaching 10 poor boys in that town. The master was to be chosen by the vicar and chief inhabitants, and was to teach English, Latin, and Greek. The schoolroom was over the Market Cross. By 1818 'classics[6] had not been taught here for some time past.' The school is not even mentioned by the Schools Inquiry Commission. It must, unless the Charity Commissioners can interfere, be numbered among the many legions of 'lost charities.'

LONG MELFORD SCHOOL

In 1484 Robert Harset clothmaker bequeathed his house near the churchyard in Long Melford to his wife, during her lifetime, 'except where the children lerne,' and after her death, to the priests of Melford, the west end being reserved as a school.[7]

Ten years later, 1495,[8] John Hill of Melford, granted by deed the manor of Bowes Hall, and other lands at Pentlow, Essex 'for 99 yeres and further so long as the lawes of the realme wyll suffer,' for a stipendiary priest to sing for his soul. In 1548 we find 'Sir Edward Tyrrell, clerk of the age of 50 yeres,' the stipendiary priest, and it is stated that he aids 'the curat, the towne being very populus. He doth also teache a grammer scole thear.' It was no doubt this school that Sir John Clopton of Melford was thinking of when he bequeathed the residue of his personal estate, 'two parts to go to sad priests and vertuous to sing a trental for me and to find vertuous scolers to scole.'

These 'vertuous scolers' are probably referred to in the following item from the books of Hugh Isacke, churchwarden (1582–4): 'Geven by Dr. Jones' commandement to twoo scollers of Melforde ijs.'

[1] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiv, 497–8.
[2] Carlisle, *Endowed Gram. Sch.* ii, 532.
[3] *East Anglian Daily Times*, East Anglian Misc. No. 1503.
[4] Chant. Cert. 45, No. 24.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Carlisle, *Endowed Gram. Sch.* ii, 519.
[7] Parker, *Hist. of Long Melford.* Will dated 29 Feb. 1484, proved 15 Mar. 1484. Bury Probate office, Bk. iii, f. 365.
[8] Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation* 214, from Chant. Cert. 45, No. 22.

This school must have been continued by the Chantry Commissioners' Warrant, as in 1694 Clopton's grant was still paid to the free school.[1]

Grammar teaching certainly went on in this school until the mid-seventeenth century, as the Caius College Register shows boys going thence to Cambridge up to 1620.[2] In 1670, the Lady chapel had been converted into a parish schoolroom, and continued to be so used until the National Schools were built in 1840. When this 'much ruinated' chapel was first used, the inhabitants combined to give the necessary materials for the work of reparation. Sir Robert Cordell contributed three large trees and 'certain wainscotted pews.' Mr. Roger Clopton gave two trees, and two other parishioners were stimulated into lending carts and horses to carry out the good work.[3]

It is difficult to say when this school became purely elementary. There is no positive evidence of grammar teaching after 1620. Carlisle knew nothing of any endowed school there in 1818, nor did the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867.

SUDBURY SCHOOL

In 1375 the parish church of Sudbury was purchased from the nuns of Eaton by Simon Theobald of Sudbury, bishop of London,[4] and converted into a collegiate church of St. Gregory by him and his brother, who built a college for the canons on the site of their parents' house. Any teaching of grammar within the walls has remained unrecorded, and in 1532 we even learn that *nulli existant choristae*.[5] Before this date, however, grammar teaching had begun outside. William Wood, dean of Sudbury College, gave by will, 6 April, 1491, a croft of land near the lane leading from the house of the Dominican friars to the church of St. Gregory for a grammar schoolhouse, and an endowment of some 90 acres of land at Maplestead, Essex. The master was to be appointed by the dean of the college, to receive 10*s.* a year, and to repair the house and school himself. When the college was surrendered in 1538 the school being independent remained unaffected except that its patronage passed to the patron of St. Gregory's Church.

In the Caius College and St. John's College, Cambridge, matriculation registers we find mention of the following masters: Mr. White in 1578, Mr. Brittaine in 1652, Mr. Weston in 1664, Mr. Newton in 1676. Mr. Nathaniel Farclough in 1677, was assisted, or succeeded, or both, by Mr. Chapman.[6]

About this time the school recovered the rents of the 'school farm' at Great Maplestead, a much needed benefaction, as we learn from a letter of Mr. R. Smyth, the minister, to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, which states that the 'church school and hospital had been abused.'[7]

A Mr. Hast was master in 1697–1700, and then Mr. Mabourn. In 1712 the lessee of St. Gregory's Church brought forward and established his claim on the tithes of the school field.[8]

Between 1714 and 1814 the perpetual curate of Sudbury held the mastership of the school, and either taught himself or by substitute. There seem to have been about six free scholars at this time. During the mastership of the Rev. Humphrey Burroughs, 1723–55, his nephew, Thomas Gainsborough, was educated in Sudbury, the painter's first masterpiece being probably the caricature of his master on the old school wall, now pulled down.

The next interesting event in the history of the school was its purchase by Sir Lachlan Maclean after the death of the Rev. W. Finley, curate and master. He rebuilt it in 1817.[9] The Rev. Simon Young was appointed master in 1812, but in 1827 Maclean installed his son Hippias, a minor, and claimed the school farm. A lawsuit—'Attorney-General *v.* Maclean'—was instituted, and lasted for some years. The school struggled on under a *locum tenens* till 1841, when it was closed. In 1857 judgement was given against Maclean. In 1858 the old schoolhouse was demolished and fresh buildings were erected at a cost of £2,500. But owing to the incumbrances on the property, and to a consequent rapid succession of practically unendowed masters, the school did not flourish. In 1867 the Schools Inquiry Commissioners found the number of day boys increased from 12 to 17, under the Rev. Francis Slater, of Queens' College, Cambridge. Since being placed under a proper governing body by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1878, the school has been fairly successful as a second-grade secondary school.

After Mr. Slater's retirement in 1883 and two brief head-masterships, there came in 1889 the Rev. W. G. Normandale, B.A. Lond., and he has remained ever since. He has now 44 boys (of whom 12 are boarders), paying tuition fees of £6 to £8 a year, under 3 assistant masters.

STOWMARKET SCHOOL

Some time before the year 1547 'by common consent of the lord of the manor of Abbott's Hall and diverse inhabitants of Stowmarket,' the Guildhall was converted into a schoolhouse and was for 'diverse years' so used, but

[1] Parker, *Hist. of Long Melford*.
[2] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[3] Parker, *Hist. of Long Melford*.
[4] *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, pt. i, 413; Ibid. 1381–5, pt. ii, 371.
[5] Jessopp, *Visitations of the Dioc. of Norw.* (Camd. Soc.), 298.
[6] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[7] 1641. [8] W. W. Hodson, *Trans. Suff. Arch. Soc.*
[9] Carlisle, *Endowed Gram. Sch.* ii, 533.

for 30 years before 1565 it was in the tenure of private persons.[1] This is all we know of its origin. The names of a few boys who entered Cambridge from Stowmarket are found in the college registers, but these records do not begin until the mid-sixteenth century, and cannot, therefore, establish any early dates. The *Parish Record Books*, No. 51, tell us that in 1632 the 'skoolehouse' was built and 'glassed.'[2]

In 1764 Mr. Samuel Haddon was head master, and was succeeded in 1769 by his son John Haddon.[3] The elder Haddon taught the poet Crabbe, and both these teachers were 'excellent scholars, good Grecians, and superior mathematicians.'[4] If the Stowmarket Academy of an advertisement in 1808 is the grammar school, then Dr. Owett was head master at that date,[5] and ten years later Mr. Paul and Mr. Dade advertise, on separate occasions, what seems to be the same institution, as 'Stowmarket Classical School'[6] and 'Stowmarket Academy.'[7] These gentlemen were partners, and took boarders in addition to the day school. In 1819 the school was removed to the premises which had been until then occupied by Miss Batley's girls' school,[8] and in the following year Mr. Paul 'the younger' and Mr. Dade dissolved partnership, the former continuing the school.[9] It does not, however, figure in the Inquiry Commissioners' Report of 1829 nor in the Schools Inquiry Commission Report of 1865–8.

BOTESDALE SCHOOL

Whether there was any pre-Reformation school here does not appear, but the Elizabethan schoolhouse included an old chantry chapel. Sir Nicholas Bacon obtained letters patent of 20 July, 1561, from Queen Elizabeth, founding it as a grammar school for the instruction of boys living in Redgrave and the neighbourhood. Already in 1571 it sent up a boy to Caius College, Cambridge, who had been educated in Botesdale for 5 years.

By deed 25 March, 1577, Bacon endowed the school with a rent-charge of £30 a year on the Blickling estate, Norfolk, once the house of Anne Boleyn, £20 for the master, £8 for the usher, and £2 for repairs of the schoolhouse.

Ordinances dated 10 October, 1566, provided for the appointment of two governors, one for Redgrave and one for Botesdale, each to hold office for one year and to appoint his successor; while the schoolmaster was to be appointed by Sir Nicholas and his heirs male. The master's salary was £20, and the usher's £10. The school was limited to 60 boys, and a preference was given to poor men's children as free scholars. The parents were required to supply their children with the usual school materials, including candles, and also 'a bow, three shafts, a bow-string, shooting gloves, and a bracer.' This provision is almost a certain mark of Bacon's hand in school statutes. It is found at St. Albans and Harrow and many more. There was to be a common chest for all documents pertaining to the school, but no trace of this chest has been found.[10] Bacon also founded scholarships tenable at St. Benet's (i.e. Corpus Christi), Cambridge, from which college the masters and ushers were to be elected, preference being given to former scholarship holders.

No school documents earlier than 1670 exist. The first master was probably Mr. Bartholomew, and his usher, Mr. More, succeeded him in 1581. Several of the scholars were Catholics[11] who matriculated at Cambridge but could not take a degree. Attendance at the parish church (which was binding on the schoolboys) was of course permissible to Catholics before 1580. There seem to have been no Catholic scholars sent to Cambridge after that date.

Between 1580 and 1680 the school flourished; there were 39 admissions from the school to Gonville and Caius College alone, others to St. John's College, and no doubt more to Corpus, showing steady maintenance of a high grade. During this period the masters were Mr. More (already mentioned), who went on to Palgrave School, and who was succeeded in 1586 by Mr. Foules (or Fowle). One of his pupils was Anthony Gaudy, whose father had been in the *Revenge*, and who, during his undergraduate years, assaulted the dean of Caius. Mr. Nicholas Easton (or Eason) was master as early as 1631,[12] and in 1640 the usher, Mr. Neave, took his place. Mr. Ives followed in 1646. In 1664 Mr. Loades became master, one pupil being the John Forby afterwards licensed to teach at Beccles. Then for a time we find a quick succession of names, viz.: Mr. Locke in 1670; Mr. Paston, 1673–8; Mr. Leeds in 1684; Mr. Leader, 1684–91, or possibly longer. There is other evidence to show that the school was in some disorder owing to the odd arrangement under which the governors held office for only a year, which caused them, having no voice in the master's and scholars' elections, to feel little interest in their formal duties; while the originally ample endowment had, through the fall in the value of money, become insufficient to attract capable graduates. Yet, in 1698, the school received Mr. Samuel Maybourne as master, and under him the teaching became so efficient that boys

[1] Petty Bag. viii, 10.
[2] Hollingsworth, *Hist. of Stowmarket*, 160.
[3] *Bury Post*, July, 1808.
[4] Hollingsworth, *Hist. of Stowmarket*.
[5] *Bury Post*, July 1808.
[6] Ibid. Dec. 1818.
[7] Ibid. June, 1820.
[8] Ibid. July, 1819.
[9] Ibid. June, 1820.
[10] *East Angl. Daily Times*, East Anglian Misc. No. 585 onward.
[11] e.g. Robert Seare and William Flacke; *vide* Foley's *Rec. of the Jesuits*.
[12] Mr. Easton was in Ipswich from 1616 to 1621.

left Bury to 'finish' at Botesdale. Maybourne was master for 50 years, and sent 23 boys to Caius College, including his own 3 sons.[1] In 1738 a conscientious rector, Mr. Gibbs, was sufficiently scandalized at the neglect of the founder's regulations to nominate governors for the school, thus restoring an office which had lapsed for 50 years, and the establishment of the 'School Minnet and Account Book' was begun in the same year. The governors failed to elect their successors, and the rector again intervened.

In 1743 the Rev. Mr. Price became usher, and latterly did most of the work. The veteran Maybourne resigned in 1752. The Rev. Mr. Christian was appointed in 1753, and held the post until 1762, when the Rev. John C. Galloway succeeded him, followed in 1774 by his usher, the Rev. John Smith.

The Rev. William Tindal was the next master, but within a year of his appointment in 1789 he was suspended for non-compliance with the ordinances, probably caused by the insufficient salary.[2] He was replaced by the Rev. W. Hepworth, under whom Edward Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, and Hablot K. Browne ('Phiz') were pupils. In 1828 Mr. Hepworth's health had declined. He had given up boarders, but still taught 6 free scholars and 12 paying pupils, having long been unable to pay an usher. The Commissioners of Inquiry of that date reformed matters by appointing 6 trustees, but when these died out their places were not filled. In 1841 the Rev. W. Hepworth, junior, took his father's place and settled the free scholar problem by sending the boys to Mr. Joseph Haddock's private 'commercial' school and paying £20 a year for them, receiving the rest of the salary and enjoying the house with a large garden as a sinecure. Haddock's successor, Mr. H. E. Laker, was eventually appointed master of the grammar school, a happy solution of the disastrous competition. Mr. Laker died in 1878, and the school was closed.

There being no further endowment forthcoming, by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, approved by Queen Victoria in Council 2 May, 1881, the school funds were converted into the Bacon Exhibition Endowment. So, through lack of foresight in giving a fixed income instead of lands to the same value, ended a once famous school. The building has become a private house, its ancient bell, with the name and crest of the Bacon family, is still to be seen on the roof between the chapel and the old schoolhouse, and there also existed recently (in a room parallel to the west end of the chapel) a double desk and other woodwork of the school, all over three hundred years in age.[3]

[1] Venn, *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius.*
[2] Min. Bk.
[3] *East Angl. Daily Times*, East Anglian Misc. No. 755.

LOWESTOFT SCHOOL

In 1472 John Gallion left by will 40*s.* to place a chained 'Liber Gramaticus' in the chancel of Lowestoft parish church,[4] and there is evidence that the church was used as a parish schoolroom during four centuries.[5] In 1570 Thomas Annot by indenture gave lands in Whitacre Burgh to secure 20 marks for the salary of a schoolmaster appointed by the chancellor of Norwich diocese, and in 1571 this endowment was increased by his heir-at-law to £16. The master was 'to be learned in grammar and in the Latin tongue,' and was to teach 40 Lowestoft boys, vacancies among these foundation free scholars being filled by suitable candidates from Lothingland and Mutford. The school does not seem to have formed any close connexion with the Cambridge Colleges usually favoured by Suffolk boys, but if many of the masters performed such manifold duties as Mr. Philip, for eighteen years parish clerk, registrar, and 'Mr. Annot his schoolmaster,' we cannot be surprised. He taught the 40 free scholars on the foundation and others at a charge of 20*d.* each.[6]

In 1609 there was a suit in the Court of Chancery on the question whether the school was entitled only to a rent-charge or to the whole value of the estate out of which the £16 was paid, and the school lost.

Mr. Hawiis was master from 1620 to 1631–2 or later,[7] the schoolhouse in his day being probably in the original town-close by the east wall of the churchyard. By 1670 this building was dilapidated, and a scheme was formed by the Allens of Somerley to unite 'Annot's School' with that founded by Sir Thomas Allen. A letter from Mr. Henry Britten, master from 1667 to 1696, shows that the Allen family held the school lands, that the master's salary was in arrears, and that Sir Thomas wanted Mr. Britten to resign in favour of Mr. Evans, who proposed to open a writing school in the old building lately repaired by Sir Thomas. Mr. Britten refused to yield; he wasted money on a chancery suit which he finally relinquished, and after receiving £100 from Sir Thomas renounced all claim to the mastership.[8] Meantime in 1674, the 'Town Chamber' had been fitted up as a schoolhouse.

The early eighteenth century shows the usual decline in the fortunes of a slenderly endowed school. By a resolution of the inhabitants in 1716, the number of free scholars was reduced to 13. But the welcome bequest of an estate in Worlingham by John Wilde in 1735 once

[4] Ipswich Wills, Bk. ii, fol. 249.
[5] Redstone, Social Life in Engl. *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (New Ser.), xvi, 165.
[6] Longe, *Lowestoft in Olden Times.*
[7] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[8] Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft.*

more caused the original number to be restored.[1] The master's salary now became £40. The Court of Chancery ratified this arrangement in 1754, and ordered preference to be given to the children of fishermen.[2]

In 1788 a new school building was erected on the east side of High Street, and a further change took place in 1791, when the Worlingham estate was exchanged for a farm called Croatfield.[3]

When the Charity Commissioners visited the place in 1829, the education given in the school had become purely elementary, and the master (appointed by the Norwich Chancellor) instructed 23 boys free besides paying pupils. The Commissioners note that 'it is not remembered to have been ever kept up as a grammar school.' The Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1866 found it purely elementary with 130 boys, standing on part of the premises of 'the elementary school founded by will of John Wilde 22 July, 1735.' It has never emerged from that state. There is, however, now in Lowestoft a Municipal Secondary School.

BOXFORD SCHOOL

A charter was obtained for Boxford Grammar School in 1596, but Robert Jasper, John Pote, and Thomas Whiting all entered Caius College from 'Boxford School' between 1560 and 1576, so that it had been going on for at least 40 years previously. Probably, however, it was not endowed. In 1596 John Snelling and Philip Gostlinge granted to John Gurdon and others 'a messuage, garden and orchard in Boxford' for the school. Thirty-seven governors were named who were to appoint the master and the usher, the former being 'at least' an M.A.[4]

The history of the school was uneventful. During the seventeenth century it sent up scholars to Cambridge, and we can therefore ascertain the names of the more successful masters. Mr. Hoogan was at Boxford from 1616 to 1623, and Mr. Granston (or Grandstone) from before 1667 until 1670. Mr. Tatham was a successful master between 1719 and 1730, but must have left soon after that date, as the names of Mr. Thomas and of Mr. Woodrope (one of these probably being usher) replace his on the registers.

In 1777 the school received a new endowment from John Gurdon, who left £100 by will to the master for teaching two poor children from Assington, to be appointed by the owners of Assington Hall. Mr. Wade seems to have been master from 1775 until about 1792, and in June of that year the governors elected James Adams, M.A., 'an able and experienced master.'[5] Elections to the foundation scholarships were advertised at the same time as taking place at their September meeting.

In 1810 the school estate consisted of :—

(1) A dwelling-house and schoolroom, where the master resides, and a garden ;
(2) 10 ac. 19 poles in Edwardstone, let for £20 per an. ; and
(3) £442 3*s.* 3*d.* of Gurdon's legacy and other money yielding interest to the amount of £13 5*s.* 3½*d.*[6]

The Commissioners reported in 1829 that the Rev. William Plumer, M.A. (appointed on or before 1817),[7] had had no usher for many years, while the school had 'long ceased to be maintained or attended as a free grammar school,' and no revival had taken place in 1869,[8] while in the *Schools Inquiry Report* Boxford is classified among elementary schools and so remains.

BUNGAY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The present Grammar School in Bungay was founded in 1592, but an earlier establishment is mentioned in the Parish Book of St. Mary Magdalen. In 1565 the churchwardens' accounts contain these entries :—

Item paid for ij lods Rede and my charge makyng the Chappell in ye Churchyard for a gramer skole . . . . . xxx*s.* x*d.*
It. pd. for di. a Coke borde for ye skole wyndows . . . . . iij*s.*

Three years later the school was removed near Bungay tollgate,[9] and in the same record we read :—

Item paid for half a hundred poplyng bord for the skolehouse . . . . . ij*s.* iiij*d.*

In 1580 Lionel Throckmorton gave the present school premises and lent £8 6*s.* 8*d.* to the 'Revys of Bungaie' for building purposes.[10]

Before this date the school had justified its claim to be a grammar school by sending up boys to Cambridge,[11] and a close connexion with Emmanuel College was established by the Mildmay Scholarship.[12]

The ordinances of the school made in 1591 gave the appointment of the master to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and limited the school to 50 unless an usher is provided by the master, in which case every townsman was to pay 5*s.* a child yearly. Vacancies among the Mildmay

[1] During the mastership of the Rev. J. Thoughton, curate.
[2] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 180. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. xx.
[5] *Ips. Journ.* 26 June, 1792.
[6] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 552.
[7] *Ips. Journ.* Jan. 1817.
[8] *Sch. Inq. Rep.* 1869.
[9] *Trans. Suff. Arch. Soc.* iv, 76. [10] Ibid.
[11] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Col.*
[12] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 234.

scholars were to be notified to the schoolmaster and the chief constable of Bungay.

By deed of 16 January, 1592, Thomas Popeson, M.A., granted to the master and fellows of Emmanuel a yearly rent of £4 (after decease of himself and his wife), the feoffees of the townlands granting also £6 a year, in consideration of which the college undertook to pay a weekly allowance of 4*d.* to each of Sir Walter Mildmay's 10 scholars.

By a further deed of 20 May, 1592, Thomas Popeson conveyed to Emmanuel College all messuages, &c., aforementioned on the decease of himself and his wife, and the college undertook to pay £3 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly to the schoolmaster, and to give him his house rent free and in repair.[1]

In 1593 the school received its next endowment from Thomas Wingfield, who left £170[2] to be laid out for a rent of £10, part of which was to keep two poor scholars at Cambridge. From this time onwards we find a steady succession of boys matriculating at Cambridge Colleges from Bungay Grammar School.

From the registers of these colleges we gather the names of some of the masters:—Mr. Ward was at the grammar school in 1604, and was followed by Mr. Smith, who taught there until 1631; in 1643[3] we find the name of Mr. Creed; between 1658–60 that of Mr. Gill; Mr. St. George came next, 1661–2, Mr. Denton in 1663, Mr. Browne, 1683–5.[4]

In 1688 the work of the school was interrupted by a fire which probably gutted the building, and Mr. Stiff,[5] the master at that date, may be responsible for the inscription over the new entrance:—

> Exurgit laetum tumulo subtriste cadaver
> Sic schola nostra redit clarior usta rogo.[6]

The next benefactor was Henry Williams, who gave the perpetual advowson of St. Andrews, Ilketshall, for the presentation of the schoolmaster of Bungay as its vicar.[7] This contravened the ordinance that the master was to undertake no extra duties, but as Popeson's bequest had been amalgamated with the town funds, and was in consequence partly lost to the school, perhaps the irregularity was ignored. It is not surprising, however, to learn that, in this year, the school 'was entirely neglected and in a manner lost.' The feoffees and Emmanuel College reorganized it as much as possible, arranging for two exhibitions tenable by Bungay schoolboys at that college.[8] Later on in the same year Robert Scales left land in St. Lawrence, Ilketshall, in trust to provide 'clear profits' for a schoolmaster who must (1) be a minister of the Church of England, (2) read service on Wednesdays and Fridays in the parish church of St. Mary, (3) teach not more than 10 poor boys of the town.[9] Warned by experience the trustees kept Scales's bequest distinct from the town funds.

During these evil days, naturally enough the school left few traces on college registers, but by the middle of the eighteenth century we occasionally recover the name of a master. The Charity Commissioners declare that since 1754 they find 'no trace of the charity being administered in any respect as to the purpose or objects of the will,'[10] especially as regards the supporting of university students, yet Bungay figures on the list of entries at Caius College until the early nineteenth century. Some of the masters in this period were as follows:—

Mr. Smee, 1742–52; Mr. Cutting, 1758–67; Mr. Reeve, 1777–95 *circa;* the Rev. R. Houghton,[11] 1795–1803; Mr. Page, 1804–6.[12] The advertisement of the vacant mastership in 1805[13] states that the salary is £130, exclusive of pupils' fees. The Rev. Richard Burnet obtained the post and began work in 1806. The system of deputy masters which was in vogue about this date is confusing. The Rev. John Gilbert was the last master appointed by Emmanuel College,[14] and Mr. Bewick was in 1820 his deputy,[15] and was followed in that capacity by Mr. Barkeway in 1829. The evidence before the Commissioners shows that both as regards demand and supply, grammar teaching had declined. The Schools Inquiry Commission found the education 'highly satisfactory,' and describes Mr. Hart, the master, as 'a man of great energy, and very successful in teaching.' In 1880 the school was closed for a time, but reopened under the Rev. G. W. Jones next year. The Rev. O. H. Gardner was appointed head master in 1906, and had under him the Rev. H. S. Gardner, B.A., J. T. Gardner, B.A., B.Sc., and Mr. W. Minns, art master, with 31 boys paying tuition fees of £6 a year.

WOODBRIDGE SCHOOL

In 1577 Thomas Arnott or Annot of Lowestoft (the founder of Lowestoft School) bequeathed land in Gisleham for a free school in Woodbridge. For a century after its foundation the

[1] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 234.
[2] Will, 31 Jan. 1593.
[3] In 1634 Henry Barnby was licensed to teach grammar in St. Andrew's Church, Ilketshall, which was later, in 1728, in the patronage of Bungay Grammar School.
[4] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[5] Ibid.
[6] *Trans. Suff. Arch. Soc.* iv, 76.
[7] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 236.
[8] Deed, 29 Sept. 1728.
[9] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 237.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *Bury Post*, June, 1795.
[12] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[13] *Bury Post*, June, 1805.
[14] Carlisle, *Endowed Gram. Sch.* ii.
[15] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*

school sent up students to the university. The most interesting of these was Robert Franklyn, who on account of his master's illness was 'taken off grammar learning' and prepared for a commercial career until, owing to the sick man's protests, he resumed classical studies under another teacher, entering Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1645.[1] In 1595, the churchwardens charged the town '4*s.* to repair the windows of the schoolhouse, when Master Packlyfe kept school,' and a hint of trouble is given by the following entry in the same record during 1607: 'Robert Sale received 9*s.* which he had laid out about the suit concerning the grammar school land.'[2] This refers to William Bearman's claim to 'the tenement called Woodes,' which had been used as the schoolhouse. Bearman retained possession of it, and bequeathed it to the poor of Woodbridge in 1668. The school seems to have collapsed soon after.[3]

But Woodbridge was not long without grammar teaching. In 1661 a sum of 9*s.* 4*d.* was expended at the 'Crown' and 'King's Head,' 'when Mr. Marriot treated with the inhabitants concerning the school';[4] and by quinque partite indenture of 2 September, 1662,[5] Marryott gave a copyhold messuage in Woodbridge and a building near Well Street to the grammar school, while the Burwells and Dorothy Seckford agreed to pay £5 annually towards the maintenance of a school and schoolmaster, who should educate ten free scholars in Latin 'until they are fit for the university if it be desired.' The nomination of these scholars was to lie partly in the hands of Robert Marryott, Francis Burwell, and Dorothy Seckford, or the heirs male of any one of them, and partly in those of the churchwardens and 'six chief inhabitants of Woodbridge,' an ambiguous clause which led to trouble later. The appointment of the schoolmaster was also to be by Marryott, Burwell, and Dorothy Seckford (or heirs male), and the curate of Woodbridge, or by any three of them, of whom Marryott's representative was to be one. If no appointment was made by these electors within six months of the occurrence of a vacancy, then the curate, churchwardens, and six chief inhabitants were empowered to elect.

Ordinances[6] were made; the school was to be kept in the east part of the messuage abutting upon the churchyard, and the rest of the house was to be the schoolmaster's residence. Woodbridge boys other than free scholars might attend the school on payment of 20*s.* apiece 'at least.'

The choice of teaching methods was left to the schoolmaster, but he was directed to 'cause Theme to make Epistles, theames and verses in Latine in (*sic*) greeke.' The 'principles of the Christian religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of England' were to be taught, and the boys were to demean themselves 'sivilly and reverently towards the Inhabitants of the Towne.' Seats in the 'long gallery' of the parish church were appointed for the master and his pupils. The master might be removed for 'publique scandall,' for 'manifest Cruelty,' if disqualified by law from teaching, if he taught or publicly spoke anything contrary to the Church doctrines, or for absenteeism. He was further instructed to keep a register of the admission of scholars.

Though not very regularly kept, the 'Liber Admissionum' set up still exists. Robert Stephenson, appointed in 1662, was the first master;[7] but in 1663 Mr. Dockinge received the salary.[8] In 1665 Edmund Brome, M.A., the perpetual curate of Woodbridge, became master, and, by sending two or three pupils to St. John's College, Cambridge, began a connexion which was long continued. Brome became rector in 1666, but, owing to the plague, his vacated post was not filled until 1667, when Simeon Wells became master. At this time Mr. Edward Beeston and Mr. F. Woodall both figure in the books as receiving payment for teaching. Mr. Beeston remained until 1670, when the churchwardens paid out £2 8*s.* on 'charges removing Mr. Candler from Ipswich.' The money was well expended. Philip Candler, M.A., presided over the school for 19 years, during which time he kept the register carefully. Ipswich boys followed him to Woodbridge, and the matriculation registers of Caius College and St. John's show the results of his teaching.

In 1679 the school received the endowment of a piece of land near 'The Oyster,' which was bequeathed to it by Francis Willard, and the letting of which brought in £8 per annum.

In 1689, Philip Candler, M.A., jun., succeeded his father, and was master for 14 years.[9] Under his successor, William Cayter, the register is a blank. It was renewed by Mr. Samuel Leeds, M.A., of Queens' College, Cambridge, son of the man who had long made Bury grammar school famous. During his 18 years' mastership the admission of Woodbridge pupils to Caius and St. John's goes on steadily, and the names on the matriculation roll correspond to a certain extent with those of the free scholars of the school.

John Blyth became master in 1727, and at his death, in 1736, the curate, churchwardens, and six chief inhabitants elected Mr. Thomas Pugh to fill the vacancy. There had recently been great irregularity in the appointment of free scholars, but ten Woodbridge boys were now selected by order of the churchwardens.

[1] Calamy, *Nonconf. Mem.* iii, 291.
[2] Churchwardens' Accts. 1661.
[3] Redstone, *Bygone Woodbridge*, 28–85.
[4] Ibid. [5] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiv, 491.
[6] 'Lib. Admis.' at present in churchwardens' chest.
[7] Ibid. Stephenson was appointed to Ipswich in 1664.
[8] Churchwardens' Accts.
[9] He married Debora Holly de Dinnington in Jan. 1690. Acta Bks. Ipswich Probate Office.

Although Mr. Pugh is mentioned as the master appointed in the account of the meeting,[1] his name does not appear in the list of masters which ends the record. Probably he remained only a short time, for his successor, Thomas Ray, was appointed on 25 October by the same electors.[2] After his decease, in 1774, a dispute arose about the nomination of the 'six chief inhabitants,' and, on a case being stated, counsel decided that no definition of the term was given in the foundation ordinances, and that consequently any six chief inhabitants might, with the churchwardens and curate, elect a master. In answer to another question it was decided that the fees might be raised beyond the original 20*s.* a year. The 'six chief inhabitants' were now chosen at a vestry meeting, and, along with the other electors, appointed Mr. Robert Dyer to the mastership.

In October, 1800, the school was again vacant because of fresh disputes. In November, Mr. Thomas Carthew, the curate, John Gannett, a churchwarden, and four 'chief inhabitants' (two being nominated by Carthew and Gannett respectively at a vestry meeting, when Samuel Elvis, the other churchwarden, refused to nominate or take any part in the proceedings) elected Mr. John Black, a private teacher in Woodbridge, to the mastership of the grammar school. After the vestry meeting was over, Elvis and 'some inhabitants' made a fresh choice of representatives, who elected Peter Lathbury to the mastership. Black, being already in possession, refused to resign or to give up the 'Liber Admissionum,' and Lathbury, soon after obtaining preferment in the Church, withdrew from the contest. Both elections were now declared void, though Black continued the school-work until the chancery proceedings which had been taken were concluded. A decree of 2 August, 1806, declared the six chief inhabitants to be the lord of the manor, if resident and of Woodbridge, and three chief landowners (four chief landowners if the lord of the manor were an unmarried lady), and the two 'most considerable' occupiers of land as decided by their payment of poor rates. All were to have equal voice in the election, and five were to be a quorum. Inspection of the school was to be made by the electors, and the perpetual curate might not be schoolmaster.

In 1806, William Alleyne Baker became master, having boarders as well as day boys. On his resignation in 1815, the Rev. John Clarryvince, an old Cavendish boy[3] and late master at Colchester,[4] was appointed. The register gives some interesting information about the working of the school at this date. The Christmas and Midsummer vacations each consisted of 31 days, and there were holidays on saints' days and public thanksgivings. From March to November the school hours were from 7 to 9 a.m., 10 to 12 a.m., and 2 to 4.30 p.m.; from November to March, from 9 to 12 a.m. and from 2 to 4.30 p.m.

Clarryvince neglected the free boys, placing them at other schools in Woodbridge. He admitted his errors at a meeting, but declared that he had done his best and blamed the electors for negligent inspection. This *tu quoque* was admitted to be fair, but the electors excused themselves by saying that his reputation had 'lulled them into culpable inactivity.'[5] In July, 1822, Mr. Clarryvince resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. William Fletcher. Mr. Christopher Crofts, B.A., followed in 1832, but delayed opening school so long that the foundation scholars were sent to Mr. Fenn's school. Things had not improved by 1835, so the electors, after receiving no response to very direct queries as to his intentions, put a notice in *The Times* calling on him to resume his work or resign.[6] On the appointment of Mr. Woodthorpe Collett in 1836, Crofts wrote resigning the mastership and expressing 'acutely painful'[7] regret at leaving Woodbridge. His mention of labours for 'liquidation of my debts'[8] sufficiently explains his conduct.

The next appointment was that of Mr. T. W. Hughes in 1841. During his time the electors held the first formal examination of the free scholars, the results of which gave the examiners 'considerable pleasure.' When Hughes resigned in 1847, the advertisement of the mastership gives the endowment as £40 a year, and makes mention of a comfortable dwelling-house with accommodation for 30 boarders. Mr. Postle Jackson was appointed to the post.[9] With slender endowments and old, inconveniently small buildings this school fell into decay. But by a new scheme of the Court of Chancery, 14 June, 1861, the school was brought into connexion with the Sackford Hospital. This almshouse, founded under letters patent of 23 May, 1587, by Thomas Sackford, had been endowed by him with lands in Clerkenwell, which by the growth of London became enormously productive, yielding an endowment of £3,500 a year. By the scheme for the hospital £390 a year of this was applied to the school, which was rebuilt on a fine site on the outskirts of the town for 100 boys. It opened in August, 1865, under Mr. William Tate, LL.D., with 80 boys, of whom 20 were free scholars, while 15 were boarders. The fees were very low for day boys, £3 a year under, and £4 a year over, 10 years of age. Next year the school was full with 100 boys.

[1] 'Lib. Admis.' [2] Ibid.
[3] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[4] *Bury Post*, 1815.
[5] 'Lib. Admis.' [6] *Times*, 21 Dec. 1835.
[7] 'Lib. Admis.' [8] Ibid.
[9] Mr. Jackson was the only lay head master of Woodbridge School.

Mr. Tate left in 1884. Mr. James Russell Ward held the mastership till 1895. Mr. P. E. Tuckwell followed, and Mr. Madeley, the present master, entered upon his duties in 1900. At the present day the school presents an appearance of healthy prosperity, which it is pleasant to chronicle after recording the decay of so many of these older foundations.

Under a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts approved by Queen Victoria a substantial addition was made to the school revenue from the superfluous funds of the hospital.

PALGRAVE SCHOOL

There is no record of the foundation of a grammar school at Palgrave, but, besides the evidence of Gonville and Caius College Register, which shows that grammar was taught, it seems strange that Mr. More of Botesdale should relinquish his head mastership there to come to Palgrave in 1586 unless the appointment were worth something. About 1790 Mr. Barbauld and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Philips were successful grammar teachers.[1] The school is advertised in the *Bury Post* in 1805, but must soon after have lost any rights it ever possessed to be classed as a grammar school.

STONHAM ASPALL SCHOOL.

In 1612 the Rev. John Medcalf, incumbent of Stonham Aspall, left tenements, &c., for a schoolmaster and usher, who were 'to instruct in good letters freely,' and the school was founded soon after. Practically nothing is known of its history before 1769, when Mr. Samuel Haddon left Stowmarket for Stonham Aspall, and his stay there was marked by a suit in Chancery, during which he locked up the school and the house for three years.[2] He seems to have refused to perform part of his duties, and after spending all his money on the legal proceedings he had to give up the contest. He returned to Stowmarket and opened a private school there. By 1785, if not earlier, the school was in good working order under the Rev. William Betham, who, advertising it as the Free School, offers a curriculum including Latin and Greek.

In 1829 the Commissioners report that—

> The school, which was once in considerable repute, has of late declined, being attended by free children, except those of the labouring class, and the number of scholars seldom exceeds twenty.

At this date, too, the master and usher were old and the teaching presumably not vigorously carried on.[3]

In 1868–9, the school had become entirely elementary in character, appointments to the mastership being made by the rector, churchwardens, and constables.[4]

LITTLE THURLOW SCHOOL.

An inquisition of charitable uses tells us that Sir Stephen Soame, knt., during his life—

> did firm found a Free School in the parish of Little Thurlowe, 15 James I; and built a Schoolhouse to be for ever a benefit to Great and Little Thurlowe, Great and Little Bradley, Wratting, Ketton,[5]

and other parishes. The children were to be carefully instructed in the English and Latin tongues

> untill they shall be preferred by their friends as scholars at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or apprenticed or otherwise.

The master was to be elected by the parsons of Great and Little Thurlow, and was to receive £20, paid quarterly, his usher receiving £10.[6] Sunday attendance at church was compulsory; backward children were to be taught in church on seats before the font. Mr. Moore from 1623 to 1647[7] sent many pupils to Cambridge.

Mr. Billingsley was master in 1653, and under him the school was kept up to its old standard.[7] In 1659 a good deal of friction arose over the election of Mr. Christopher Holmes to the mastership by the two parsons. Sir Thomas Soame, the sole surviving executor, objected to him, and the 'best inhabitants,' who appear to have had a customary right of consultation, were displeased owing to the privilege being ignored on this occasion.[8]

Holmes began work in December, 1659. An inquisition by the Commission for Charitable Uses in 1677 found him unpopular. He took money from some of the parents and borrowed horses from them as a reward or bribe for extra attention to their children. He was convicted of 'misdemeanour and breach of trust,' and the Commissioners advised his removal. Nor did the clerical electors escape censure; convicted of neglected duties, they were relieved from further performance of them, their electoral powers passing to Samuel Soame, esq. (son and heir of Sir Thomas), Sir Thomas Goldinge and John Morden, until new rectors should be appointed to Great and Little Thurlowe.

The record of masters is not complete. Mr. Harwood was there as early as 1708, and Thomas Crick, senior, about the middle of the

[1] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*; *Bury Post*, Anniversary Dinner advertisement, Aug. 1795.
[2] Hollingsworth, *Hist. of Stowmarket.*
[3] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 593.
[4] *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xiii, 236.
[5] Petty Bag. Com. for Char. Uses, bdle. 28, No. 24.
[6] Codicil to Will, 2 March, 1618.
[7] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*; *Reg. of St. John's Coll.*
[8] Com. for Char. Uses, bdle. 28, No. 24.

century. He was joined by his son, also Thomas Crick, as usher in 1769, and they ran the school between them until the younger Crick went to Caius College in 1774.[1] The Commissioners of 1826–9 found the school elementary,[2] the master's son, aged 15, acting in the capacity of usher.

MENDLESHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

In 1618 Peter Duck conveyed a messuage in trust to the inhabitants of Mendlesham for the residence of a schoolmaster, the maintenance of a grammar school, and the relief of the poor of the town.[3]

Mr. Mosse, 1618–49, was the first master. Mr. Wilson was there 1651–4, Mr. Smith followed during 1666–9, and Mr. Poole in 1672.[4] In 1674 Mr. Thurbin paid 2*d.* hearth tax 'for the school,'[5] and in 1710 Richard Playter became head master.[6] As late as 1785 'Mendlesham Free School' was advertised by its master, Mr. Daniel Simpson.

In all probability this school shared the fate of many others and died out owing to the small endowment and the equally small demand in the locality for grammar teaching.

ALDEBURGH SCHOOL

Thomas Ockeley, by will of 26 January, 1610, left lands in trust to the burgesses of Aldeburgh (in the event of his son dying without issue) for the maintenance of poor people and for 'the erecting and maintenance of a free Schole in the said Towne of Aldeburgh.'[7] He died in 1613, and his son was still alive and, indeed, only forty years old in 1621.[8] In 1638 the school was incorporated by Letters Patent of Charles I as 'schola Grammaticalis que vocabit libera schola grammaticalis Ballivorum et Burgensum Burgi de Aldeburgh,'[9] but no mention is made of Thomas Ockeley. The Account Bo ks for the borough in 1661 give the name of Mr. Savage as schoolmaster. The school does not appear in the Commissioners of Inquiry Report of 1818, in Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, or in the Reports of 1829 or 1865, and the Municipal Corporations Commission doubts whether it ever really existed.

[1] Venn, *Biog. Acct. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[2] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 199.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 593, quoting from old deed in Mendlesham parish chest.
[4] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[5] *Suff. Hearth Tax Returns.*
[6] Educated at Beccles Gram. Sch.
[7] Add. MSS. 26374, Inq. p.m. Suffolk, Thomas Ockeley.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Pat. 13 Chas. I, 13 (2).

FRAMLINGHAM SCHOOL

By the will of Sir Robert Hitcham, 8 August, 1636, the castle and manor of Framlingham were devised to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the revenues of the demesne lands were henceforth to be applied, in part, to maintenance of a school and workhouse at Framlingham at which the poor and children from Debenham, 10 miles, and Coggeshall, 50 miles, distant[10] might attend.

In response to petitions, on 20 March, 1653, Lord Protector Cromwell in council by ordinance established three schools, one in each of the parishes,[11] but as the Restoration in 1660 annulled this, among other acts of the Commonwealth, it was not until 1672 that this non-political measure was confirmed by Parliament,[12] and meantime the management had become seriously disorganized.

The children were first taught in a room over the market cross, but about 1788 the school was removed to a wing of the almshouses.[13] In 1769 Mr. Scrivener advertised as the master of Framlingham School, and proposed to teach Latin, Greek, and French.[14] In 1783 affairs were still further disorganized by the reply of the Attorney General to a case stated by Pembroke College, in which he decided that the ordinance of 1672 was not binding. The trustees thereupon diverted Hitcham's school funds entirely to elementary education.

A scheme embodied in an Act of Parliament in 1862 apportioned the income among the various objects of the trust, and gave certain funds to the Albert Memorial scheme, otherwise Framlingham College, then being established by Royal Charter. This new school is managed by 26 governors (eight being elected by Pembroke College, which also nominates six free scholars resident in the parishes). The course of instruction is both classical and scientific, and there is an Upper and a Lower School. In 1906 the head master is Dr. O. D. Inskip, and there are 280 boys, all boarders on the hostel system at fees of £40 a year.

DEBENHAM SCHOOL

Debenham School, called into existence by Cromwell in 1653, competed with the poor of the parish in securing a part of the £105 apportioned to the parish for these two objects. From its foundation onwards it did little to maintain a reputation for grammar teaching. In 1866 the Commissioners describe it as 'non-classical' and rank it with 'a somewhat inferior national school.'[15]

[10] Debenham received £150 yearly, *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xiii.
[11] Sch. Acta. Bk. in church chest.
[12] 12 Chas. II, cap. 12.
[13] Green, *Strangers' Guide to the Town of Framlingham.*
[14] *Ips. Journ.* Jan. 1769.
[15] J. M. White, *Sch. Inq. Com.*, xiii, 165.

GISLINGHAM SCHOOL

The Free School at Gislingham was founded in 1637 by John, Edmund, and Mary Darby, the first of whom left property for a rent-charge of £10 to the rector and others in trust for a free schoolmaster to teach all of the testator's name and kindred and for others in the same parish.[1] Mary Darby, after her husband's death, gave a rent-charge of £5 on 'Smith's close' for an addition to the master's salary.[2] On 12 April, 1647, Edmund Darby by his will bequeathed an additional rent-charge of 40s. for the maintenance of the school.

In 1719 a Commission for Charitable Uses confirmed these several rent-charges.

The Commissioners of Inquiry in 1822 found the master was receiving £17 per annum for teaching 10 free scholars nominated by the trustees and resident in the parish; the teaching by this time however was elementary, and the master refused to take more free scholars, relying upon paying pupils to make up his income.[3] The schoolroom and master's residence were in good repair, but the Commissioners had to record that, though formerly used for grammar teaching, the school had for some time been maintained as an 'English school.' It is still elementary.

LAVENHAM SCHOOL

The earliest known endowment of Lavenham School is a rent-charge which was made by one Richard Peacock, 4 September, 1647, for the education of five poor children, who were to be chosen by the heads of the borough, the churchwardens, and the overseer, £5 a year being left in his will for this purpose,[4] and in 1661 another Richard Peacock (nephew of the first donor) gave by deed two rent-charges in Great and Little Waddington, in value £5, for the school.[5]

In 1699, when the school premises needed repair, the necessary funds were raised by 'contributions.'[6] In the same year Sir Richard Coleman, fulfilling the intentions of his uncle, Edward Coleman, gave an annuity from the manor of Greys for the salary of a schoolmaster, who need not necessarily teach more than Peacock's 5 free scholars.[7] The Rev. Matthew Drift was master from 1696 until 1723, 'to whom most of the neighbouring gentry sent their sons.' Several boys went up to Cambridge from Lavenham during his mastership. Mr. Richardson, Mr. Brownsmith, and Mr. Smithies followed, the last-mentioned seeming to be the most successful teacher.[8] Mr. Coulter was master in 1756. One of his pupils, William Clubb, was a minor poet. In 1774 the Rev. W. Blowers advertised the re-opening of 'Lavenham Ancient Grammar School,'[9] and this announcement must be used to correct that of the Charity Commissioners who say that Mr. Blowers was appointed in 1777.[10] He held the post until 1814.

In 1814–15, the school buildings needing repair, the master's salary was applied to this purpose, and the school allowed to stand empty. Naturally it suffered; pupils went elsewhere 'in a neighbouring town to a school taught by a former Lavenham usher.'[11]

When the school was re-opened in 1815, under the Rev. Fred. Croker, its troubles were not over. Until 1817 there were only 5 pupils besides the free scholars. After that date the paying pupils disappeared altogether, and the number on the foundation was not always complete. Croker was very irregular in attendance; he did not want boarders and his terms for day boys were high. In 1824 he was reprimanded, without result, and the trustees consequently withheld his salary. Two years later the Commissioners found the funds as greatly disordered as the teaching, one boy only learnt Latin, and Croker taught English grammar for 2 hours daily. The rest of an elementary education was given to the boys at another school, Croker paying its master £10. The Commissioners advised a stricter contract with the next master. His successor, Mr. Pugh, revived the reputation of the school to a certain extent, but when Mr. Ambler was master in 1857 there were only seven pupils in all, and he eked out his salary by making a kitchen-garden of the playground.[12]

In 1892 the school suffered financially by the handing over of Stewart's legacy to the poor;[13] in 1893 it came to an end and the endowment was converted into an exhibition, tenable at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School.

BRANDON SCHOOL

Robert Wright, by will of 10 November, 1646, gave lands for a grammar school in Brandon for the benefit of the youth in that place and for those of Downham, Wangford, and Weeting (Norfolk). An 'able schoolmaster' was to be paid £30 a year to instruct in 'grammar and other literature,' the surplus funds being spent on his dwelling-house or laid aside for repairs. The provisions of the will were

[1] Will, 9 Sept. 1637.
[2] Will, 26 May, 1646; and Deed, 13 Apr. 1647.
[3] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 149.
[4] Ibid. xx, 561.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*; *Reg. of St. John's Coll.*
[9] *Ipswich Journ.* 1774.
[10] *Char. Com. Rep.* xx.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Sch. Inq. Com.* xiii, 212.
[13] *End. Char. of West Suff.*

embodied in indentures of 25 March, and 23 and 24 June, 1664. These disappeared long ago.

The earliest masters are unknown. Mr. Kemball was there in 1730–4,[1] and after this the first name we meet with is that of the Rev. George Wright, M.A., who advertises that he will open the grammar school on 17 January, 1773, when he proposes 'to teach the English, Latin, and Greek Languages, Writing and Arithmetic,' adding that he will take boarders on moderate terms.[2]

In 1785 the bishop licensed John Johnson [3] and William Doll [4] for this post.

New trustees in 1801 filed a bill in Chancery because Wright refused to receive scholars 'except such as come to be taught Latin.'[5] The bill was dismissed with costs.

In 1823 Mr. William Blainey was appointed to the mastership; apparently he had conducted a private school in the town since 1812.[6] The Commissioners' Report [7] shows that there were in 1823 40 free scholars receiving elementary education, Latin being taught only if asked for. Mr. Blainey's salary gradually diminished until 1826, when he received practically nothing, but after that date he was regularly paid a salary of £40.[8] The school then became elementary.

When in 1877 the old building was pulled down and a board school erected, the endowment was transmuted by scheme into two £20 scholarships tenable at Thetford.

CAVENDISH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This school was founded by the Rev. Thomas Gray, *alias* Bishop, rector of Cavendish, who endowed it in 1696, for 15 poor children. The master was to teach English, Latin, and Greek and to prepare 'pregnant lads' for Cambridge, receiving in return £15 annually and a dwelling-house. A certain portion of the scholarship fund was to be reserved for college expenses.[9]

A minute book relating to the school still exists, and certain particulars about the masters may be gathered from it.

Mr. Hodson held the appointment from 1721 to 1723, and was succeeded by Lewis Lewis, B.A. Mathew Richardson was there from 1724 to 1739; Mr. Kendal, B.A., held office for a year; Thomas Best, a 'mechanic,' then officiated for 3 days, and after a year's interregnum Christopher Gibbons, B.A., and, in 1742, Mr. Hitchcock, each did a year's work.

At last, in 1743, the mastership was saved from becoming an annual appointment by Mr. Stephen Brown, who did 36 years' successful teaching before he resigned. During this period a fair number of boys went up to Cambridge from Cavendish, and his epitaph in Great Ashfield churchyard [10] speaks of 'the Purity of his Manners and the Unwearied Attention he paid To the youth committed to his care.'

The school advertisement in 1782 mentions the Rev. Mr. Waddington as master and Mr. Seabrooke as assistant.[11] After this Thomas Seabrooke, usher since 1766, took the mastership and held it to 1834, when he died. John Clarryvince, future master of Woodbridge, was a pupil from 1803 to 1805. About 1816 a decree in Chancery gave the trustees extended powers.

In 1829 the master's salary amounted to £30 a year, and the free scholars (nominated by the rector) numbered 20.[12]

Mr. Seabrooke took boarders until prevented by age, and the school being then limited to the 14 foundation scholars, it was found that none required Latin. But though the Commissioners of 1829 doubted the possibility of conducting it as a grammar school, it gradually took position again among classical schools.[13] In 1862, under Robert Hurst, it regained its position. It is now under Mr. B. H. Keall, B.A.Lond., late assistant master at Chelmsford Grammar School.

TUDDENHAM SCHOOL

By will, 25 May, 1723, John Cockerton of Tuddenham devised land to the minister and churchwardens in trust for a free school where the children should be taught to 'read, write, account, and learn Latin as in other schools.' His own house was to become the residence of the schoolmaster, Mr. Potter, who advertised a non-classical syllabus in the *Bury Post* in 1796.[14] He was succeeded in 1806 by Mr. West, who, in 1809, gave place to Mr. N. Todd. Mr. Todd's advertisement [15] is headed 'Tuddenham Free Grammar School,' and his syllabus includes Latin and Greek. He states that he 'is about to remove from the Parsonage to the Schoolhouse in the centre of the village,' and that owing to the

[1] Venn, *Reg. of Gonville and Caius Coll.*
[2] *Bury Post*, 23 Dec. 1773.
[3] Epis. Reg. 25 April.
[4] Ibid. 22 July.
[5] *Bury Post*, 18 Feb. 1822; *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 157.
[6] *Bury Post*, June, 1812.
[7] Vol. xxii, 157.
[8] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 157.
[9] Ibid. xxi, 488.
[10] He died in 1786, aged 67.
[11] *Bury Post*, 21 Dec. 1782.
[12] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxi, 489.
[13] 1834, John Sheal or Shiel; 1837, Robert Simpson; 1848, Rev. W. M. Cox; 1850, Rev. Fred. Toller; 1852, George William Shaddock; 1858, Benjamin Brown (ejected); 1862, Robert Hurst; 1884, Harry A. Rumbelow; 1886, C. Riches; 1896, Rev. Geo. Larder, M.A.; 1900, Rev. Thomas Normandale, B.A.
[14] *Bury Post*, Dec. 1796. Mrs. Potter kept up an 'academy for young ladies' as late as 1815.
[15] Ibid. July, 1809.

'dilapidated state of the premises the business of the School is unavoidably postponed to 31 July.'

By 1829, however, all pretensions to a classical curriculum had disappeared,[1] and the school was maintained for 20 free scholars and some paying pupils, all receiving an elementary education.

NEEDHAM MARKET SCHOOL

This grammar school was endowed in 1632, but it had been carried on before that date.[2] The owner of Barking Hall, Sir Francis Needham, had promised the townsfolk to erect and endow a free school, but died with his promise unfulfilled. His successor, Sir Francis Theobald, had pressure, amounting almost to coercion, put upon him to carry the plan into effect. Sir Francis, protesting that this compulsion did 'much dampe his cheerfulness in his donations,' gave nevertheless, in his will of 20 January, 1632, a messuage called Guildhall to be taken down and rebuilt as a workhouse or schoolhouse, and an annuity of £20 to keep it up. The bequest was applied to building a schoolhouse. From the statutes we learn that the master was to be 'a man of competent learning in the tongues and grammar, a graduate in the university of Cambridge.' He was to have no other duties save that of occasionally relieving the minister of Barking. He was to teach free of charge (except when parents could afford payment) and to repair the school premises out of his salary.

The son and grandson of the testator neglected to pay the annuity. Consequently we find the school stood empty in 1674.[3] This produced a Commission of Charitable Uses in 1688, before which Mr. William Richardson deposes that 'he teacheth the Grammar there to his scholars, but confesseth that he is no graduatt in the university.'[4] His salary was then £4 10s., and he adds that he 'never taught any of the scholars of the town of Needham Market free and without money, there not being any offered.' Richardson remained master to 1689 or longer, and gave 'good content and satisfaction.'[5]

The Commission of 1688 compelled Robert Theobald, grandson of the founder, to vest the annuity in trustees, after which the school was more regularly conducted. Mr. Brittan was master from 1708 to 1713, or even later, and was followed by Mr. Richard Peppin, who, in defiance of the statutes, preached regularly in several parishes, and, refusing to desist, was starved into resignation by the trustees in 1721. His successor, Mr. John Corbould, after 6 months' work, resigned.

The trustees now decided, in 1723, to use the endowment for an 'English school.' Two years later this had become degraded into some sort of workhouse or industrial school under 'one William Lithers, of Elmswell, woolcomber,' as master, the Rev. J. Nunn, of Needham Chapel, having declined the post.

In 1727 the grammar school was re-established under Mr. Grimwood, who held office until 1730, when he was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, curate of Barking. Under this master, under Mr. Uvedale, and the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, the school did well. The last-mentioned master advertised from 1771 to 1773 offering to take boarders 'upon the most moderate terms that the present high prices will admit of.'[6]

In 1781 a fire occurred at the Swan Inn (the property from which the endowment was derived), but the loss was covered by insurance, and 10 years later the master's salary was raised to £20; as, however, an usher had to be paid out of this sum, it must still have been more than inadequate.

In 1796 Mr. Jonathan Abbot, master at that date, resigned, and Mr. William Howarth of Dedham School was unanimously elected.[7] He met the trustees in a very generous spirit, giving up his claim to all salary over £25 a year until the estate should be free of debt, in consideration of the changes made for his convenience in the schoolhouse. When, however, no salary was forthcoming by 1800, he resigned, and Mr. Charles Clarke of Diss was appointed master.

In 1811 the property was conveyed to new trustees, and more profitably invested. The number of free boys was consequently increased from 14 to 21, and the master's salary raised to £50.[8] Mr. Clarke, master in 1818, seems to have been a disciplinarian, for he expelled Edward Badham as of 'an incorrigible disposition and very disobedient,' and was, moreover, very insistent on the order to be maintained by the boys in going from the schoolhouse to church.[9]

In 1824 Mr. Walter Gray, formerly master at Harwich, succeeded Mr. Clarke, and at his recommendation the school was enlarged 18 ft. at its west end. The estate was, however, falling in value, being let in 1825 at a rental of £55, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the Charity Commissioners in 1829 declared 'the endowment too small for the support of a regular grammar school, and proposed that it should henceforth be continued as an elementary school for seventeen poor children.' The

[1] *Char. Com. Rep.* xxii, 176.

[2] Acta Bks. No. 2, 19 Ap. 1616; Ipswich Probate Office.

[3] *Suff. Hearth Tax Returns.* 'Sir Francis Theobald for the school 5*s.* empty.'

[4] Com. for Char. Uses, 1688. Petty Bag Depositions, xxi, 19.

[5] Ibid.

[6] *Ips. Journ.* 1771.

[7] Ibid. and *Bury Post*, Aug. 1796.

[8] *East Anglian Daily Times*, East Anglian Misc. No. 280.

[9] Ibid. There was provision in the statutes for expulsion 'after one or two years' experience' of truants or ringleaders in 'idleness and looseness of life.'

trustees, however, had more faith, and during the next 40 years the standard of teaching was raised to a much higher level. Mr. J. C. Sammons, master from 1848 to 1857, stipulated, when elected, for the enlargement of the existing schoolroom,[1] and later on built the present schoolroom which he then used for his private pupils. Under the Rev. James Brown (1857–70), his successor, the first and second of the three classes in the school (i.e. two-thirds of the whole) learnt Latin, and the character of the school was generally raised.

A new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts became law in December, 1872. Mr. R. Hall became head master, and raised the school considerably, and his good work was continued by Mr. Cheal (1882–5), Mr. Boyce (1885–90), Mr. Thomas Normandale (1890–99), and Mr. W. Henwood (1900–3).

At the present day the school is conducted as a 'Public Endowed Secondary School,' under the scheme of 1872, the head master, Mr. H. A. Webb, B.A., B.Sc. (London), having been appointed in 1904.[2]

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOUNDED BEFORE 1800

Wenhaston School.—Founded by William Pepyn by will dated 20 January, 1562. He gave land called Dose Mere Pightle for the maintenance of a free school in the town of Wenhaston for the instruction of poor children in learning, godliness, and virtue. Reginald Lessey, by will, 1563, gave a piece of copyhold land near Blythburgh for the same purpose.

Stradbroke.—Michael Wentworth, esq., in 1587, granted the town chamber for a school, the master of which was appointed by the parishioners. His stipend was £5 a year from the rent of land given by Giles Borrett in 1667, for which he taught five poor children, and £15 a year from the trustees of Warner's Charity, for which he taught 12 poor children reading, writing, and arithmetic.

East Bergholt School.—Edward Lamb, by deed of feoffment (25 September, 1589), conveyed to trustees a schoolhouse and a piece of land in Bergholt for a free school. Lettice Dykes (30 September, 1589) gave more lands by deed for the maintenance and finding of poor children in learning and virtue. Six were to be taught to read and write, and six others of Bergholt and two of Stratford and Langham grammar and good learning. Long before 1829 it was elementary, and has remained so.

Earl Stonham School.—The foundation of this school is due to George Reeve, who in 1599 settled 20 acres of land in trustees to maintain a schoolmaster.

Beccles — The Free School.—Sir John Leman, knt., by will (8 July, 1631) devised to his executors a schoolhouse in Beccles and other lands that they should procure a licence in mortmain and convey these to the portreeve and corporation for a free school for 48 children, who should be 8 years old and able to read perfectly on admission, and should be taught writing, ciphering, casting accounts, and the religion established in this realm. He appointed the portreeve and 24 chief men of the corporation governors of the school. It was and is elementary.

Bardwell School.—By a decree of the Court of Chancery made in 1639 the town estate was appropriated to public uses, one of which was the allowance of £13 a year for the support of an elementary school.

Hadleigh School.—Founded by John Alabaster, senior, who by will (20 April, 1667) gave a tenement and 12 acres of land, the rents and profits to be applied for the stipend of a schoolmaster to teach poor children the three R's. Ann Beaumont, by will (5 August, 1701) gave £5 a year to the schoolmaster of the free school in Hadleigh for teaching 6 poor boys the three R's.

Fressingfield School.—William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, by deed (5 January, 1685), covenanted with the master, fellows, and scholars of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, that certain fee-farm rents should be charged with the payment of £10 a year to a schoolmaster, for which he should teach 5 poor boys of the parish the three R's and the Church Catechism and Creed.

Worlingworth School.—John Baldry, by will (14 April, 1689), gave lands in Monk Soham for a schoolmaster to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to all poor children of Worlingworth. John Godbold, by will (13 May, 1698), gave £120 for the yearly increase and maintenance of a schoolmaster. A house was built for the schoolmaster in 1825 by Mr. John Corby. The school was free for all children of inhabitants who occupy at rents not exceeding £10 a year. It was, and is now, an elementary school.

Ampton—Calthorpe's Charity.—By deed (27 March, 1692) James Calthorpe, esq., conveyed a manor at Aldeby, in Norfolk, to trustees, the rents to be applied in educating, clothing, and feeding 6 poor boys. Henry Edwards, by will (23 October, 1715), bequeathed £100 to

[1] This room was the dining-room of the school in 1897; *St. James's Budget*, 26 Nov. 1897.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Webb for much useful information contained in the Minute Books of the school.

the trustees of the charity school for teaching 5 poor boys with the partakers of Calthorpe's charity. These 11 boys received an elementary education with other scholars whom the master was allowed to take in 1829, but in 1867 there were 32 boys receiving education free, 10 of whom were also boarded and clothed.

Halesworth.—A sum of £3 a year is paid out of the rents of the town-lands to the master of a school for teaching 6 poor children to read and spell from £60 given by Thomas Neale for the education of poor children in 1700. A further educational charity was made by Richard Porter, who by will (2 June, 1701) directed that a schoolmaster and schooldame should be appointed by the churchwardens of the parish to teach not more than 20 boys and 20 girls.

Hacheston School.—By will (2 June, 1701) Richard Porter directed that a schoolmaster should be appointed by the churchwardens and chief inhabitants, and have £12 a year for teaching 12 poor boys whose parents should not be worth £30. The schoolmaster received an annuity of £12 from the Earl of Rochford, the owner of the property charged in the will.

Kelsale School.—The estates of the Kelsale Charity have arisen under many different old grants and surrenders, the trusts or purposes of which cannot be distinctly ascertained. In 1714 on a surrender of copyholds, trusts were declared of an annual sum, not exceeding £30, to a schoolmaster within the parish to teach the boys of the parish. A general deed of trust, made in August, 1765, comprising the freeholds, declared that the rents should be employed for maintaining a school in which 10 of the poorest children should be educated in writing, casting accounts, or grammar learning, or to maintain such of the grammar scholars at Cambridge as the trustees should think fit, and allowing the schoolmaster £16 a year. The salary of the schoolmaster is £50 a year, and there were about 87 children in the school in 1829, which had decreased to 71 in 1867.

Laxfield—John Smith's Charity.—By will (25 June, 1718) John Smith devised all his lands in Laxfield on trust, the rents at first to be applied to building a schoolhouse, and £40 a year to be paid to a schoolmaster, who should have no preferment in the church, to teach 20 poor boys the three R's. The trustees for some time also allowed £5 a year to a schoolmistress for teaching 12 poor girls to read, knit, and sew.

Sibton School.—John Scrivener and Dorothea his sister, by deed (17 March, 1719) settled an estate in Sibton and Peasenhall, half the rents of which were to be employed for building a school for teaching poor children, in the English tongue, writing and arithmetic. There was a schoolroom in 1867, in which 12 boys and 12 girls were taught by a schoolmaster and schoolmistress gratis, out of 74 boys and 47 girls who were in the school.

Rougham School.—Edward Sparke, by will (27 August, 1720), devised his estate at Thurston to the charity school at Rougham, that 4 poor children from Thurston should be taught at the school, and he gave all his land in Rougham to the school. The income was about £47 a year; there was a house for the master with schoolroom, and he taught the three R's to 8 boys from Rougham and 4 from Thurston gratis in 1829, but in 1867 there were 20 boys.

Whepstead—Sparke's Charity.—Thomas Sparke, by will (10 June, 1721) devised a copyhold estate, the rents to be applied for the schooling of poor children in the parish. There were usually from 8 to 12 children taught in the schoo1 as free scholars.

Laxfield—Ward's Charity.—Mrs. Ann Ward, by will (2 August, 1721), directed that £20 a year from the income of her estate should be applied towards the education of 10 poor children, boys and girls, in Laxfield. £20 was paid to a schoolmaster for teaching 10 boys to read and write, and £10 to a schoolmistress for teaching 10 girls, who were taught with the Smith's charity girls.

Sudbury National School.—Susan Girling, by will (13 October, 1724,) devised to trustees lands in Suffolk to apply the rents for teaching poor children of Sudbury. In 1747 a subscription was raised for building a school and extending the benefit of the charity to girls. In 1775 the Rev. William Malcham bequeathed £50 to the schools. The school for girls was conducted on the national school system, and there were about 150 scholars. The master had the use of the dwelling-house and a salary of £12 a year. In the other school 12 poor girls were taught reading and sewing by a mistress who had a house and £6 a year. In 1867 there were 90 boys who paid 2*d.* and 87 girls who paid 1*d.* a week.

Blundeston School.—By will (3 June, 1726), the Rev. Gregory Clarke devised a house and lands in trust to apply the rents to the payment of a schoolmaster.

Benhall—Duke's Charity School.—By will, dated in 1731, Sir Edward Duke desired his executors to settle £1,000 for the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach poor children to read and write. William Corbold by will (29 April, 1746) devised land from the rents of which £5 a year was to be paid for 4 poor boys from Saxmundham to go to the free school at Benhall, and this sum was paid to the schoolmaster. In 1867 there were 34 boys and 33 girls in the school.

Hoxne Free School.—Thomas Maynard, by will (8 June, 1734) devised his real estate in Hoxne upon trust to lay out a sum from £200 to £300 on a house for a schoolmaster and mistress to teach, free, all such boys and girls of the parish as should be sent to them,

£40 to be paid yearly to the master and £10 to the mistress. In 1867 there were 38 boys and no girls, and £42 was paid to the master.

HUNDON SCHOOL.— Founded by James Vernon, who by deed (8 April, 1737) granted a rent charge of £32 on lands in Wickhambrook to trustees, the surplus of which, after various payments, was to be laid out in teaching poor boys to read and write and poor girls to read, knit, and sew. From this £10 a year was paid to the master of a school in Hundon for teaching 16 poor children.

CODDENHAM SCHOOL.—Lady Catherine Gardeman by deed (31 May, 1753), conveyed to trustees land in Mendlesham and Earl Stonham for teaching 15 poor boys the three R's and 15 poor girls to read, write, knit, and sew.

HOLTON ST. MARY CHARITY SCHOOL.—The 'Town Pightle' was demised in 1755 by the then churchwardens and overseers of the poor to the Rev. Stephen White, the rector, to hold for the use of the school. It was established and endowed by him and other subscribers, including £3 3s. a year from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

BARROW.—The town estate was vested in trustees in Henry VIII's reign, and the rents applied for the general use of the parishioners, but about 1790 they were appropriated to finding a schoolmaster, and 24 poor children were taught the three R's and the Church Catechism gratis.

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

HUNTING

THE history of hunting in this county begins at an early date. The dukes of Grafton hunted a large portion of what is now the Suffolk country about the middle of the eighteenth century, either keeping their hounds at Euston or taking them from place to place as their movements might dictate. The run which took place 2 December, 1745, from Euston to within some three miles of the borders of the Essex and Suffolk hunt, was through nearly the whole of the present Suffolk country. The boundaries of 'countries' were not defined with much particularity in those days, but I conclude that the dukes of Grafton hunted all this part and continued to do so for a length of time. Ampton Holmes was at this time a noted fox-covert and a certain find.

The run referred to above is thus described in the *Sporting Magazine* of October, 1828 :—

Unkennelled at 9.30 at Jack's Carr near the decoy in Euston, and thence came away over the heath to the Marl pit, through Honington and by Sapiston Carr, thence to Bangrove Bridge, came away to Mr. Reed's Carr and crossed the road by Black Bridge, then away to Stanton Earths, thence through the coursing grounds on the back part of Hepworth Common to Scase's Hole, where we turned to the right, came through Walsham le Willows, then for Langham Common and Thicks to Stowlangtoft, crossed the river between Bailey Pool Bridge and Stow Bridge, then to Pakenham Wood on to the Kilnground in the back part of Thurston Common, thence to Beyton Groves and on to Drinkstone and Hessett Groves near Monk Wood, passed Drinkstone Hall and thence to Rattlesden, between the Great Wood and the Street, and through Hayle Wood to Wood Hall, where the hounds came to a check for two or three minutes, which was the only one during the whole chase. The huntsman took a half-cast, hit it off, came away across Buxhall Fen Street, thence by Northfield Wood and by Tot Hill Grove in Haughley, then across the Stowmarket road to Dagworth Hills and through Old Newton and near Gipping Wood, then away to Stow Upland, thence by West Creeting over the Green by Roydon Hall, turned to the right, came down to Combs, and crossed the two rivers by the Water Mill, thence across the road by Combs Ford and Stowmarket Windmills, through the cherry grounds to the sign of the Shepherd and Dog at Onehouse, and killed by some hop ground near W. Wollaston's Esq. at four o'clock in the afternoon. Ran through 28 parishes.

Intimately connected with the history of the county hunt is that of the Thurlow Hunt. The two countries were sometimes hunted together, and at other times separately. The Thurlow Hunt dates back to 1793; in this country for many years there existed a Hunt Club which materially assisted sport, devoting attention to earth stopping, fox preservation, &c., &c. The earliest report of sport with the Thurlow describes a run with a pack of foxhounds belonging to Mr. Thomas Panton of Newmarket on 15 October, 1793 :—

Found in Abyssey Wood near Thurlow, when he immediately broke cover and ran two rings to Blunts Park and back to Abyssey. He then flew his country and went in a line through Lawn Wood, Temple Wood to Hart Wood, where there was a brace of fresh foxes. The pack then divided; 15½ couple went away close (as it was supposed) at the hunted fox to West Wickham Common, thence to Weston Colville near Carlton Wood and over Wellingham Green. He then took the open country to Balsham and away to Six-Mile-Bottom, going to Newmarket. He was then headed by a chaise, turned short to the left, and stood away in a line with the Gogmagog Hills, and was run from scent to view. He lay down and was killed on the open heath at the bottom of the hill. He stood an hour and three-quarters without one minute's check, and it is supposed in that time he ran a space of nearly thirty miles; the only gentlemen who were in at the death were Mr. Thomas Panton, and Mr. Benjamin Keen with the Huntsman, Thomas Harrison. Of the remaining hounds 6½ couple went away with a fresh fox and killed him at Withersfield near Haverhill; and the remaining couple of hounds went away with the other fox and killed him at Thurlow Park Gates.[1]

I doubt whether the distance stated could have been done in an hour and 45 minutes.

Squire Osbaldeston also hunted the Thurlow country at the same time that he hunted the

[1] Daniel, *Field Sports*.

Pytchley, between 1827 and 1834, hacking to and fro between the two. In those days the Thurlow territory extended up to Ickworth Park, and the squire considered it one of the finest plough countries in England. Shortness of foxes appears to have been the reason of his giving up, as witness the speech attributed to him at the end of his last day at Plumpton : he said 'Good-night; there is not a fox or a gentleman left in Suffolk,' and sticking spurs into his old grey horse he left the district for good.[1]

On the resignation of Squire Osbaldeston Mr. Mure took over the Thurlow; hunting with his own hounds. He had established the pack in 1825 to hunt the Suffolk side, having as his huntsman Will Rose, and as first whipper-in Sam Hibbs, who occupied that post for seventeen seasons till Mr. Mure gave up in 1845. There are few records of the sport enjoyed; the run afforded by a fox found in a willow tree on Pakenham Fen nearly to Colchester, where he beat hounds, probably belongs to the region of fable. Mr. Charles Newman appears to have kept hounds at one time at Coggeshall. A fine run on 18 February, 1834, is chronicled. Finding in Boxted Old Park (now in the Suffolk country), hounds ran their fox nearly to Thurston Park, turning right-handed over the Somerton Hills, through Brockley, Hawstead, Stanningfield, and Welnetham to the Link at Rushbrooke. Through Free Wood, Mill Field, Monk Wood, Drinkstone Park and the Bromley Groves, killing him at Gedding Old Hall, a distance of about sixteen miles. On Mr. Mure's retirement in 1845 Mr. John Josselyn got together a pack of hounds, and with Sam Hibbs as huntsman hunted the Suffolk and Thurlow countries till 1864. Mr. Josselyn's first season, albeit his pack consisted of draft hounds got together in a hurry, was considered by many one of the best during his long tenure of office. A notable run in February, 1846, took place in the Thurlow country. Finding in The Lawn, hounds ran through nearly all the coverts on the Thurlow side and killed their fox at last at Weston Colville; about eighteen miles as hounds ran. Another very fast run was from Shadwell to Stanton Low Wood, where they killed their fox after a nine-mile run; time about forty minutes. In the early part of Mr. Josselyn's time Hitcham Wood on the Bildeston side of the country was noted for a fox who gave the hounds many a good run; they were never able to catch him. At the crack of a whip or the sound of horses on the road this fox would go away at once, nearly always from the same place. Hibbs, taking advantage of this habit, one day got away nearly in view, and hounds ran very fast indeed through Thorpe, Monk Park, Raw Hall Woods, nearly to the Link, where the fox turned and retraced his steps through Thorpe, eventually beating hounds on the Elmswell side of Woolpit Wood. Mr. W. G. Blake remarked to Hibbs on the way home : 'Sam, if you could not catch him to-day, you never will.' Sam drily replied : 'No, sir, I don't think I ever shall.' Another good run took place on February, 1853. They found in Thelnetham Wood; going away by Wattisfield through Walsham le Willows, Badwell, Parker's Groves, East Wood, Broad Border, Northfield Wood, they reached Dales Groves at Finboro, where a fresh fox jumped up and nearly saved the life of the hunted fox. Being put right hounds turned back and killed at the 'Shepherd and Dog,' Onehouse.

The run from Mr. Thornhill's Carr at Blackwater has been considered nearly a 'record.' Three foxes went away at once. Hounds settled to one which ran through Riddlesworth, the Harlings, Quiddenham, Hargham, and, crossing the river about half a mile on the left of the Thetford and Norwich high road, was killed close to Attleborough; 17½ miles in 1 hour 55 minutes. The death of Sam Hibbs, which followed a fit at Plumpton on 16 February, 1864, just as hounds were killing their fox, was a great loss both to Mr. Josselyn and the Hunt, as few finer huntsmen ever carried a horn. Will Jarvis, who had long been with Mr. Josselyn as first whipper-in, took Hibbs's place and continued to hunt the hounds when Mr. Josselyn gave them up and was succeeded by Mr. John Ord of Fornham House. Mr. Ord had been for many years secretary to the Suffolk, till 1864, when he became master. He retained office for three seasons only. He was fortunate in having a good scenting season in 1864 and another particularly good one in 1865, when hounds were hardly at all stopped by frost. In January, 1865, a fox found in Northy Wood, Cavendish, ran to Price's Grove, to the stream below Hawkedon Green, through Christlands, and, bearing to the right through Brockley and Whepstead, was killed close to Hawstead Green. In 1865 sport was exceptionally good. Three fine runs may be noticed. On one occasion finding in Chedburgh Hall hounds ran nearly to Hawkedon Green before they turned through Somerton, Brockley, Whepstead, over the meadows (where Mr. Mortlock now lives), and killed in Mr. Wixton's garden at Horsecroft close to Bury. Another very fast gallop was from Rede Groves by Wickhambrook Eastes, which hounds did not touch, killing at Ouseden. Jarvis and Mr. W. G. Blake had the best of it all the way. Later in the season there was a run from the Link with a good deal of snow on the ground. Hounds went fast through Colville's Grove, Free Wood, Mill Field, Monk Wood, Drinkstone, by Hessett Rectory to Norton Wood, where they divided, 5½ couples

[1] It was on 5 Nov. 1831, while he was master of the Thurlow, that the squire rode his famous match against time at Newmarket : for 1,000 guineas to ride 200 miles in ten hours, which he performed in eight hours forty-two minutes, riding on the round course in four-mile heats.

taking a fox to Stowlangtoft ; the hunted fox going back through Tostock was lost close to Hessett Rectory. In Mr. J. Ord's third and last season the best run was from Norton Wood, hounds going down the railway to Mr. Jennings' arch at Thurston, Jarvis and Mr. (now Sir) E. W. Greene jumping the fence and riding along the railway. Turning off the railroad hounds went through the Beyton Groves, Rougham coverts away by Blackthorpe to Tinker's Grove, Free Wood, through Monk Park, and killed where Mr. Algernon Bevan's house now stands.

On Mr. Ord's retirement in 1867 Mr. Josselyn again took the country and showed varying sport for four seasons, with several changes in the establishment. Will Jarvis retired and his place was taken by Jefferies, who in turn gave place to Wilson, the latter hunting the hounds up to the date of Mr. Josselyn's resignation in 1871. Messrs. Edward and E. Walter Greene (now Sir E. Walter Greene) took the hounds when Mr. Josselyn gave up. Sir E. W. Greene carried the horn himself, with T. Enever and R. Simmonds as whippers-in. He was particularly fortunate on the Thurlow side, where he showed some grand sport. At the end of his third season, however, he sustained injuries in a bad accident with his coach, and this kept him out of the saddle for some considerable time. With Mr. Edward Greene alone in command for the fourth season, Tom Enever hunted the hounds, but in 1875 when it appeared that Sir E. Walter Greene's disablement would prevent his resuming an active share of responsibility for an extended period, Mr. Josselyn again took the management, Mr. Greene kindly lending his hounds for a season. Ben Morgan was Mr. Josselyn's huntsman, and Tom Enever his first whipper-in. Morgan, who only remained in Suffolk one season, was a fine huntsman and seemed able to keep hounds on the line of a fox on the worst of scenting days. An example of this talent was shown one day in November, 1875. Finding a fox in Woolpit Wood, Morgan hunted him in the wood for a long time, then got him away to Northfield Wood, where he again dallied. Away to Tot Hill and back again, hounds at last got him away by the 'Union,' and began to run steadily over the river by Stowmarket through all the Boyton Groves, America, up to Devil's Wood in the Essex and Suffolk country, where he turned back and was killed close to the mill at Hitcham, on Hitcham causeway. In December, 1875, a very fast gallop on the Thurlow side was from Hart Wood ; crossing the Bradley and Branches road half way to Branches Park, just touching the lower side of Branches Park coverts, over the Upend road to the Cropley Earths, into the Ouseden coverts, where they lost him, Morgan and Mr. Jim Gardiner having the best of the first part of the run. The following season, Mr. Greene having sold his hounds, Mr. Josselyn got together another pack, with which, retaining Tom Enever as huntsman, he hunted the country till 1880, showing some good sport especially in the season of 1876–7. A good run on the Thurlow side was from the Black Thorns at Weston Colville to Brinkley and on to Six-Mile-Bottom over the railway, where, turning right-handed nearly to Dullingham the fox recrossed the railway and was killed in the fir covert while pointing back for Brinkley. In 1880 Sir E. W. Greene again took the country and held it for three seasons. Perhaps one of his best runs was that in January, 1881, from Trundley Wood through Abbacy. The fox leaving Thurlow rectory on his right ran straight to Weston Colville, through it to ground in Mr. W. King's earth at Brinkley. Another, of which few of the field saw anything, was in February, 1881, from Stanstead Great Wood into the bottoms below Glemsford, turning left-handed through Cavendish Northy and King Wood and killing close to Clare osier-bed. Another very fast run took place in December, 1881, from West Hall, leaving Burgate Wood on the left, to Mellis where hounds ran into their fox.

In 1883 the Suffolk country was divided from the Thurlow ; Mr. Edward Brown took the Suffolk side and Mr. Jesser Coope the Thurlow side. The bounds of the territory retained by the former were as follows :—From the boundary with the East Essex below Glemsford through Glemsford to the bottom of the hill, turning left-handed by Trucket's Farm, leaving Thurston Park on the left, to the Boxted and Hawkedon road, turning to the left to Hawkedon Green, Denston, Denston Plumbers' Arms, Wickhambrook White Horse, Lidgate, bearing left-handed to the four crossways on the Ouseden and Silverley Tower road, leaving Dalham Park just on the right to Gazeley, crossing the Newmarket road at Needham Street to Barton Mills.

Mr. Brown's two seasons, 1883–5, were distinguished by good scent, especially that of 1883–4. The first run of any note was on 1 December, 1883, from the Dalham coverts, when the fox ran through Lipsey to Coys Grove to Glumpsey, to ground in covert in Ouseden Park. They got him out and raced him through Spring Wood by Bromley's to the Denston road above Denston Plumbers' Arms, through the Stews and Slater's Groves to Hawkedon Green to the Thurston Bottoms, turning right-handed and killed in the open, one field from Stansfield church. The best run of many years in Suffolk was that on 29 December, 1883, from the Link ; going away nearly to Raw Hall the fox turned left-handed and then right-handed through Chencell Grove into Monk Park, turning right-handed, leaving Cockfield Stone on the right to Bulls' Wood by Mr. Edgar's on the left along the meadows nearly to Lavenham, left-handed over Mr. Wright's farm nearly to Preston Mills, again to the left through Bulls' Wood, Monk Park, by

Hessett Hole, through Handeler to Drinkstone Park, where hounds swam the water and marked their fox to ground at Tostock in a pipe, whence he was bolted and killed. On 20 January, 1885, a very good run was from Monk Park to Thorpe, where hounds divided. Six couple going away with only a few of the field ran through Hastings Grove to Brettenham, Brent Eleigh, Chelsworth, back to Brettenham, Hastings Grove, and Thorpe Wood, where they were stopped on the Thorpe road. Mr. Brown and the rest of the field went away from Thorpe with another fox by Duck Street Farm to Pie Hatch, through World's End nearly up to Little Finboro, right-handed by Hitcham Mill to the Brettenham coverts to Bulls' Wood and Monk Park, where after running their fox round and round for a time they got him away again by Cockfield Stone. They had just marked as if at ground, when other hounds were heard running, and Mr. Brown, taking his lot quickly up the Thorpe road, joined the rest of the pack, and the hunted fox, jumping up, was run through Hastings Grove to Thorpe Wood and killed a few fields on the Monk Park side of Thorpe Wood.

In 1885 Mr. J. M. King succeeded Mr. Brown and was very successful in showing sport. During his first two seasons Mr. Brown hunted the hounds; the remaining five Mr. King carried the horn himself, showing some good runs. A memorable day to those out was that in February, 1888, at Barrow Green, when there was so much snow it was considered by many impossible to hunt. A very late start was made in consequence, and hounds did not find till they got to Wickhambrook Eastes and the fox went to ground one field from the covert. It took an hour to get him out, and hounds starting close at him nearly killed him before he reached covert through the deep snow. He went away over the Depden gully right-handed to Coblands, Denston, Arlibut, Appleacre, over the Hundon road, pointing as if for Trundley, over the Thurlow road to Branches Oakes, to Spring Wood, and leaving most of the Ouseden coverts on the right, to the new covert on the Lidgate side, turned back. It was now late, but luckily there was a bright moon and hounds going back through Spring Wood to Wickhambrook Eastes marked him to ground in the main earths (which had been opened) at 7 o'clock in the evening after running for about four hours. A really good run in February, 1890, was from Brettenham Fish Ponds away to Kettlebaston Earths, turning back to Hitcham, leaving Bildeston on the left to Semer, going over the Hadleigh road nearly to Calves Wood, where the fox jumped out of a ditch and ran in a left-handed circle to Somersham, where hounds got their heads up, owing to the holloaing of foot-people, and unfortunately lost this good fox within two fields of Lucy Wood.

In succession to Mr. J. M. King on his resignation in 1892 came, for two seasons, Mr. J. A. Chalmers, who also hunted the hounds himself. The country at this time was well off for foxes of the right sort, and Mr. Chalmers showed excellent sport. A good run in November, 1892, was from Hill's Carr at Buxhall, passing Mr. Wells's house by Woodhall to Clopton Groves nearly to Woolpit Green; turning back here hounds ran by Clopton Hall over the Rattlesden road, leaving Howe Wood on the right, to Whalebone Lodge, through World's End over Old Hitcham Wood, and killed two fields from the Pie Hatch road.

In 1894 Mr. P. G. Barthropp succeeded Mr. Chalmers. The new master was very fortunate in his second season. Finding a fox one day in December, 1895, in the Dove House covert, Wyken, hounds ran him nearly to Langham Thicks, where he turned left-handed by Hill Watering through the back of Stanton to Scases Hole, along at the back of Walsham le Willows nearly to Mr. Hatton's, then left-handed through West Hall, where they killed about a mile and a half on the Mellis side of the hall.

In 1898 Mr. Barthropp resigned and Mr. Eugène Wells of Buxhall Vale took the country. After the first season he hunted the pack himself, showing some good sport especially on the Stowmarket side. Two of his best runs, though unfortunately hounds did not account for their foxes, were—the one, in January, 1899, from Denham Thicks through Wickhambrook Eastes by Wickhambrook White Horse into the Thurlow country, leaving Branches Oakes on the right, crossing the Thurlow road and losing at the Hundon road pointing for Appleacre; the other, in February, 1899, from Boxted Park into the Thurlow country at once, by Thurston Park, Pryce's Grove, Arlibut, and Denston Park over the Hundon road, in a ring back again left-handed to the Hundon road, and left-handed again nearly to Trundley Wood for Lord's Fields in the East Essex country, where this good fox beat hounds at dark.

In 1903 Mr. Eugène Wells was followed by Mr. F. Riley-Smith of Barton Hall, who at the time he took the foxhounds was also hunting the staghounds he had taken over from Sir E. Walter Greene a season or two before. Hunting both packs himself, and showing first-rate sport with them both, he gave up the staghounds after another season, and has now (1906) much to the regret of the whole country given up the foxhounds. He has been succeeded by Mr. Guy Everard.

STAGHOUNDS

The pack of staghounds referred to was originally established in 1864 by Sir (then Mr.) E. Walter Greene, by whom it was maintained until the year 1870. It ceased to exist when the master took over the county foxhounds. In

1891 Mr. Greene returned to Suffolk from Worcestershire, where he had held the mastership of the Croome, and re-established the staghounds, with which he hunted two days a week. In 1900 Mr. F. Riley-Smith took over the pack and the small herd of deer, and carried on the hunt until 1904, in which year he gave place to Mr. Eugène Wells, who hunted one day a week. The country over which the staghounds run has necessarily varied with the changes of ownership. In 1906, Mr. W. P. Burton purchased Mr. Eugène Wells's pack and transferred the hounds to kennels at Edgehill, Ipswich, and the deer to paddocks at Nether Hall, Bury St. Edmunds.

HARRIERS

The oldest pack of harriers existing in the county in 1906 is the Henham, of which the Earl of Stradbroke is owner and master. These harriers were originally established as the East Suffolk in 1832 by Mr. Anthony George Freestone, who held the mastership from that date until 1872. In the latter year Mr. Benjamin Charles Chaston became master and altered the name to the Waveney Harriers. Mr. Chaston was succeeded in 1881 by Sir Savile Crossley, bart., who held office until 1888, when the Earl of Stradbroke purchased the pack and named it after his seat. The harriers are kennelled at Henham Hall, Wangford, and hunt two days a week over a large area of country which extends into Norfolk. Hounds were kept by Mr. Freestone's family as far back as 1722. The father of Mr. Anthony George Freestone hunted a pack of 22-inch harriers over the country which has since been hunted by the East Suffolk, Waveney, and Henham in turn; the 22-inch harriers referred to hunted hare until St. Valentine's day, and thereafter fox till the close of each season.

The Hamilton Harriers were originally established about 1863 by the late Colonel Barlow of Hasketon, Woodbridge. A few years later, about 1868, they were taken over by the late Duke of Hamilton, who in 1872 bought Sir Thomas Boughey's famous pack of harriers and kennelled them at Easton Park. The duke hunted them at his own cost until his death in 1895, when they became a subscription pack under the name by which they were subsequently known. Messrs. G. H. Goldfinch and L. Digby held the joint mastership for the first season (1895–6) of their existence as a subscription pack. Mr. L. Digby then reigned alone for one season, giving place in 1897 to his former colleague, Mr. Goldfinch, who held office till 1900. Mr. Goldfinch was succeeded by one of the most active and energetic sportsmen in England, Mr. R. Carnaby Forster. When this gentleman took the mastership of the harriers he was already master and huntsman of his own pack of otter-hounds with which he hunted waters in various parts of England and Scotland, and in 1901 he accepted the mastership of the Ledbury Foxhounds in Herefordshire, thus achieving the unique feat of holding three masterships concurrently, which he did until 1905. In that year the Lady Mary Hamilton took over the mastership of the harriers and hunted them at her own cost until 1906. On Lady Mary Hamilton's resignation the pack was taken over by Mr. S. Hill Wood of Oakley Park, Eye, who hunts about one-half of the Hamilton country, the hounds being known as the Oakley Harriers. In the same year Mr. A. Sowler of Stonham, near Stowmarket, established a new pack of harriers to hunt the Woodbridge and Ipswich side of the Hamilton country and therewith the Stonham, Stowmarket, and Mendlesham districts, which had not been hunted by harriers for some years.

The otter-hounds referred to were established by Mr. Carnaby Forster in 1895 as a private pack at Easton Park; the master's residence was their head quarters, but as already said they hunted wherever opportunity offered, going to Scotland in August. The pack was given up in 1906.

COURSING

Public coursing appears to have been neglected in the county until comparatively recent times. Only in 1868 does mention occur[1] of a small meeting at Kirkley. Kedington in 1877 was the scene of a two-day meeting, when Dr. Salter from over the Essex border won the principal stake, running first and second with Polly and Madolina; the Duke of Hamilton, Sir R. Lacon, and Mr. T. P. Hale were also represented at the meeting. At a one-day meeting in the following year Mr. H. P. Johnson won two stakes with Scrumptious and Bag o' Bones, and again at Great Thurlow in 1879 won two of the four events. In that year there was another two-day meeting at Kedington over land occupied by Messrs. Goodchild, Pearl and Johnson. The life of the Kedington fixture, however, was brief, for after an excellent and well-supported meeting in 1880 it was discontinued. For ten years after this Suffolk coursing men had to look beyond the county borders for opportunities to run at public meetings, though private gatherings were brought off in many districts. In 1890 the Orford meeting was established under the

[1] Thacker.

patronage of Mr. A. Heywood of Sudbourne Hall, who for some years added a cup to the Sudbourne Hall Stakes. The meeting extended to two days and was well patronized. Orford is somewhat out of the way, but no better coursing is to be had than over the level marshes near the town. It should be said that meetings had been held at Orford for many years previous to 1890, but not under National Coursing Club rules; so that no record of them exists. In the following year (1891) another successful meeting was brought off, Mr. G. M. Williams from Amesbury winning the Town Cup with his smart bitch Pattern, the Sudbourne Hall Cup being won by Mr. M. G. Hale's Happy Embrace. In 1895 Mr. Pye's Jessie Corner and Mr. Thurston's Royal Union divided the Orford Stakes, whilst Mr. T. P. Hale's Hair Restorer won the Sudbourne Hall Cup. There was not another meeting until 1899, and then frost marred the sport. Mr. Giles's Ghost of a Belle and the useful Anstrude, belonging to Mr. H. T. Michels, divided the Orford Stakes. Mr. C. Brocklebank, a son of the late Sir Thomas Brocklebank, ran some greyhounds but without success. The meeting in 1901 was chiefly noticeable for the success of Messrs. Mayall and Sikes, who scored their first win by the aid of Such a Miser. Mr. Hyem's Hill Ranger, a dog who won several stakes over this country, was also successful. This was the first meeting held under the secretaryship of Mr. George Hunt, who still holds sway. Two years later Messrs. Mayall and Sikes repeated their success by winning both open stakes, and the same year the South Essex Coursing Club was invited to hold a meeting over the Orford marshes. Unfortunately heavy rains had rendered the land exceedingly wet, and the coursing by no means came up to the standard of previous meetings. Small gatherings at Orford are still supported by the tenants of the marshes.

In 1894 a meeting was held at Mildenhall. The Club Stakes were won by Little Fan, the runner-up being Mr. Bouttell's Bogie, a name thereafter associated with the owner. Mr. T. P. Hale shared in the Tuddenham Club Stakes with Hightown, out of his old favourite Hemstitch, and his more than useful dog Handkerchief also divided the Cavenham Stakes. Another small meeting was held at Mildenhall in 1899 and again in 1901, in either case being supported by local greyhound owners. About 1896 a few small meetings were held at Trimley on Captain Pretyman's estate, organized by Mr. Spencer Dawson and the farmers in the neighbourhood. They were chiefly noticeable for the extraordinary swiftness of the hares, which perhaps was brought into greater prominence by want of speed on the part of the greyhounds.

The Eye Club was established and held its first meeting in 1901, and in the following February a two-day gathering was arranged. Mr. P. D. Chapman's Celia won the Avenue Stakes, the Longton Green Stakes being divided between Mr. Barway's Bugler Dunn and Mr. Pitt's Walton Benedict. In 1903 this club assumed the name of the Oakley, Brome and Eye Club, and held a more important fixture. The piece of plate added to the Brome Hall Stakes by Mr. S. Hill Wood was won by Mr. Wilson's Hygeia, who ran really well, but unfortunately broke her leg when killing her hare in the final. The cup added by Lady Bateman to the Oakley Park Stakes was won by Mr. Harris's Straightaway II. In January 1904 another excellent meeting was held. The cup given by Mr. Hill Wood this time went to Ireland, Mr. Beyer's Casque D'or beating Messrs. Mayall and Sikes's Such a Madman in the final. The latter owners, however, won the Brome Hall Stakes and the cup added by the Hon. C. B. Hanbury with Such a Moucher. It must be added that in the final course Such a Moucher beat Mr. E. Herbert's Homfray, winner of the Waterloo Cup two months later. This was the first meeting held entirely under National Coursing Club rules and was a distinct improvement on previous efforts, excellent coursing being witnessed. A small meeting was held in the following February, locally owned greyhounds being principally engaged. In February 1905 the meeting showed still further improvement and received a still wider range of patronage. The cup added by Mr. S. Hill Wood to the Oakley Park Stakes was kept in the county, Mr. M. G. Hale's Happy Fortune beating Mr. Death's Aviary in the final. Mr. Death, however, had his turn, Day of Days winning the Brome Hall Stakes and the Hon. C. B. Hanbury's Cup. Mr. Wellingham's Wild William won the Avenue Stakes and Messrs. Mayall and Sikes the Langton Grove Stakes with Such a Mover. In 1905 the club brought off a really excellent meeting with a full card of four 16-dog stakes. Mr. Hill Wood with Wagga Wagga and Windrush supplied both the winner and runner-up for the Oakley Park Stakes, and his Hot Whiskey was only beaten in the final for the Brome Hall Stakes by that useful puppy, Top Hole, the property of Mr. Fred Tighe. Ruby Robe and Desperate Defence divided the Avenue Stakes, and Black Earl shared the Langton Grove Stakes with Mr. Hill Wood's Wendouree.

In 1904 a club was formed at Benacre, and in December of that year a meeting was held over the estate of Sir T. V. S. Gooch, bart., the president. The Benacre Hall Stakes was won by Messrs. Mayall and Sikes's Such a Mover, who had to go twice to slips in the final with Mr. T. Cook's (the hon. secretary) Certainty. The Hall Farm Stakes and the cup added were won by the president's Girton Girl, Mr. Hill Wood's Warraminta being the runner-up. Mr. Cook's Cheerful and Mr. Greig's Gay Gordon divided the Covehithe Stakes, the latter taking the cup given by Sir Thomas Gooch, whilst Mr. Thacker's Throwaway II, beating Mr. Hyde Clarke's Hard

Chisel in the final, won the Beech Farm Stakes and the cup added thereto by the president. In January, 1905, a one-day meeting was held over the same ground and was well supported locally, Mr. Edgar Smith winning two stakes with Stump Speech and Scholastic. In December of the same year a much more important programme was framed, a full card of two 32 and two 16-dog stakes rewarding Mr. Cook's efforts. The Benacre Hall Stakes and the cup presented by the town of Lowestoft were won by Mr. Death's Dutch Defence, who beat Mr. M. G. Hale's Happy Remedy in the final. Four puppies shared in the division of the Hall Farm Stakes, two of them, Staff Surgeon and Sixes and Sevens, belonging to Mr. Edgar Smith, the other two being Mr. Death's Diamonds Declared and Mr. Tighe's Top Hole. Mr. Smith's superior claims were recognized, and he took the cup which the club added to the stake. The Covehithe Stakes were divided by Mr. Mann's Black Earl and the hon. secretary's Calid, the former taking the cup given by Sir Thomas Gooch. Mr. Cook was again to the fore in the Beech Farm Stakes, winning Mr. J. S. Sterry's Cup with his useful dog Cabman, who beat Mr. Tubby's Rare Talker in the final. Game was plentiful, the going was good, and the beating and all arrangements connected with the meeting exceedingly well carried out.

The county claims many coursers whose greyhounds have made their mark at the principal meetings in England. So long ago as 1838 the late Earl of Stradbroke won the Altcar Stakes, then run at the same meeting as the Waterloo Cup, with a dog named Madman, repeated the performance in 1840 with Marquess, and again in 1842 with Minerva, winning the Waterloo Purse with Magna the same year. Newmarket and Swaffham were perhaps the meetings he chiefly patronized, but he ran dogs at Ashdown in 1841 with conspicuous success, winning the Cup with Musquito, the Craven Stakes with Minerva, and two smaller stakes. In 1842 his Magdalen won the Swaffham Cup, Mango ran up for the Champion Puppy Stakes at Newmarket, and Minerva won the All-aged Stake there.

The following year Mintman won the Swaffham Derby, and the Port Stakes at Newmarket in 1845. The kennel was in great form at Newmarket in 1846, winning the Derby with Mentor, the Cup with Manse, and the Port Stakes with Mac. Three years later Lord Stradbroke almost repeated this performance, winning the Derby with Merchant, the Oaks with Manto, and the Port Stakes with Mary.

Merchant, Merrymaid, and Midnight in the following years maintained the prestige of the kennel. In 1857 Lord Stradbroke won three stakes at Newmarket with Miranda, Mahomet, and Mischief respectively ; Mischief in a previous season had divided the Champion Puppy Stakes.

In those earlier days matches were greatly in vogue and Lord Stradbroke was conspicuously successful even against such opponents as Mr. Dobede, Mr. Fyson, and Captain Daintre.

The present earl keeps a few greyhounds, and each year holds at Henham a Tenants' Meeting, at which he acts as judge. The late Duke of Hamilton was the possessor of a useful kennel of greyhounds in the seventies. In 1877 Huron ran into the last four of the Waterloo Cup, and the following year occupied a like position in the Purse. In 1878 High Seal ran up for the Ashdown Oaks, and the duke was highly successful later in the season at Newmarket, dividing the Champion Puppy Stakes with High Seal (beating Misterton), the All-aged Stakes with Bluebeard, and the Chippenham Stakes with Hawkshaw Belle. Harpsichord, High Pearl, and Hughie also ran with credit. A contemporary of the Duke of Hamilton was Mr. T. P. Hale, who inherited a love of the sport from his father. Mr. Hale started a kennel in 1872 ; Babety, out of the celebrated bitch, Bab at the Bowster, crediting him with perhaps his earliest success, by winning the Cheveley Stakes at Newmarket in 1873. For a few years no great success attended him, but in 1879 Heligoland divided the South of England Stakes at Plumpton. In 1882 Hoffman divided the Produce Stakes at the South of England Meeting at Amesbury, Hunooman the following year dividing the Cheveley Stakes at Newark, Hussey dividing the Southminster Oaks in 1884. Hippia, Huntingdon, Heart of Oak, and High and Mighty, were successful in succeeding years. Hemstitch in 1888 divided the Produce Stakes at the South of England Meeting at Stockbridge, a smart bitch out of a still smarter dam, Stitch-in-Time; Head Mourner, High Light, and High Tone, were also credited with winning brackets. Horizon won the Produce Stakes at Newmarket, and also at Wye in 1890, and Hardy Born in 1891 divided the Produce Stakes at Stockbridge. Handkerchief, out of Mr. Hale's old favourite, Hemstitch, in 1892, divided the Produce Stakes at Amesbury, the Produce Stakes at Southminster, and the Champion Puppy Stakes at Newmarket ; whilst Hardy Born won the Craven Challenge Cup at Amesbury, and Haverhill Lass, another daughter of Hemstitch, ran up for the Produce Stakes at Stockbridge. The following year Handkerchief divided at Newmarket and at Stokesby. High Wind, Hair Restorer, and Hailsworth also won stakes for the kennel. Since about the year 1880 Mr. M. G. Hale has had his kennel at Claydon, and perhaps no one in the county has made a bolder bid for Waterloo honours than he. In 1886 Happy Omen divided the Waterloo Plate. In 1894 Happy Relic divided the Purse, and three years later Happy Sight also divided the Purse, whilst Happy Sammy at the same meeting won three courses in the Waterloo Cup, being beaten by Five-by-Tricks in a desperately near trial ; in 1889 Happy Rondelle, another

excellent bitch, after her success in the Members' Cup at Altcar was thought to have a great chance, but she was palpably overdone and succumbed in the third round to Miss Glendyne. From the commencement Mr. Hale has rarely been without a good greyhound in his kennel. In 1883 Happy Flight divided the Ashurst Stakes at Plumpton, and in the following year Happy Hampton won the Ashford Stakes at Wye, and Happy Report was successful at Southminster and Cliffe. In the following year Happy Catch won the All-aged Stakes at Newmarket. In 1887 Happy Isle divided the Hastings Stakes at Plumpton, and Happy Omen the December Stakes for sixty-four greyhounds at Kempton Park. During 1888, at Altcar, Happy Knight won the Molyneux Stakes, Happy Omen the Sefton Stakes, and Happy Rondelle, as already stated, the much coveted Members' Cup. In 1890 Happy Embrace won the Sudbourne Hall Cup at Orford; and two years later Happy Alice divided the Produce Stakes at both of the South of England Meetings, and Happy Mac paid two successful visits to Witham. The following year Happy Mac, Happy Relic, Happy Sunshine, all earned winning brackets, and in 1896 Happy Sammy won the Voloshovo Cup (presented by Count Strogonoff, the owner of Texture when she won the Waterloo Cup) at the Eastern Counties Meeting at Witham, Happy Sight dividing the Derby at the same place. Since that time perhaps the kennel has been less successful, but Happy Reflex, Happy Liking, Happy Delay, Happy Fortune, and Happy Heroine, amongst others, have won stakes. Among coursers of a later date mention must be made of Mr. S. Hill Wood, who has done much to foster the sport in the county. He opened his coursing career in a somewhat sensational manner by giving 220 guineas for Garbitas and 175 guineas for her sister, Good Form, at the Barbican in 1900. The former bitch gave evidence of her quality by dividing the Brentwood Cup at Rainham the following year, and later in the season won the Barbican Cup at the same meeting. Since then Militant, Watch Me and her useful son Windrush, and many others have maintained the reputation of the kennel. Mr. Hill Wood is the leading spirit in the Oakley Broome and Eye Club, always ready to add a piece of plate, and under his supervision the meetings there have vastly improved. Another still later coursing recruit is Sir Thomas V. S. Gooch, bart., whose kennel has been recently established. It is chiefly through Sir Thomas's support that the meetings of the Benacre Club, which are held over his estate, have taken such a prominent position.

SHOOTING

No counties in the kingdom can compare with Norfolk and Suffolk for pheasant and partridge shooting. Which is the better county of the two is difficult to say, but perhaps the best grounds are found upon the border line. The economic value of shooting is well shown by the past and present conditions of the waste lands in the north-west of Suffolk. Years ago these were used only as sheep walks, and the labour employed upon them did not amount to 2*s*. 6*d*. per acre per annum. At the present day nearly all these lands have been purchased or leased by men of wealth who cultivate the barren flint-bestrewed 'Brecks' for game, in order to improve their shootings; game thriving best where cultivation is carried on. This means payment of wages amounting to £1 per acre per annum and upwards. Such is one of the results of the introduction of the breechloader and the elevation of shooting to a science. Fifty years ago the artificial rearing of game was almost unknown. Now-a-days both landowner and labourer in Suffolk profit by the system of letting the land to a shooting tenant instead of allowing it to lie waste.

One of the best estates for all-round shooting is Benacre Hall, which lies on the seaboard between Lowestoft and Southwold. The writer is indebted to the courtesy of the present owner, Sir Thomas Gooch, for the following particulars:—From 1811 to 1820, 3,401 head of game was bagged; the best records for one day being 20 brace of partridges, 40 pheasants, and 47 hares. No records were kept between 1820 and 1851. From 1851 to 1856 over 4,000 head was killed each year. The best day with partridges was 94 brace, this having been made on 25 September, 1855. Pheasants were not numerous, but in 1856 the shooting was let for the first time, and the annual bag began to show an increase. In 1858–9 704 partridges were killed in five days. In 1860, 663 hares were shot in five days; and this is the first evidence that hares had become at all numerous. In 1868–9, 3,803 partridges, 149 woodcock, and 1,734 hares were shot. In 1875–6, 3,203 pheasants were reared, and about the same number were killed. The bag in the season 1876–7 was 3,869 pheasants, the highest number in any year until 1895–6, when the total was 5,940. In 1889, 184 snipe were bagged; and 162 the year following, 49 being shot in one day. In 1892, 960 head of wild fowl were killed, and in 1893, 1,001 wild fowl. As regards the largest aggregate of game killed in any one year, the season 1897–8 produced 16,709 head, made up as follows: Partridges, 3,420; pheasants, 4,981; hares, 365; rabbits, 6,834; woodcock, 31;

snipe, 47 ; wild fowl, 725 ; various, 306. Since 1897–8 partridges have done badly, the total bag in any one season not exceeding 1,133. In 1901–2, 250 brace of Hungarian birds were turned down to improve the stock, but there has been no appreciable increase in the number shot. In 1897–8, 1,581 partridges were killed in five days. In 1905–6, 4,674 head of game were killed in five days, viz. : Partridges, 122 ; pheasants, 4,242 ; hares, 152 ; rabbits, 93 ; woodcock, 33 ; wild fowl, 5 ; and pigeons, 27. During the whole season 1,030 hares were shot. Partridges have never been reared to any extent, but much benefit has been derived by changing the eggs from nests in one part of the estate to another. It is interesting to compare with these records those from another large estate on the north-west border of the county, where the conditions of soil, &c. are entirely dissimilar.

Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, of Old Buckenham Hall, a son of the late Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, G.C.S.I., who owned the celebrated Elveden estate for over thirty years, and was one of the best game shots of the day, has furnished some valuable notes of the game, more particularly partridges, killed from 1863 to 1893. In his letter to the writer Prince Frederick explains that the bags mentioned were secured at Elveden proper over an area of 17,000 odd acres, almost half of which was wood and heath. During the period 1863–93, inclusive, the largest bag of partridges was obtained in 1876, when 11,828 birds were killed. From September, 1876, to 2 February, 1877, the head of game killed was : Pheasants, 9,803 ; partridges, 11,823 ; hares, 1,724 ; woodcock, 26 ; snipe, 31 ; various, 70; rabbits, 31,609 ; of the last-named of course by far the greater number was trapped by warreners in the woods and the warrens. The next best season for partridges was about ten years later, namely, 1885–6, when 9,491 birds were shot. Of this number over 6,500 were killed in sixteen days' driving, by three guns, which gives an average of over 200 brace per day. The best bags were 428 brace, 326 brace, 309 brace, and 307½ brace ; the total head of game killed this season was : Pheasants, 11,921 ; partridges, 9,491; hares, 1,815 ; woodcock, 77 ; duck, 8 ; snipe, 1 ; various, 124 ; and 58,140 rabbits, most of which were warrened. This gives a total of 81,877 head for the season. The number of rabbits seems stupendous, but it must be remembered that some thousands of acres consist of a 'blowing sand' on which nothing will grow but a little heather and bracken, coarse tussock grass and a sort of grey lichen—beloved of rabbits. These lands from time immemorial have been rabbit warrens, and owing to the nature of the soil (into which the rabbits can burrow in a night) are practically useless for shooting purposes ; so the rabbits are annually trapped by warreners as in the neighbouring breck-lands and warrens of Norfolk. The calling of the warrener is hereditary in certain families in these counties. 77,365 is the largest number of rabbits killed here in one year during the above period. The season 1885–6 seems to have been the 'record' for woodcock as well as for pheasants, though the total of the latter is not to be compared with what is, I believe, obtained now-a-days. There were other very good seasons when from 6,000 to 8,000 partridges were killed, but the two years mentioned above are the best. The earliest bag recorded at Elveden is that for the year 1834. Of course the area then shot over was very much smaller, about one-third of that on which the later bags were obtained. For that year the totals were : Pheasants, 674 ; partridges, 392 ; hares, 710 ; rabbits (shot), 248 ; woodcock, 34 ; but the pheasants and partridges steadily rose in numbers until in 1857 there were killed : Pheasants, 1,823 ; partridges, 3,258 ; hares, 821 ; rabbits (shot), 368 ; woodcock, 33. The bag of partridges is really remarkable, as it was obtained in the old muzzle-loading days and on an area of about 3,000 acres of arable land. To revert to later times, perhaps the most extraordinary bag ever obtained at Elveden was when the late Maharajah killed 780 partridges (390 brace) to his own gun, driving and walking. This was in the year 1876, which, as we have seen, was the 'record' year for partridges here.

In the north-west corner of Suffolk several large estates almost overlap one another. These are owned by Viscount Iveagh (Elveden), the Duke of Grafton (Euston), Lord Cadogan (Culford), Sir H. Banbury (Mildenhall), and the Marquis of Bristol (Ickworth). They vary in extent from 5,000 to 25,000 acres, and the total bag of game recorded each season depends much upon the quantity of birds reared by hand. The biggest days on such shootings may produce from 2,000 to 3,000 head (of winged game) for six to eight guns. All these estates are strictly preserved ; the tenant farmers are liberally compensated for any damage done to crops, and they are given many days' sport amongst themselves ; an army of keepers, watchers, rearers, and general helps are employed ; the labourers are generously rewarded for nests found and vermin destroyed ; enormous sums of money are expended by the shooting owners and lessees in the locality. Thornham (Lord Henniker), Orwell Park (Captain Pretyman), Easton (Duchess of Hamilton), Henham Hall (Earl of Stradbroke), Brandon Park (Mr. A. H. Paget), Downham Hall (Colonel Mackenzie), Flixton Hall (Sir Frederick Shafto Adair), Somerleyton Hall (Sir Savile Crossley, bt.), Rendlesham Hall (Lord Rendlesham), Heveningham Hall (Lord Huntingfield), Sotterley Park (Colonel Barnes), are some of the more noteworthy estates where most excellent sport is obtainable with pheasants, partridges, hares, and wild fowl. Upon one of these over 20,000 pheasants were shot during the season of 1905–6 ; nearly 100,000 rabbits

were taken from the warrens under one ownership, whilst over 500 brace of partridges were killed by six guns in one day, and considerably over 1,000 brace in three consecutive days upon several manors.

In the year 1905 some controversy arose regarding the 'Euston' system of rearing game, and on 7 November the Duke of Grafton wrote to the *Times* as follows :—

I have never reared partridges in any way except having the estate watched and shepherds treated as friends. My system with pheasants is simply as follows : After my brother's death, in 1882, I sent for my keeper and told him I meant to have no more rearing of and turning out tame barndoor pheasants, and he was to take all eggs laid in places liable to be taken, or where birds would be disturbed, and add them to the nests of the wild birds ; but at his request I allowed him to put these eggs under hens until near the time of hatching and then put into the wild birds' nests, and so all were hatched wild. When I told my keeper of my intention he was dismayed, but I was firm in my resolution, and at the end of the season he came to me and said, 'I am so glad your Grace was so decided, for we have had as good shooting as ever, and the gentlemen come to me and say, "What have you done with your birds, they get up wild all over the place ?"' He simply told them, 'It is because they are wild birds.' That system has been carried out ever since, and the shooting has improved every year. . . . My object was twofold, viz. to obtain good shooting and benefit the farmer. The shooting I have alluded to. I asked a tenant whether my system was good or bad for him. He said, 'There is this difference. Formerly in your brother's life (tame birds, not many) I used to find the tame birds at my stacks. I used to frighten them, but they only got up and went to the other end of my stacks ; but yours, directly they see me, fly away like wild birds and never come back that day.'

On estates where foxes are plentiful the keepers run round the nest wire netting of 4-in. mesh. This allows the old bird to get through, and is small enough to keep large vermin out. About ten yards of netting are required for each nest, making a circle with a 10-ft. diameter ; this is sufficiently large for the bird to remain undisturbed by a fox or dog outside—an important consideration, as if the bird is suddenly disturbed and hits the wire in flying off her nest she will probably desert. The wire is put round when the bird is laying, and apparently she soon becomes accustomed to it. Some keepers put the wire down some distance from the nest and gradually bring it closer, but this seems quite unnecessary. The obvious objection to this plan is the guidance it gives to egg stealers. In ordinary circumstances the egg stealer has to work by day with considerable risk of capture ; but where the nests are thus plainly marked he can work by night. In practice this objection is not a serious one, as the poachers are aware that eggs are often marked with the owner's name in invisible ink. This method of safeguarding game eggs in a recent case (1905) effectually disposed of the defence put forward that the eggs came off a small farm in the prisoner's occupation. Where footpaths are numerous greater danger arises from the curiosity of women and children.

One of the most distinguished sportsmen of Suffolk was the late Mr. F. S. Corrance, of Parham Hall, near Wickham Market, who shortly before his death furnished the following interesting notes of shooting in former days :—

My own personal experience of shooting dates from the thirties and forties, but there were mighty sportsmen before those days, and great shots, in whose hands the flint-lock was a lethal weapon, and whose bags by dint of hard walking assumed quite respectable proportions. Among these keen veterans were Ross, Kennedy, Osbaldeston, Sutton, and George Hanbury, to whom are credited in the pages of *Scrapiania* one hundred brace of grouse and partridges killed between the hour of 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. the same day ; Ross is said to have won the last Red-House Cup shot for, with a score of 88 kills out of 100 shots. In those days shooting was confined to a particular class, and a certain property qualification was essential even to take out a licence, which, however, was not hard to get ; and except at Holkham and a few other spots, where the turnip cultivation introduced by Coke made walking up the birds more profitable, a larger area of both these counties was still corn-land and fallow, and the long stubbles left by the reaping-hooks were shot with dogs. The number of guns did not exceed two, and the etiquette in the approach to a point, and the shot, was very rigidly enforced. The dogs dropped to shot, and no one moved until the recharge took place. There were few redlegs, and the wounded birds, if any, were retrieved by the pointers. To the real sportsman from ten to twenty brace was a fair day's sport, and involved plenty of walking and hard work. As a rule no tenant farmer shot, but at that date and up to the thirties there were many yeomen who farmed 200 or 300 acres of their own land, and they were sometimes very dangerous neighbours to a highly preserved estate. During the last fifty years of the nineteenth century these farms have been almost entirely bought up and absorbed into the large estates, or their shooting hired at some cost. Upon the whole the relations between the owner and the cultivator were friendly, and the farmers, doing pretty well in other respects, with wheat at 65*s.*, could afford to take some interest in the sport.

Where did the labourer come in ? It is here we touch a sore point, for it must be confessed that between him and the game preserver there was not much love lost ; he was ill-paid, hard-worked, had lost his parish allowance under the new Poor Law, and was generally in a sullen state of discontent. In the preserved woods and plantations spring-guns and man-traps were set, notices to that effect being placed on the fences or walls. The poacher was not infrequently a desperate character, and the shooting of a keeper was an act by no means uncommon. I could mention three or four manors whereon bloodshed of this sort occurred. Among young men it was regarded as rather in the nature of 'a lark' to go out with cudgels for a free fight with the guardians of the night. I recall a desperate affray which took place at Campsey Ash, between nine on each side, being dismissed by the judge of the Assizes on the ground that it did not come under the night-poaching Act. On some

estates the men received a small sum for every nest of pheasants' and partridges' eggs which were hatched off, and by this means a *modus vivendi* was established. The sale of game or game eggs was illegal at that date.

It was in 1839 that my own shooting commenced, and although we still used pointers on the stubble the main shooting was in turnips . . . the swede having been lately introduced. There was no mangel nor beet, and the white turnips were sown broadcast, which gave much better cover than drill-sown roots ; even the redleg would consent to remain long enough for a shot. The lines were kept with mathematical precision, and when a halt was made to load, even if a bird was winged, neither dog nor man dared to forestall the advance, and there was a second halt, often very much prolonged, to pick up ; to leave a bird unaccounted for was deemed unsportsmanlike. It was very trying, for the birds driven in with so much care were meantime going out, but it was a point of honour to men and dogs, and very few birds were left. No doubt there was a certain degree of monotony in the solemn noiseless tramp, but there was always something in front, and it was at least better than the long wait for the driven bird. The cream of all such shooting in Suffolk is upon its heaths which skirt the north-west border of the county and also lie between Felixstowe and Aldeburgh. There the red grouse might well exist save for the summer droughts. Several attempts have been made to introduce black game at Benacre, Scots Hall, Rendlesham, and Elveden ; but the birds, after living for a year or two in the wilder places, generally wandered and were shot. When food is scarce a cornfield is an attraction the blackcock cannot resist. Nor indeed, except at Butley, are there any firwoods large enough to give them the necessary winter cover. The walk up and over one of these large heaths—upon which the game has been driven by men or horsemen—must always be noble sport ; and on a crisp October or November morning, with a gale blowing, they afford perhaps the most difficult shooting at long rises we can have. I can remember one such, with five guns out, on what was then called Bucks Heath, at Rendlesham, when my own bag was 139 birds out of a total of 312. At Orwell Park, walking in a deep horseshoe line, I have seen equally good bags made. At Sudbourne and Arle there are also what may be called moors, though of less extent, and at Scots Hall the deep valleys and quite respectable hill deserve their name. Blythburgh and Henham are not so wild, a good deal of clay being found in the soil, and it has been more extensively broken up, while beyond this the moorland generally gives place to marshes ; on these in old times the snipe-shooting was very good, and there were plenty of ducks. Benacre is the best shooting of this sort in Suffolk, and is visited during the winter by a great variety of fowl and waders as well as woodcock. Fine as all this range of wild shooting is, the quantity of game (hares excepted) which can be naturally produced is very inferior to the great inland plains consisting of light loam and chalk in Norfolk and Cambridge, where cultivation is more general and the amount of cereals less. This will be found to be invariably the case, and since the conversion of corn land into grass the deterioration of the shooting has been general and great in many parts.

The number of pheasants has greatly increased, through the introduction of the new system of rearing under coops. This system was introduced by the gamekeeper to Mr. Robert Stone of Kesgrave in the thirties, although eggs had been gathered and put under hens before that date. At the beginning of the century it was thought mean to sell game ; sportsmen of the old-fashioned school always gave it away to the last. Nothing would have induced them to receive money for it.

Mr. Corrance makes some interesting observations on the equipment of the sportman at the period referred to :—

'The shooting coat was of black velveteen, furnished with several small and large pockets, for sundry uses, such as instruments, guns, screws, pickers, tweezers and the like ; for although at the time I speak of detonators had come to stay, these garments still remained the fashion, indeed they were very necessary in the old days of flints. Breeches and gaiters completed the dress, with dog-whistles, whips, and couples often appended in various loops, while a cap crowned the head. As regards the gun we were at this date past the era of the flint-lock, and, though converted guns were common enough, the cap gun and nipple was in the hands of almost everyone. It did not miss fire often, even in the wet, and there was no changing flints, and although at least one great shot (Sir R. Sutton) declined to use it this was a mere freak on his part. A powder flask which held barely half a pound, and a shot belt containing two pounds of No. 5 and 6, were generally all that was required for the ordinary day's sport. The wadding was punched out of cardboard ungreased, and a ramrod attached to the gun was used to load. With the increase of game a change in guns took place. First, a powerful loading rod superseded the ramrod and materially increased the speed of loading. Considerable danger attended the use of this, and I witnessed two bad accidents, one to Lord Rendlesham and the other to Admiral Rous. Each lost a finger. It is probable that the second barrel had been left on cock. A good many ingenious 'safety' inventions came out as a consequence of the numerous accidents, but very shortly after the loading rod had come into use sportsmen gave up loading for themselves and employed a servant to carry a second gun. When well served the user of the old weapon could shoot nearly as rapidly as with a breechloader at a hot corner or at driven birds ; and when walking up partridges there was no halt after a shot. Once, when shooting upon General Hall's property (which was shortly afterwards let to the Duke of Cambridge) in company with six guns, I killed 240 birds in four days in January after the ground had been severely shot all the season ; on another memorable occasion at Oakley, 276 brace in the same month during a hurricane ; while on the same day at Orwell the bag was very little less.

Pheasant shooting became more of an art as more trouble was taken in the flushing of the birds. It soon became the custom to put them up gradually and to arrange so that they rose over high trees before coming to the gun. But the bouquet of birds in a grand rush seldom gave the chance of getting four cocks with four barrels. At this date 300 to 400 pheasants was an average day's bag, but at Hevening-ham and a few of the larger estates 600 to 700 was generally reached at big shoots. Thus far the muzzle-loader had done its work. But a great change was at hand, and a few years afterwards it was a thing of the past.

Concerning the game birds of Suffolk the grey partridge may be considered as indigenous, although at one time it must have been much scarcer than at present. Probably this is accounted for by the absence of corn cultivation, upon which the bird so greatly depends, as is soon found when land is thrown down to grass. The pheasant bred wild, and the hen was not often shot. 'A brace of hens, gentlemen,' was the ordinary advice at the commencement of the shoot. One hundred cocks was a fine day's sport and was seldom exceeded, even at Ryde, the Duke of Norfolk's estate; or at Whitmere Wood, when the Duke of York came down to Rendlesham. There was no artificial rearing of game, and the principal duty of the keeper was to trap or otherwise kill rats and other vermin. The pheasant was of the old variety (*P. colchicus*), as the China bird (*P. torquatus*) had not been introduced. The redleg partridge was not very common, nor had it made its way far from Sudbourne, where it was introduced about 1818 by Lord Hertford; and when shot at Henham or Newmarket at that date they were often stuffed as a 'variety.' When they were numerous they were not liked; it was said they spoiled the dogs by running. On the light lands and the heaths they flourished, and soon established themselves along the entire country, but the prejudice against them was strong, and on some estates, such as Oakley and Brome, they were destroyed by the keepers. They were very wild at all seasons, and the best bags were made in snow when it was too deep for them to run—but this belongs to a later epoch. Neither quail nor landrail visit Suffolk in any number; while woodcock, if not rare visitors, do not stop long on their way to the west coast. Except by the seaside there is also little broken land left for snipe.

In 1900 sixteen or seventeen great bustards,[1] imported from Spain, were turned out upon the large barren 'breck' lands of north-west Suffolk, and every care taken to guard them. It was hoped that they would thrive and multiply as in the days of old when, according to Mr. Henry Stevenson, the great bustard was extremely common in the county.

The earliest mention of great bustard in Suffolk is found in the Household Books of the L'Estranges of Hunstanton; the volume for the year 1527 contains the following entry:—'The xljst weke.' . . . 'Wedynsday. Itm viij malards, a bustard, and j' . . . 'hernsewe kylled wt ye crosbowe.' And again, in the year 1530 amongst the list of gratuities:—'Itm in reward the xxvth day of July to Baxters' . . . 'sarvent of Stannewgh for bryngyng of ij yong' . . . 'bustards ijd.'

In 1825 these birds still bred in the open parts of the county round Thetford, though they were yearly becoming scarcer.

The most reliable information is that collected by Mr. Henry Stevenson, according to whom, during the last hundred years, the history of the bustard is as follows:—The open country round Swaffham and near Thetford formed each the head quarters of a 'drove,' for so an assemblage of these birds was locally called. The Swaffham tract, a long narrow range, chiefly lying in the 'breck' district bounded on the east by the enclosed part of the country and on the west by the fens, extended probably from Heacham in the north to Cranwich in the south, if indeed it did not reach by way of Mundford and Weeting to the Wangford and Lakenheath uplands, which are strictly part of the Thetford or Stow tract. In this Swaffham tract the drove formerly consisted of at least twenty-seven birds; it subsequently decreased from twenty-three or twenty-two to seventeen or sixteen, then to eleven, and finally dwindled to five and two; all accounts agreeing in this that the last remaining birds were hens. The hen bustard nearly always laid her eggs in the winter-sown corn, which in former days was without exception rye sown broadcast after the old fashion. As the mode of tillage improved, wheat was gradually substituted for rye, and the drill and horse-hoe came into use. After children had weeded the fields, speedier if not more thorough weeding was accomplished by the horse-hoe. Thus every nest made by a bustard in a wheat field was sure to be discovered—perhaps in time to avert destruction from the horses' feet or the hoe blades. When found the eggs were generally taken up by the driver of the hoe (in defiance of the Act of 25 Henry VIII which, though often enforced when smaller and less valuable species were concerned, seems in the case of the bustard to have been a dead letter), and if not chilled by the time they reached the farm-house were probably put under a sitting hen. The latest authenticated nest from the old English stock is recorded from Thetford Warren in 1832; and the last birds were killed in 1838, 1843, and 1845. Though protection was accorded to this bird by some proprietors (the Duke of Grafton at Euston, Mr. Newton at Elveden, and Messrs. Gwilt at Icklingham), others permitted their persecution. George Turner, formerly a gamekeeper at Wretham, was suffered by the late Sir Robert Buxton, Lord Cornwallis (the latter owning the Culford estate, in which was included North Stow Heath, already spoken of as the 'head place' for these birds) and others, not only to go in quest of them with a swivel gun, mounted on a wheelbarrow screened with boughs, a parchment stalking horse, or similar device, but even to construct masked batteries of large duck guns, placed so as to concentrate their fire upon a spot strewed with turnips; and there is no question that he thus killed a very considerable number. The triggers of the guns were attached to a cord perhaps half a mile long, and the shepherds and other farm labourers on the ground were instructed

[1] See also article on 'Birds,' *V.C.H. Suffolk.*

to pull this cord whenever they saw the bustards within range. A shepherd on the Place Farm, at Thetford, of which Sir Robert Buxton was landlord, has stated that on one occasion, about the year 1820, he saw five or six bustards, and pulling the string shot two cock birds. There is evidence also of hen bustards having been captured on their nests. Before 1811, Coulson, keeper to Lord Albemarle, tried ineffectually to throw a casting net over a sitting bird at Elveden; he took her eggs, which were hatched out under a hen; the young, successfully reared, were eventually killed by dogs. More than ten years later, Mr. Booty, a farmer at Barnham, performed the feat with dexterity at Stow, and carried off the old bustard which he kept in the cheese room of his farm-house.

Referring to recent reintroduction of these birds Lord Walsingham wrote from Merton Hall, near Thetford, to the *Eastern Counties Magazine* on 4 November, 1900 :—

Up to the present time I am not aware that any systematic attempt has been made to reintroduce under conditions of complete liberty the noblest of our indigenous game birds, but on one occasion the late Lord Lilford took much trouble to find a mate for a single male bustard which was known to be at large in one of the fen districts of Norfolk in the year 1876. He telegraphed to several zoological gardens on the Continent before succeeding in his object, and the reply received in one instance (I think he told me it was Madrid) was, 'Nous n'avons pas des outardes : voulez-vous des faisans?' A healthy hen bird did at last arrive, but after being turned down and seen in company with the wild cock for some days she was unfortunately found dead in a ditch; the male then disappeared and was not again heard of. An experiment has now been commenced under conditions promising at least a chance of better success. Sixteen birds have been imported and have been accorded full measure of care and hospitality on a large estate on the borders of Suffolk, where they will receive ample protection within the limits of an area of some 50,000 acres, owned by good sportsmen with a friendly interest in natural history. When these birds arrived I clearly explained in a short letter to the local papers that this importation was due to the public-spirited enterprise of an English gentleman resident abroad, and I must entirely disclaim any personal credit for what has been done. Contrary to the inference drawn or implied by the writers of several newspaper articles which have lately appeared, I had nothing whatever to do with the matter until my advice was asked in what particular locality the best chance of success could be secured, when I made certain suggestions which have since been followed. The first shipment of sixteen birds arrived safely, and up to the time of writing one only of their number has died through an unavoidable accident. The wing-feathers were cut to insure safety of transport, and the time has therefore not yet arrived when they will be completely at liberty to fly when and where they please.

In the meanwhile they have become very tame, but before they re-acquire the power of flight they will enjoy a run of some 800 acres of open land within the precincts of low wire-netting. It is a curious coincidence that, in selecting a place where the surrounding conditions would be favourable to their liberty, I quite accidentally hit upon the very land on which the last breeding-colony of Great Bustards is known to have existed in England. I am credibly informed that some of the oldest residents in the district remember a flock of about forty and can still tell of the manner in which they were approached and killed by men engaged in agricultural work carrying a gun behind their horses. No small inducement to their destruction must have been found in the quantity of meat of excellent flavour afforded by these large birds. Although the Great Bustard is perhaps equally partial to open heaths and large tracts of cultivated land, it is almost exclusively a feeder on green food. So far as my experience goes, farmers need not anticipate any damage to their crops; at the most perhaps the ordinary grass diet may be varied by some picking at turnip-tops, but for many years to come no considerable increase in numbers can be anticipated, and the killing of a few more wood-pigeons would probably more than compensate any loss that could possibly be sustained through extending friendly hospitality to the pioneers of our returning pilgrims.

For some time this small drove remained in the neighbourhood of Elveden, but it rapidly diminished in numbers until but a single pair remained. For two successive seasons this pair has nested, yet the eggs have not been hatched and examination proved that they were infertile. In 1904 the failure of the eggs to hatch was ascribed to the bird being disturbed while sitting, but last year (1905) the nest was formed in the centre of a large field, the crop thereon left uncut, and no one allowed to venture into it; notwithstanding these precautions, nothing resulted. At the spot where the bustards were liberated, a large surrounding area belongs to two or three keen sportsmen, among them being Lord Iveagh, Lord Cadogan, the Duke of Grafton, Sir H. Bunbury, and the Marquis of Bristol, and it was thought the combined estates of these owners would prove an area beyond which the bustards would not ramble. However, the birds have disappeared one by one, and there is no doubt the majority have been shot or otherwise killed at a considerable distance.

Professor Babington, in his catalogue of the 'Birds of Suffolk' (1884), says an attempt was made about 1866 to introduce the red grouse into Suffolk. Four were turned out at Butley Abbey Farm, belonging to Lord Rendlesham. It was also turned down at Elveden by the Maharajah Duleep Singh. In two successive years (1864 and 1865) the Maharajah had a quantity of grouse brought from his Scotch moor, Grantully, Perthshire, and turned down at Elveden, but the experiment proved a complete failure. He attributed it to lack of water. His highness also in 1865 tried capercailzie and blackgame with a like result. In 1878 he obtained some capercailzie eggs from Scotland, and made a second attempt. The eggs hatched out well;

and the young birds appeared at first to be healthy and strong; but after a short time they refused the artificial food supplied to them, searched upon the grounds for their natural food, and failing to find it pined and died. The great drawback was the want of running streams and the sandy and dry nature of the soil. Professor Newton says that the experiment of turning out grouse in Suffolk was tried by a Mr. Bliss at least ten years before this at Brandon, but with a like result.

Greater success has attended the most recent attempts to establish grouse on the heather of Suffolk, and the birds now show every sign of remaining where they are safe. About 1900 twenty brace of strong, healthy birds were turned out, and each year they have nested and reared broods; the latter thrive best during a wet breeding season. Drought is detrimental to the broods, but water being supplied artificially to every portion of the estate they suffer less from this cause than might be expected. In the season of 1904–5 they showed material increase. A few annually fall victims to the telegraph wires which line the Thetford and Newmarket roads, and these are generally young birds which can ill be spared. Fresh blood is introduced each season by placing eggs in the nests.

Repeated experiments have been made at Elveden and elsewhere in Suffolk to establish blackgame, but hitherto none of them have met with anything like success, although a few birds still remain in the neighbourhood of Thetford and Lakenheath.

Roedeer are found in the big woods of Elveden.

The late Mr. R. Fielding Harmer, writing on 1 March, 1890, in the appendix to Emerson's *Wild Life on a Tidal Water*, says :—

> After twenty-five years' interval—that is since 1863—only an occasional straggler of the Pallas Sand Grouse[1] has been obtained in East Anglia until 1 June, 1888, when numbers made their appearance in different parts of the two counties. On that date 20 were seen on the Denes not far from Breydon, flying to the north, and afterwards seen 'settled' on the sandhills. None of these were obtained. Again on 3 June two more were seen on the North Denes flying to the north and none of these were secured, and on 12 June six were seen flying across Breydon. Several specimens were shot hereabout and also in other parts of Norfolk during this 'Tartar Invasion.'

Soon after the Norman conquest many of the manorial lords had grants of free-warren, that is, the exclusive right of killing beasts and fowls of warren within certain limits. Some of the sandy portions of East Anglia, particularly much of the light land in south-west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk, became particularly noted for their 'conies,' and a big district of west Norfolk was popularly known as the 'rabbit and rye' country. Black rabbits are mentioned in the Paston Letters about 1490, and the Household Book of Thomas Kytson of Hengrave contains the following entry in October, 1573 : 'For baiting my Mr his horse at Brandon, etc., For vj Black Coney skins to fur my Mrs her night gown iiijs, iiijd.' This indicates that even at that day the fur had a decided market value.

Sir Henry Spelman in 1627 mentions that the 'Champion (open country) aboundeth with Corne, sheepe, and conies.' The third Duke of Grafton used to call the broad ditches with their honeycombed banks 'Suffolk graves'; and the fifth Earl of Albemarle in *Fifty Years of My Life* said : 'The whole county is a mere rabbit warren, and still goes by the name of the holey (holy) land.' But even though rabbits were plentiful the penalties for taking them from enclosed land were extremely heavy.[2] Two cases prove the severity with which the law with regard to taking rabbits was administered. At a quarter session held at Bury St. Edmunds in January, 1805, a man named G. Cross was convicted of stealing a trap and two rabbits from Wangford warren, and was sentenced to six months' solitary confinement and hard labour, and to be publicly whipped at Brandon. In 1813 Robert Plum, aged twenty-two, and Rush Lingwood, aged eighteen, were indicted at the Norfolk assizes, held at Thetford, for entering the warren of Thomas Robertson of Hockwold, farmer and warrener, and taking one cony from a trap. Plum was transported for seven years, and Ringwood received two years' imprisonment.

The appendix to Martin's *History of Thetford* contains a most interesting lease of Santon Manor from Thetford Abbey to William Toppyng of Kenninghall in 1535. The lease included all the manor,

> together with the waren there, and the profits of the conys of the same waren. If the said William let the conies from the waren build earths beyond the highway between West Tofts and Weeting, by which conies should tarry and multiply within Lynford Warren, then it should be lawful for the prior and convent and their successors to take as many conies as they would beyond the said way.

Toppyng was at the end of the lease to leave the warren stocked with as many rabbits as he found therein. The prior and his successors

[1] See also article on 'Birds,' *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i.

[2] An Act was passed in 1563 to prevent the taking of 'conies' from enclosed grounds. Proving of little avail, it was strengthened in 1601 (3 Jas. I, cap. 13), by 'Acte against unlawful hunting and stealing of Deere and Conies.' This set forth that since the statute of 1563 divers grounds had been enclosed and kept for the preservation of deer and conies, and there was no sufficient remedy against those who hunted and killed them, it was therefore enacted that persons breaking into parks, &c., and taking deer or conies should be punished by three months' imprisonment, pay treble damages, and find sureties for seven years' good behaviour. A further enactment set forth that commoners could not lawfully dig up cony burrows in a common.

were also to have liberty to hunt and fish in the warren and water, and enjoy

reasonable disports and libertie, with their bowes and with forrett in the said waren so that they and eny of them, at eny suche tyme of ther beyng ther, shall not take or kill, nor cause to be taken or killed in the said waren, above the nombre of three capill (couple) coneys,

without the consent of William Toppyng.

Rabbits still flourish greatly in the district, being nowadays chiefly caught for edible purposes; but the fur is made into felt and the skins into glue at the neighbouring town of Brandon. Many farmers still rely on rabbits to pay their rent, and some, whose land is suitable for rabbit rearing and perhaps unsuitable for almost everything else, make them the sole object of their attention.

WILD-FOWLING

The low-lying coastline, intersected in all directions by estuaries and rivers running inland, with innumerable fens, swamps, and vast stretches of marshes, provides opportunities for wild-fowling unrivalled by any other county. The three recognized branches of wild-fowling are, punt-gunning, shore-shooting, and flighting. As a business, decoying stands alone. During recent years several systems have come into favour whereby wild fowl are made to augment the shootings of most estates. Eggs are purchased and hatched off under hens, the ducklings being hand-fed in certain ponds. The day before shooting the birds are caught, taken to a spot a mile or so distant, and released at intervals. Flying as they do straight home to their feeding-place, they come over the guns posted in the line of flight. Or they are simply 'put up' with the pheasants or other game, or alone, and shot whilst circling round. On some of the larger estates a line of flighting ponds is established. These are small ponds reserved and arranged solely for the accommodation of hand-reared wild duck, half-breds and wild birds which are attracted by those haunting such waters. Every evening they are fed at certain places which are generally as far as possible from the most secluded ponds. Once a week a flighting party shoots the fowl coming in to one of the feeding-places, which are used in turn to avoid breaking the 'lead in' to the flighting grounds.

Punt-shooting is practised upon the estuaries and oozes of the Stour, Orwell, Deben, Alde, and Breydon Water; the walls and banks are also the resorts of the shore-shooter; the beach-line, especially from North Weir Point to Orford Ness, is a favourite haunt of the shore-shooter. Almost every species of waterfowl and wader known in England occurs, but the sport varies in accordance with the weather. These waterways being very easy of access, many Londoners come down in the winter and hire fishing craft, steam and motor launches, even tugboats, in which they move along the estuaries and coast. Such craft, and, in less degree perhaps, the periodical artillery practice and firing of signal guns stationed along the coast, have been instrumental in driving away the vast flocks of wild fowl and geese that formerly made the estuaries near Harwich their winter quarters. The myriads of 'oxbirds' (dunlins) and waders have also been thinned. Before steamers were known on these waterways, fowl and geese were shot by shore-shooters while flying over the neck of the land south-west of Harwich from the neighbouring marshes to the sea at tide-turn.

The Deben was never a good place for punt-shooting except when hard weather drove the birds to the coast, though fowl from the neighbouring decoys feeding in the river and on the marshes, especially at night, afforded a certain amount of sport to the flight and shore shooter. Practically the same remarks apply to the River Alde, which lies a little north of the Deben. Southwold marshes and the creek well up beyond Walberswick Ferry were always favourite grounds for the shoulder gunner, providing more especially teal, mallard, and wigeon. In this district, perhaps, the ruddy sheldrake has been more frequently found than in any other part of England. In west Suffolk gadwall are still fairly common. North of Southwold lies Easton Broad on the Benacre estate; a small piece of water separated from the sea by a narrow strip of beach. For its size this water is visited by perhaps larger quantities of teal and mallard than is any other in England, excepting Holkham Lake in Norfolk and Tring in Hertfordshire. It is strictly preserved, and the writer has seen 2,000 to 5,000 wild fowl rise at a gunshot. Fifty years ago any flight-shooter visiting the marshes or borders of the saltings almost anywhere in the county at flight-time could make certain of obtaining a dozen shots or more; now a walk of many miles and much study of locality is necessary to obtain three. At the most north-eastern extremity of Suffolk lies Breydon Water, which some hundred years ago was about the best place for wild fowl on the east coast. But when, in the forties, Sir Morton Peto built the railway line from Reedham to Great Yarmouth, and the country was drained, the flats gradually silted up and the birds yearly diminished in numbers, until it was not worth while launching a punt—except during a severe frost.

The late Mr. R. Fielding Harmer, in the appendix to Emerson's *Wild Life on a Tidal Water*, says :—

A black stork was shot on Breydon Water on 27 June, 1877, also the only specimen of the Mediterranean black-headed gull ever shot in England was killed here on 26 December, 1866.

On 22 May, 1890, an Asiatic or Caspian plover was shot on the North Denes close by Breydon. This is the only specimen ever observed in England. In former years, godwits, knots, and grey plovers abounded, whilst ring dotterels, greenshank, and turnstones were found in large numbers. Spoonbills, avocets, and spotted redshank were obtained every season. For example, on 20 May, 1866, and for three or four days after, thousands of godwits and knots were passing in a north-easterly direction, followed for several days by stragglers ; in May, 1877, only two godwits were seen, and four knots were shot. Some very heavy shoots have been made on Breydon at swans, geese, wigeon, curlews, godwits, knots, plovers and other fowl, but during the last sixteen years fifteen or twenty at a shoot is exceptional. The best season Mr. Harmer remembered was the winter of 1854–5. All kinds of fowl were abundant and fine specimens of smew, goosanders, mergansers, and male golden-eyes were shot ; geese were numerous, while coots, dunlin, knots, and plovers abounded. He remembers two herds of swan 'sitting,' one numbering seventeen birds and the other thirty-four ; after that season he never saw a larger herd of swans than eight until 1889, when one numbering eighteen was counted. Within Mr. Harmer's knowledge, two mature females excepted, no brent geese were shot on this water for forty years until 5 October, 1883, when five were killed ; none have been seen since. Seven is the largest number of spoonbills seen here at one time ; on 9 June, 1873, however, three were killed at one shot. Five is the greatest number of avocets seen here at one time ; these appeared on 3 May, 1887, and four were shot. These birds are seen in pairs or singly, whilst spoonbills are generally found singly. With the exception of two mature birds, the red-necked grebe had not been seen since 1852, 1854, and 1865, until 30 October, 1870, when a mature female was shot. In 1887 fewer curlews were seen than in any year previously, but during September and October grey plovers were abundant, particularly from 9 to 17 September. This was quite a feature of the autumnal migration. Two specimens of the long-tailed duck were shot 27 and 28 October. A Manx shearwater was caught alive in September, 1857, by an eel-picker. A grey phalarope (immature male) was shot 28 September, 1887. During December several bean geese arrived in the North Marshes close to Breydon. Thirteen settled on the flats 8 January, 1888. The absence of sheldrakes was a very noticeable feature, only five having been seen during the whole season. A male merganser was shot on 1 March, 1888. The season for wild fowl shooting proper for 1889–90 may be dismissed as the worst on record.

As the number of birds visiting the estuaries has decreased, so have the professional and amateur puntsmen. Nevertheless a sharp frost not only drives all inland fowl to the coast, but brings the frequenters of northern climes southward, and excellent shooting may be enjoyed upon the estuaries named, more especially if launches and similar noisy craft are absent. In former days some marvellous bags were made by punt-shooters on the Stour, who used to approach a big company of geese and wild fowl with their punts in line, and firing together at a signal, bag some hundreds at a volley. Even at the present time during a sharp frost these rivers are packed with wild birds, and the flocks of geese, wigeon, and other fowl are of almost incredible size. The author of *British Field Sports* says he has seen upon the Manningtree river a shoal of coots two miles long and half a mile across as thick as they could well swim. This statement probably refers to the thirties.

Forty years ago enormous flocks of common and velvet scoters, scaup, and other 'hard' fowl used to frequent the coast from Yarmouth southwards to the Nore, and the writer's father records having seen, while punting in the roadsteads from Kessingland Beach, a flock several miles in length which must have contained tens of thousands. It consisted almost entirely of 'curres' or short-winged fowl. His method of punting in a seaway with a strong tide was interesting. He carried a very long line and a small anchor. When a flock was located the anchor was dropped and plenty of line paid out. The punt was steered away from the track, the manipulator waiting an opportunity to sheer back again. The stronger the tide the greater the impetus attained by the punt, with attendant advantages to the gunner.

All 'curres' or short-winged fowl at sea, after floating a mile or two on the tide, are wont to rise and fly back to their original starting points, and fowlers would sometimes charter a local fishing boat and anchor in the feeding ground of the birds, so obtaining sport of a kind.

In the roadsteads scaup duck and common scoter (the latter locally called 'black duck') are still to be found in hundreds, where fifty years ago they were to be seen in countless thousands, but they are practically useless and are therefore seldom sought. The three most distinguished punt-gunners in the country during the past century were the late Mr. Fielding Harmer, the late Mr. Fred Palmer, both of Great Yarmouth,

and Mr. W. S. Everitt[1] of North Cove Hall and Oulton Broad near Lowestoft.

[1] The last-named gentleman (father of the present writer) is one of the oldest living punt-gunners; he contributes the following interesting notes on the equipment of the sportsman in the days of the flint-lock:—

'In the thirties percussion guns began to supplant flint-locks. Two or more methods were adopted in conversion. One was to screw in a plug at the side to take the place of the pan, with a nipple for a percussion cap screwed into this plug protruding from the gun so that the hammer fell upon it and caused ignition; the other was to tap the bottom of the barrel and screw on the end a chamber which was fitted with a nipple. This was by far the best method known, and rendered an old gun equal to a new one. Most converted guns were fitted with these so-called "patent breeches".

'Just before percussion ignition was introduced, waddings were invented and old playing cards were much in demand; but sheets of specially manufactured wadding paper enabled sportsmen using a gun-wadding punch to provide themselves with wads. Old beaver hats were also used for this purpose, and an enthusiastic sportsman would cut up his father's hat before the owner considered it had done duty in its original capacity. Some old-fashioned sportsmen came into the field with strings of papers attached to their button-hole. In the forties one of these worthies in a party, however much he might be respected, was a nuisance, as he would double the paper in his own particular fashion before ramming it down, and thus prolonged his loading quite unnecessarily. A loader was not the fashion amongst orthodox sportsmen. Should a shooter happen to be using waddings which had been cut without a dent in the rim, to enable the air to escape, the entire charge of powder would often escape through the touch-hole; then the wad had to be drawn before the charge of powder could be renewed, and this caused a good deal of what at the present day may be called Parliamentary language. When the wind was high the powder was often blown out of the pan of a flint-lock, and a careful sportsman made a practice of examining this every time a point was made before considering himself ready, and if the powder in the pan proved deficient he had to add a little from his powder horn. The correct thing to carry was a bullock's horn with a measurer at the top on which one placed a finger, inverting the horn and pushing up the spring cutter so that the measure filled with powder. The nozzle of the measure was then placed in the muzzle of the gun to pour the powder down the barrel. There were awful risks attending this process, because in loading a double-barrel gun, one barrel of which had been fired, the hand was constantly over a loaded barrel at full cock. Powder horns were also made of copper, brass, or block tin, and just as muzzle-loaders went out of use, an improvement was invented whereby the measure of the powder horn was turned up, so that when it was inserted in the barrel, the powder horn itself was not immediately over the loaded barrel, and therefore less likely to burst in one's hand if the charge accidentally exploded; an accident of not uncommon occurrence in those days. Shot was carried in a long belt which was hung over the left shoulder with a measure at the lower end fitted to withdraw. An improvement upon this were the shot pouches, leg-of-mutton shape, with spring clip ends to automatically measure the charge.

'Rattling ramrods up and down the guns was a terrible process, and for hard shooting a loading stick with a good knob at the end was often carried, which with proper wadding accelerated the process and enabled one to withdraw the rod when it stuck, a thing likely to occur at the end of a hard day's shooting, owing to the burnt powder that fouled the barrel. That our forefathers were able to shoot as they did with all these drawbacks, misfires and hangfires, speaks volumes for their patience and skill.'

[2] Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey.

About a hundred years ago, more than 100,000 acres of rough fen land in the north-west of the county were, according to the agricultural survey, out of cultivation, but this estimate did not include the vast stretches of 'meal' marshes, saltings and sandhills adjacent to the big estuaries on the east and south-east. Apart from the effects of steam drainage the county has not materially altered in its outward aspect, and wild fowl are found to-day in all parts, especially on the coast and where big estuaries penetrate far inland, or where they can rest undisturbed. By reason of modern arterial drainage the fen lands of Mildenhall, Lakenheath, and Brandon are rapidly closing up, and the number of wild fowl visiting them annually decreases. Old meres and pools are also being converted into marsh land, and many of the decoys which in former times were valuable properties are now become rush-grown swamps. The Suffolk decoys[2] still working are those at Iken, Chillesford, Orwell Park, Bixley, or Purdis Hall, Nacton (two), Fritton (two). Disused decoys still exist at Lakenheath, Benacre, Friston, Brantham, Flixton, Worlingham, and Campsey Ash. Iken decoy is about six miles south-east of Saxmundham on the shores of the River Alde. It covers 16 acres, 2 of which are open water, and has six pipes. It dates back 150 years. During the seasons 1880 to 1885, inclusive, 4,896 duck, 5,183 teal, and 1,169 wigeon—total 11,248—were taken. Chillesford decoy is three miles south-west of Iken, and close to Butley Creek, which enters the River Ore at Havergate Island. It covers 20 acres, 2 acres of which are open water; it is over 100 years old. The average annual take is about 250. Orwell Park decoy lies nearer Levington Heath than the park from which it takes its name. It was designed and made by Sir Robert Harland about 1830. Colonel George Tomline, the succeeding owner, considerably improved the decoy, which he bequeathed to Captain Pretyman, who now owns it. The annual take rarely exceeds 1,000, but the returns were much heavier when the decoy was first opened; a three-years' average, 1853–5, giving 2,150 per annum. During a period of eighteen years 27,990 wild fowl were taken, of which 5,700 were wigeon. The Nacton, Bixley, or Purdis Hall decoys were opened many years ago (date

unknown); they lie two miles from the Orwell Park decoy, and belong to Admiral Sir George Broke Middleton, bart., of Broke Hall. The larger covers 10 acres, and has six pipes. The annual take does not average 750. Fritton decoy is on the island formed by the River Waveney, which has outlets to the sea at Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft. Fritton Lake is over two miles long, almost entirely surrounded by dense plantations, and is the property of a number of owners, most of whom at one time possessed and worked several pipes. At present only three or four pipes are in use; these are situated at the east end of the lake, and are owned by Sir Savile Crossley, bart. Some good takes have been made in Sir Savile Crossley's four pipes, viz.: 1864–5, 1,063; 1866–7, 1,130; 1868–9, 1,045; 1869–70, 1,463; 1874–5, 1,104; 1878–9, 1,533; 1879–80, 2,411; 1884–5, 2,084; 1885–6, 953. Colonel Leathes of Herringfleet Hall had five pipes, which have been worked by members of his family for 200 years; he recollects 600 ducks being taken on each of several nights in succession in the Herringfleet decoy alone, whilst takes equally heavy were being made elsewhere upon the same lake. Duck and mallard, wigeon, teal, pintails, shovellers, with a few gadwall, pochards, and goosanders, were the fowl taken. Colonel Leathes used to clear £300 per annum from his decoy. The veteran decoyman, John Fisk, died at Herringfleet. His best takes were made on still, moonlight nights; he took over 200 at a single drive, and 600 birds in one night.

Of the disused decoys in Suffolk perhaps Lakenheath (near Mildenhall and Thetford) is one of the most celebrated. An old gamekeeper living in the parish in 1878 declared that he once saw fully 3,000 fowl sitting outside the decoy in the fen; the decoy was so full there appeared to be no room for another bird. The record from Lakenheath is 15,000 in one season. The railway line from Brandon to Ely wrecked its prosperity. Benacre decoy (near Wrentham and Southwold) is peculiar, being built on the open marsh with neither tree nor large bush anywhere to shelter it. At Iken, also elsewhere in the fen lands of Suffolk, 'pochard ponds' were profitably worked.[1] On one or two occasions within living memory the capture of pochards, or dunbirds as they are locally called, has been so great at one pull of the net that a wagon and four horses were required to remove them. Five or six hundred at one pull of the net was in the early years of the nineteenth century considered quite a moderate capture. The *modus operandi* was to affix high nets to long poles which were laid flat upon the ground near the edge of the pond, and so arranged with balance weights that on pulling a string they sprang upright. Several of these nets were set at various carefully selected points, and a deep trench was dug at the foot of each from which the birds were unable to escape. The nets being ready, the birds were frightened off the pond; the moment they left the water the nets were freed, and, springing up, intercepted the heavily flying fowl before they were fairly on the wing, throwing them into the trenches.

Plover netting, also the snaring of snipe, ruffs and reeves, were much in vogue before the days of breech-loaders, but now the snipe springe is a thing of the past; ruffs and reeves seldom occur, much more rarely do they remain to nest. The lapwing from time immemorial has furnished excellent sport. The large open 'brecks' with the heaths, warrens, and sheep walks in the north-west of the county have always been its favourite haunts. The number of eggs gathered in the spring in times past seems incredible. An expert at the egging business can walk direct to each nest with the greatest certainty, though some half-dozen pairs of old birds are on the wing at one time; he can also tell in an instant by the actions and flight of the birds not only the males from the females, but also how many eggs their nests contain, and whether they are freshly laid or partly incubated; and if the latter, for about what period. In the Hockwold and Feltwell fens and in the neighbourhood of Swaffham, Castle Acre, Walton, West Acre, Harling, Roudham, Thetford, Brandon, and Euston, these birds still nest in thousands. During a frost or first snowfall they visit the estuaries and 'meal' marshes on the coast, where they are killed in great numbers, flight-time being most in favour with the shoulder gunner.

Perhaps the most celebrated snipe-shooting grounds in Suffolk in days gone by were the 'Whitecaste' track, to the west of Oulton Broad, near Lowestoft. About 1880 the writer often saw 500 and 1,000 snipe on wing at one time, and two guns might kill thirty couple in a day. The marshes consist of some 40 acres, and belong to the poor of the parish. It is said that 'a bet of £5 was once made by a local *habitué* that one could not dig up a square foot of soil anywhere in the middle of these marshes without sifting therefrom an ounce of shot.' The excellence of the snipe grounds on the Benacre estate has already been noted; at this day five-and-twenty couple is not an extraordinary bag. Before the Wild Birds Protection Act of 1880 was passed, excellent sport was obtainable with the redshanks from 4 to 14 July; on the latter date they leave for the coast. The mode of shooting these was to watch the movements of the older birds and so ascertain the most frequented marshes; on an appointed day the guns were told off, some to walk up, others to take a place in fixed stands to shoot the wilder birds. These 'stands' were reed hurdles, temporary screens, a convenient bush, clump of reeds or coarse litter, as might be most convenient. The

[1] The best description of the working of a pochard pond will be found in Folkard's *Wildfowler*.

walking-up division beat the ground with dogs towards the guns concealed in the stands, shooting the young birds that rose ; the old redshanks were spared as a rule, being at that period of the year comparatively worthless. The guns posted forward got the best of the sport, as the birds flew over them at high speed. The flies and midges which swarmed and the excessive heat made redshank-shooting hard work ; falls into a dyke or bog-hole were frequent ; and a swim in the river without removing one's clothes often concluded the day's proceedings. Large bags were seldom procured ; the attraction of the business lay in the necessity for exercising practical knowledge of the ground and habits of the birds, and the hard work which was essential to success.

Some twenty years ago hundreds of pink-footed geese were wont to visit daily the marshes of the Waveney valley between Oulton Broad and Beccles, but now they are never seen there, and wild fowl are very scarce. Reclamation of the waste lands is entirely responsible for this. The picturesque old windmills are gradually disappearing, and steam drainage has deprived the marsh levels of those stagnant puddles and quagmires in which snipe and wild fowl revelled. In 1878 the writer saw a stilted plover (*Himantopus candidus*) in the Waveney valley, and shot a pochard at flight on 1 August in the same year at Barnby ; a few years later he observed nine barnacle geese in the month of March on Oulton Broad. In 1848 the Rev. F. O. Morris records that a common scoter was shot at Beccles in February.

Wild-fowling a hundred or fifty years ago was really profitable, and there were many men who practically earned their living as fowlers. These made snaring a science. The wild-fowler's mainstay, however, was his dog, and the cleverness of the mongrels used was remarkable. They would hunt up the quarry, and, when it was killed, retrieve it from the most impassable bog or mere. These wild-fowlers' treasures are seldom seen nowadays. They were specially trained to act as decoys for the gun, and would enter into the business with as much zest as their owners. A small brownish dog is the one most liked : the more nearly it resembles a fox the more effective will it be. Its training is simple ; it is required merely to gambol in an eccentric fashion, implicitly obeying the gesture of its master's hand. Black retrievers have been used to decoy birds within range, but the antics of these must be carefully superintended and the dogs particularly intelligent.

One method of decoying birds within range of the gun is to take advantage of the habit, to which 'wypes,' as lapwings are locally called, are much addicted, of mobbing an intruding fox or dog (they have been known to mob cats prowling upon their domain). The dog is trained accordingly, and the shooter discovering a field or suitable marsh frequented by the lapwings conceals himself close by and sends the dog round to the further side to rush through the midst of the birds. These, recovering from their first alarm, follow and mob him, until lured within range of the ambushed sportsman. The dog is trained to run straight into the ambush, and instantly crouch motionless to the ground, as lapwings, when one of their number is shot, almost invariably follow it, and several couple can thus be secured. If they see neither the shooter nor the dog, and one or more be shot, they are almost certain to swoop to them. Sometimes an attendant leads the dog round to the point whence he is to be released.

Another plan confined almost exclusively to decoying wild ducks is extremely simple and generally effective, but it requires the aid of an intelligent dog. Having marked down wild fowl upon some small sheet of water, the shooter conceals himself within reasonable distance, and directs the dog to perform his part. This is to jump suddenly into view upon the bank, and madly chase his tail round and round for a few seconds and disappear. Out again and back instantly, with many variations of antic. The ducks act almost precisely as they do at the entrance to a decoy pipe. First they are a little disturbed ; then, yielding to curiosity, they swim shoreward, collecting closer and closer the nearer they approach. Biding his opportunity, the shooter waits until they arrive within range : the dog then plays the part of retriever.

As a breeding ground for wild fowl Suffolk still retains her superiority owing to the number of carefully preserved estates.

ANGLING

The principal angling rivers in Suffolk are the Waveney and the Stour. The streams of north-west Suffolk, though not large, contain enormous quantities of coarse fish of nearly every kind. On the Little Ouse, Santon Downham deep is a noted place for anglers, and Croxton Staunch, Brandon, also has some very good deeps full of fish. Lower down is Lakenheath, famed for big pike and perch. Close to the staunch are the famous cross waters, full of large perch. Another well-known spot is Tinker's Hole, whence perch of nearly 5 lb. weight have been taken. There is good fishing all along the river, and at Brand Creek, where it joins the Cambridgeshire Ouse, there are some excellent places for big chub and roach.

In many parts of the Lark are excellent gravelly bottoms, where trout, dace, and gudgeon are to be caught. Near Hempton Mills, and still lower

down at the Cherry Lock, are some excellent roach and chub holes. Here also trout and perch are taken, but large dace are the fish that most abound. From Cherry Lock on to Icklingham the water is shallow and difficult to fish. At the three bridges, Icklingham, and the mill pool, there are shoals of fine roach, chub, and dace. The double lock, just above Icklingham, and the Temple Lock, about a mile from Icklingham, are noted places for trout and large dace; the latter are frequently taken up to 1 lb. in weight. About half a mile beyond this is the renowned Jack Tree deep, a big pool, very deep and full of large roach, chub, and trout; it also contains a few perch and pike. Hence to Barton Mills bridge there are not many good fishing places except the road in front of the mill stream. Half a mile further on is Barton Lock, with a very deep pool full of roach and dace, and containing a few trout. Mildenhall Gas House pool holds good trout, dace, and roach; a few yards lower down is the double lock, near the mill stream, a good place for trout, roach, dace, and chub. Lower down the river begins to deepen, and at King's Staunch there is a deep swim full of fish of all kinds. West Staunch, nearly three miles lower down, is famed for large perch and roach. Islehams Sluice, a deep wide place, is full of roach, dace, chub, and trout; bream also come up from the Ouse. Between Isleham and Duckwillow, about eleven miles, are no locks nor staunches. The Lark joins the Ouse at the branch bridge, and at this corner are some excellent places for pike and perch.

The Thet, only a few miles long, is a good river for dace, roach, and gudgeon, and trout are occasionally caught. It runs into the Little Ouse at Thetford Lock.

In former times the fisheries with net, line, and rod in this part of the county were of considerable value.[1] Old statutes or by-laws concerning these waters show how plentiful were fish in former days by comparison with the present. So far back as 11 Edward I notice was taken of the fishery within the limits of Thetford. An order was obtained from the mayor that fishers who took pike or other fish in the common stream should not sell them to strangers, but expose them for sale in the town. Henry VIII and Edward VI made statutes regulating the use of nets on the Thet, and young fry were protected. The waters had value, as witness the old deeds. On 12 April, 1553, William Matthew leased to Robert Clop the King's Poole, or pond, and reeds, &c., for twenty years, at 6*s.* per annum. This place was behind Pitmill. On 16 June, 11 Elizabeth, George Mathew sold for £19 to Edmund Gascoyne, mayor of Thetford, his fishery called the King's Pool, &c., fourteen perches in length and two in breadth. In 1682, Francis, Lord Howard of Effingham, Paul Rycant of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, esq., and Cuthbert Browne of Stansworth, in the county of York, clerk, let all their royalty of fishing in the River Weste *alias* Ouse the Less, running through Thetford from Melford Bridge to Thetford Bridge, for twenty-one years at 10*s.* per annum. Philip and Mary forbade fishing except with 'shove nets,' and in the same reign a close season was appointed. The soaking of hemp in the river was forbidden by 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, except under conditions that prevented the process being 'noisome.' By ancient custom the fishers of Thetford were required to sell the fish taken in the common river at the Bell Corner and carry none to any other market, on pain of fine 6*s.* 8*d.*; in 1560 the penalty was increased to 10*s.* Another curious ordinance made one year's residence in Thetford the qualification for anyone to fish on the common days, or in the common water. A close season from 1 March till 30 June was prescribed by 2 Elizabeth.

The rivers in and about Thetford, as we learn from the old records of the town, yielded pike, jack, or pickerel, in great plenty 'up to a yard in length.' They came up in great shoals upon the overflowing of the neighbouring fens at Mildenhall, Methwold, Brandon, &c. 'Four score of them have been taken at one throw of a casting net' (*sic*). Fine eels of the white-bellied sort were plentiful; also lampreys, which at one time the people held poisonous, 'especially so far as the holes extend on either side of the head.' Eel pouts were occasionally taken out of holes in the banks, and these fish were accounted very delicate and wholesome. Salmon and salmon trout were taken here in great plenty; perch often taken by angling, carp sometimes, tench very seldom; roach, dace, and gudgeon in great plenty. Bleak, we read, were taken with an artificial fly. On 7 April, 1715, was taken at Thetford a sturgeon weighing 13 st. 10 lb.; it was 7 ft. 8 in. long, and about 38 in. in girth; 'it had three pecks of spawn in it.' The last sturgeon caught at Thetford was in April, 1737. It was 7 ft. 8 in. long, weighed 13 st. 10½ lb., and was 39 in. in girth.

Returning to the coast line, the first river south of the Waveney is the Blyth. Further south is Ore, the mouth of the Butley Alde, both of which are more or less open estuaries. The River Deben, which is navigable to Woodbridge; the Orwell and the Stour from Harwich to Manningtree, are all large open estuaries. From Sudbury to the sea the Stour is navigable for barges. The flow is restrained by fourteen locks, and at each of these there is really good fishing. Above Sudbury to Clare the fishing is equally good (except for bream); there are some grand swims at Glemsford, Cavendish, Liston, and Long Melford. At Rodbridge, nearer to Sudbury, is a deep and long reach full of roach and jack. All the mill tails offer excellent sport with dace, the fish often running from 10 oz. to

[1] The old records of the town of Thetford.

15 oz. At Sudbury there are more anglers and greater facilities. A basket of forty-seven roach recently taken (1904) in three hours near Croft Bridge weighed 57 lb. A deep swim known as Sudbury Reach abounds with jack and roach, the former running from 4 lb. to 18 lb. When the weeds are troublesome very good sport is obtained with caddis worms, using a fine-drawn gut line without a float. In hot weather on the shallows very good takes can be secured with the blow line, a live blow-fly from the gentle being the lure used. The swims from Sudbury to Bures may be dismissed with the remark that they are all good for jack and roach. Some fine perch are taken, but these fish are not nearly so plentiful as they were about 1887; of late, however, there has been a decided improvement, thanks to measures taken to check pollution. Being the most accessible fishing station upon the river from London, there is more angling at Bures than at all other places on the river put together, excepting possibly Sudbury. That justly celebrated piece of water known as Wormington Mere, formerly called 'The Decoy Pond,' lies about two miles down the stream from Bures, upon the Essex side; it is connected with the river by a narrow cutting some 200 yards long. This mere, which is about 10 acres in extent, belonged to the Tufnell family for generations. A deep fringe of tall trees and high-growing rushes effectually prevents fishing from the banks. Bream appear to be the most plentiful fish; 50 lb. per rod is an average capture, whilst 400 lb. to 500 lb. for a boat is not a record; 6 lb. is about the best weight for a single specimen so far obtained. The best season is from the middle of August to the middle of October. In the river, bream seldom come up beyond Bures, but below that point to the sea, or where the fresh and salt waters mingle, they are plentiful. At Dedham, bream, jack, and roach are very numerous. It is well known that fish have increased in numbers during the last hundred years, with perhaps the exception of perch. In former days the bargemen, who were then more numerous, carried large drag nets, and it was no uncommon sight to see bushels of roach, bream, and jack hawked about the streets of the Suffolk towns by these men. Then, again, what were called 'bush-fights' were considered good sport. Parties gathered from miles round to operate with two drag nets. The nets would be brought closer and closer together until all the fish were gathered in a narrow space, when the fish were taken by the cartload with a casting net. The law has put a stop to such wholesale netting. In every part of the Stour there are hordes of tench, and a few carp have from time to time been taken. Attempts at various times have been made to introduce trout, especially between Sudbury and Clare, care having been first taken to exterminate the jack; but high floods allow them to enter the water.

Of the innumerable meres, decoy ponds, and small lakes, artificial and natural, which dot the county, it is only necessary to say that one and all contain fish in large and small quantities. From time immemorial Suffolk waters have always been very rich in coarse fish, and the remains of artificial fish-ponds can to-day be plainly traced near most of the large houses of note. Eels, bream, tench, carp, perch, pike, roach, rudd, or some of them are to be found in the waters at almost every village. Formerly fish were plentiful in the waterways, as they were taken only in the quantities necessary to supply local requirements. But with the introduction of railways the marshmen and wherrymen found ready markets away from home, more especially during Lent, for any quantity they could send. Accordingly the waters were denuded with the long drag or seine nets; and old residents on the marshland have seen tons of fish taken at a haul, packed, and sent away to London. Most injurious was the custom of netting the spawning fish in the shallows and backwaters, until anglers took steps to procure prevention of the practice in 1857. In that year a memorial was presented to the Norwich corporation,[1] praying that the existing charter might be put in force, and that measures should be adopted to stop the wholesale netting. For the furtherance of this object a private meeting was held at Norwich from which the Norfolk and Norwich Angling Society sprang into existence. In 1874 a meeting was held by the society to consider a proposal to apply for an Act of Parliament to regulate fishing in the Waveney, Yare, and Bure. A substantial fund was raised in Norfolk and Suffolk, and after many more meetings and much work the Norfolk and Suffolk Fisheries Act became law on 12 July, 1877. On 27 April, 1878, the Norfolk Fisheries Preservation Association was formed to collect funds in order to carry the new Act into effect. The principal duty of this Association was the appointment of keepers, watchers, boatmen and others employed by landowners as water-bailiffs; also the conduct of prosecutions in courts of summary jurisdiction in the name of the Board of Conservators; the costs being defrayed out of the funds of the association. By 1879 forty-two water-bailiffs had been appointed and many cases of poaching were detected and vigorously prosecuted; extra water-bailiffs were appointed every year following. In the same year at Lowestoft a meeting was held under the auspices of the Waveney and Oulton Broad Fish Protection Society, to hear an address by Mr. Frank Buckland, advocating the introduction of foreign fish to Suffolk waters. From this meeting originated the National Fish Acclimatization Society. In 1883 netting was totally abolished except for the purpose of obtaining bait. In 1890 the Waveney and Oulton

[1] Nicholas Everitt, *Broadland Sport*.

Broad Fish Preservation Society practically ceased to exist owing to lack of funds and want of local support. Doubtless acts of poaching occur at the present day, but the rewards are hardly commensurate with the risk. By-laws passed under the Act forbid fishing *otherwise than by rod and line* for any trout between 10 September and 25 January inclusive, or for any other kind of fish between 1 March and 30 June inclusive, smelts, bait, and eels excepted. An order made on 9 August, 1890, forbade the use of bow-nets, drag or seine-nets, liggers or trimmers, night lines, snares, guns, spears (except eel-spears), snatchers and wires, with exceptions in respect of smelts, bait, and eels. No regulation has ever been enforced regarding size or weight of fish.

When considering the inland fishing of the county it must be remembered that at Great Yarmouth, the main outlet of the Waveney, the rise and fall of tide, barely six feet on the average, is, with the exception of that on the Isle of Wight coast, about the smallest in the United Kingdom. Further, owing to the two miles of contracted neck from the junction of the three rivers (Waveney, Yare, and Bure) and Breydon Water to the Bar, the tide there and at Southtown Bridge varies as much as 2 ft. Fifty years ago, before steam dredges were used, the tide ran up these rivers in only half its present volume, whilst Breydon was 2 ft. or 3 ft. deeper. Now the salt water makes itself felt several miles further up stream, and the water at Burgh St. Peter is quite brackish ; four miles higher up it is pure enough to drink. A south-east wind will let the water run abnormally low, but if the wind suddenly veers round to the north-west the tide comes up with a rush and kills many fish which have travelled too far down the rivers on the low ebb. These unusual disturbances are, however, almost invariably accompanied by rain, and freshets counteract what might otherwise prove disastrous.

The Waveney is navigable some 20 miles up to Beccles by vessels of 9 ft. draught where the tide does not rise much more than 12 in. But so many steamers and motor-boats now ply on these waters that the fish have become very shy. Occasionally bull-trout are taken. Some excellent swims for roach, dace, perch, bream, and rudd occur between Beccles and Geldeston Lock and in the higher reaches of the upper river below Bungay.

The netters are aptly called 'skinners' at Beccles.

Almost within a stone's throw of St. Olave's Priory is the celebrated Fritton Lake, which with Lound Run is about three miles in length. Col. H. M. Leather records in 1874 that an enormous pike took as a bait a 12-lb. jack which had been caught on a ligger, the larger fish being between five and six feet long (!). In 1880 this gentleman and two friends caught 1,133 fish in three days, 517 of which were secured in one day. At the present day the lake is so stocked with bream that in summer their working in the mud makes the water quite thick ; this, however, is prejudicial to the other angling. Fifteen stone of bream to two rods in one day would be considered a good basket. Flixton Lake is very similar to Fritton, only much smaller. It lies some five miles higher up the river, with which it is connected by a narrow dyke. Twenty-eight stone of bream were taken here by two rods in one day about 1885.

Some seventeen miles from the mouth of the Waveney is Oulton Broad, a magnificent stretch of water which, prior to 1828, was connected with Lake Lothian ; now a lock divides the two and Lake Lothian is open to the sea. Oulton Broad offers excellent coarse fishing all the year round, the best being for roach, pike, perch, and bream. Until thirty years ago several of the local inhabitants obtained a good living from fish and wild fowl, but these industries are now things of the past. In 1878 torrential rains of unprecedented volume fell in Suffolk, and most of the low-lying towns were flooded out. On 16 July the Beccles bank broke and the pent-up flood swept down the Waveney valley, turning the entire level into one vast lagoon. The river banks, erected to keep the water off the marshes, kept the floods in, and the enormous amount of decaying vegetable matter produced a most disastrous effect upon the fish in the river. It was estimated that there was one large fish per yard lying on either bank for ten miles between Oulton Dyke and Beccles. Every really big fish seemed to have perished. It was astonishing to see the quantity floating on the surface, or gasping in the reeds. The smaller fish, though affected, survived. The little eels seemed to suffer most, and it was common to see two or more lying on each leaf of a water-lily. The rands (swampy ground between the river and the river walls) were in places packed with eels, and one could walk there ankle deep in water and pick up as many as desired. The foul water daily pumped up from the flooded marshes into the river by the steam and wind drainage mills which line the banks maintained this state of affairs for some two months. Mr. Frank Buckland, accompanied by the late Mr. A. D. Bartlett, director of the Zoological Gardens, made searching investigation, but the real secret of the disaster does not seem to have been discovered. The decaying vegetation brought into being animalculae quite visible to the naked eye if a sheet of white paper was held a few inches below the surface of the affected water. A few of the dykes adjoining the river which contained a spring or inlet of pure water offered refuges up which the fish crowded. In one of these the writer counted upwards of forty pike, besides other fish, squeezed close together as if in an overcrowded fish trunk. It was thought at

the time the river had been absolutely depleted of fish, but it was afterwards ascertained that a quantity of small fry had survived, and within ten years the normal condition of the river was practically restored.

The principal rivers of Suffolk are bordered by marshland, banked out by river walls from two to four feet high. The marsh levels are divided off into enclosures of about ten to fifteen acres, separated by minor drains and dykes some six to fifteen feet wide. The water is pumped into the river by wind or steam power, as the level of the marshes is slightly below that of ordinary high-water summer tides. In these dykes are found almost every variety of coarse fish, particularly eels; one method of catching them called 'lamming' is peculiar to the locality, but as it cannot be regarded as of interest to the angler, description must be omitted.

Tench are common and much esteemed. Where they were plentiful in ponds and weed-choked meres, two old scythes welded together, back to back, were used from the stern of a boat to cut passages in likely places through the weed beds; these passages were locally called lanes, and in June and July when the tench worked through them they were caught in bow-nets set for the purpose. Some fishermen would suspend inside the nets bunches of flowers, or vials of quicksilver or similar luminous metal, but since the conservators have prohibited the use of such traps tench have become very numerous. They only breed in certain places and under certain conditions. A good example of this is recorded at North Cove near the Norfolk borderland. On a two-hundred-acre level some two or three miles of marsh dykes had not been cleaned out for forty years, and the tench became extinct, except in one hole. At the end of the last century these dykes were all thoroughly deepened, an operation which took two years, and within eighteen months they were literally teeming with small tench. Tench-catching originated with a family of the name of Hewitt at Barton, all the members of which were fishermen and gunners. One of them, observing the sluggish nature of the fish, attempted to take them with his hands and often succeeded. The art has spread, and the system is better understood, so that now there are fishermen who, upon shallow water—for in deep nothing can be done thus—prefer their own hands, with a landing-net to be used occasionally, to bow-nets or any other engines. The day for this occupation cannot be too calm nor too hot. During the heats of summer, but especially at the time of spawning, tench delight to lie near the surface of the water amongst beds of weeds; in such situations they are found in parties varying from four or five to thirty in number. On the very near approach of a boat they strike away, dispersing in different directions, and then the sport of the 'tench-tickler' begins. With an eye like a hawk he perceives where some particular fish has stopped in its flight, which is seldom more than a few yards; his guide in this is a bubble which arises generally where the fish stops. Approaching the place as gently as possible in his boat, which must be small, light, and at the same time steady, the tickler keeps her still with his pole, and lying down with his head over the gunwale and his right arm bared to the shoulder, he gently displaces the weeds with his fingers. If he can determine which way the head lies, the prospect of capture is much increased; if he cannot, he feels slowly and cautiously about until he touches the fish, which if done gently on head or body is generally disregarded; but if the tail is the part molested, a dash away is the consequence. Should the tickler succeed in ascertaining the position of the fish, he puts one hand under it just behind the gills and raises it gently but rapidly towards the surface of the water, and over the low gunwale, taking care not to touch the gunwale with his knuckles, as the slightest jar makes the captive struggle. The fisherman then, if he 'marked' more than one tench when the shoal dispersed, proceeds to search for it. If not, he endeavours to start another by striking his pole against the side or bottom of the boat—several are generally close at hand. The concussion moves other fish, when the same manœuvre is repeated. In the course of a favourable day one good tickler will easily secure five or six dozen.[1]

It is very difficult to induce the tench to take any kind of bait; the season when they appear to feed most readily is when the wheat is in bloom; then the best bait to use is potato paste. Bream are very numerous; they migrate in vast shoals from the river to the broads at certain seasons, returning in August. September is perhaps the best month for bream fishing, as they then frequent deep holes in the bends of the river where the tide is strongest, whilst they seem to enjoy the dash of salt in the water of the lower reaches. There are two kinds, the silver and the gold bream. They run to over 8 lb. in weight and are usually caught legering. Eels occur everywhere and are persecuted all the year round. Lamperns also ascend the rivers, and on one occasion in the eighties an eel-catcher at Somerleyton took just upon a ton of these fish at one haul; some of them scaled upwards of 2 lb. in weight. Roach, rudd, and dace are plentiful. The quantity of roach that survive is remarkable in view of their persecution by predatory fish and the very reprehensible practice of some anglers whose habit it is to see how many dozen they can take in a day. In the Waveney, roach grow to a very large size, fish of 2 lb. to 3 lb. being quite common. Rudd run larger. These spawn in shoals in

[1] Rev. Rich. Lubbock, *Observations on the Fauna of Norfolk.*

May, and while spawning are sometimes poached with a common landing-net. In former times the marshmen with drag or seine nets used to sweep them off the spawning grounds when they were shoaling in Lent, as they then commanded a ready sale in the inland towns; in midsummer rudd take the fly freely and afford good sport.

Pike are plentiful in every pool connected with a stream. In the principal rivers and lakes they run to 30 lb. A pike exceeding 15 lb., however, is seldom killed.

The grey mullet was a common annual visitor to Breydon, shoals coming up in the summer-time; and in the deeper water that then obtained (some of the flats being scarcely ever dry) it revelled among the vegetation growing there, the species known locally as 'sea-cabbage' (*Ulva lactuca*), together with the molluscs living upon it, being eaten by this fish. From the time when the 'Dickey Works'—a kind of breakwater to the ebbs coming from the Waveney and Yare — were constructed, prior to the forties, the flats commenced to silt up, while the channel deepened. From that time till now the mullet has come in lessening shoals each year, until what was once a remunerative fishery, giving employment to several Breydoners, has entirely ceased.

Among other unusual catches upon Breydon Water within the past twenty years may be mentioned a sturgeon weighing 11½ stone and 7 ft. 6 in. in length. Other somewhat smaller sturgeon have been taken there. A large skate was once shot in the shallows by a punt gunner.

In summer large shoals of grey mullet sometimes find their way to Oulton Broad, but it is useless to fish for them with any bait, although elsewhere they afford excellent sport. In consequence they are obtained by various methods of spearing. Casting from the beach has always been a favourite practice upon the Suffolk coast. From a four-foot stick, notched at the end, a long weighted line is thrown to a distance of about a hundred yards; the line carries from a dozen to fifteen hooks.

In 1903, when the East Coast Development Company put out their piers at Lowestoft, Southwold, and Felixstowe, some of the more scientific anglers introduced legering with the rod. A Sea Anglers' Fishing Society, consisting of several hundred members, was then formed at Lowestoft. Fishing competitions for prizes are organized, and visitors come great distances to participate therein. Fishing with hand-lines as well as with rods from boats in the roadstead is also in high favour, and very heavy baskets are annually recorded. One prize-winner in 1905 landed seventeen cod weighing 170 lb., whilst another boat brought in 300 whiting as the result of a few hours' fishing, but these are exceptional; the average catch being a few score per boat carrying two or three rods.

RACING

The ancient flat-race meetings of Ipswich, Bungay, and Beccles having been abandoned, Suffolk has little claim to notice as a racing county. The fine course on which the Cambridgeshire was run for thirty years or more, after its establishment in 1839, is in Suffolk, but is now used only for a race decided on the Friday of the Houghton week. The Suffolk Stakes course—the last mile and a half of the Round Course—is the longest course now used 'Behind the Ditch,' and the Ellesmere Stakes course of a furlong less, but finishing at the bottom of the hill, is more popular in both weeks. Part of the town of Newmarket and the training grounds are in Suffolk, but the course or running tracks are in Cambridgeshire. Charles II, who spent a good deal of his time at Newmarket, spoke of it as 'the little horse-racing town in the corner of Suffolk.'

The date when Ipswich Races were instituted is not recorded, but they are supposed to be nearly as ancient as those of Newmarket. Reference occurs in old ballads to the meeting, and local records contain no mention of the date when the brick stand (pulled down a year or two ago) was built, or by whom it was erected. Admiral Rous once stated during a visit to the town that Ipswich meeting was in existence long before the Stuart period, but on what authority does not appear. The Ipswich meeting was sufficiently important in the early Georgian period to be the scene of a race for one of the royal plates, which in 1785 was won by Camel a son of Mambrino. The following affords a good idea of the social conditions under which the sport was carried on at the end of the eighteenth century:—

Tuesday, July 4. Public Breakfast and Ball at the Coffee House as usual. Second day at the Great White Horse. Third day at the Golden Lion. By particular desire there will be an ordinary for the ladies at the Coffee House on the third day of the Races.

On the first day of the meeting the race was His Majesty's Purse of 100 guineas run in three heats and won by Mr. Loder's Pilot, who beat Mr. Clarke's Schoolboy and Mr. Patch's Briar. On the second day the Gentlemen's Purse of 50 sovereigns brought out two starters only. Mr. Patch's Briar beat Mr. Harwood's Parlington in both the heats run. On the Thursday Sir C. B. Bunbury's Volatile, being the only horse entered, received £25 and the entrance money.

Reference to the *Racing Calendar* of 1804 shows that by that date little progress had been made. There were three days' racing with one event, run in three heats, each day. On Tuesday, 3 July, the race was His Majesty's Plate of 100 guineas, weight for age, 2-mile heats. This was won by Sir C. Bunbury's three-year-old ch. h. Prospero, who beat Mr. Dawson's three-year-old Hippocampus, and Mr. Morland's four-year-old b. f. Duckling. The betting was 2 to 1 on Hippocampus, who won the first heat and was second in the second and third. On Wednesday, 4 July, the second day of the meeting, the chief event was a stake of 50 sovereigns for horses of all ages. The winner to be sold for 200 sovereigns if demanded; heats 2¼ miles. Captain Hawk's b. m. by Commander of Windlestone carrying 9 st. 4 lb. beat Mr. Golding's gr. m. Coaxer carrying 7 st. 3 lb. The third day's race was the Town Stake of 50 sovereigns run in 2-mile heats: Sir C. Bunbury's b. m. Eleanor by Whisky carrying 9 st. 11 lb. beat Mr. Williams's bay filly by Pot-8-os carrying 6 st. 11 lb. in two heats.

It will be noticed that only seven horses were started for the three races, and that Sir Charles Bunbury won two out of the three. The famous mare Eleanor was winner of the Oaks in 1801. In the year 1804 she also won a £50 plate at Chester and other races at Newmarket and elsewhere. In 1816 matters had not greatly improved as far as the size of the field is concerned. Only nine competitors faced the starter during the three days' meeting. Lord Rous won His Majesty's Plate with the four-year-old Tigris by Quiz; Mr. Grisewood's five-year-old Biddick by Dick Andrews carried off the other two events. The daily race under Jockey Club Rules was supplemented by races for ponies, galloways, and cart horses; the latter being ridden by ploughboys over a straight half-mile course. There was also a bullock race.

The period from 1825 to 1880 saw the palmy days of the Ipswich races; a local paper of the first-mentioned year says:—

> Previous to the races, at a meeting at the Great White Horse Hotel one of the stewards, Mr. T. Lay of Newmarket, member of the Jockey Club, was present, and under his auspices it was hinted that 'no demure about paying the winner will arise.'

This rather significant remark may perhaps explain why the meeting had not been largely patronized by racing men theretofore! In 1825 His Majesty's Purse was won by Col. Wilson's five-year-old bl. m. Black Daphne, who beat Mr. Rush's four-year-old b. h. McAdam in both heats. The Gentlemen's Purse of £50 was won by Mr. Rush's three-year-old Pioneer, who beat Mr. Wilson's five-year-old Isabella and Mr. Well's five-year-old bay mare (unnamed). A third race shows that the Ipswich executive catered for the fox-hunting fraternity. This was the Hunters' Cup, won by Mr. Bedwell's Orbell. On the second day there were three starters for the Town Purse, won by Mr. Wilson's Isabella. The Silver Tankard was won by Mr. Orbell's unnamed grey horse from a field of four. 'Several causes have combined to lessen the supply of horses for our races,' adds the record.

> In the first place the [void caused by the] death of Sir Charles Bunbury—who never deserted the course at Ipswich, and who from his personal influence at Newmarket was a great support to our races—has never been filled up. Then again the introduction of four-mile heats for the King's Purse, with a regulation of a particular age of the horses, has had an unfavourable effect. Indeed the exclusion of three-year-olds appears to be a most injudicious alteration.

Sir Charles Bunbury was one of the leading racing men of the day. It will be remembered that his Diomed won the first Derby, in 1780. Despite the demise of Sir Charles, Ipswich races increased in importance, and in 1840 became a two-day fixture with half a dozen races under Jockey Club rules each day; and so it continued with varying fortunes, sometimes as a two-day meeting, sometimes with sport enough for only one day, until the seventies. In the early days of the Victorian era visitors came from all parts of the eastern counties for the race-week. The horses from Newmarket and other training centres arrived on the Saturday or Sunday before the meeting, and 'Race Sunday,' when these did their morning gallops on the old course at Nacton, became quite an institution. The annual race-week was recognized as a holiday for many years.

Some of the best race-horses of the period ran for the Queen's Plate of 100 guineas. Fisherman and Lilian almost monopolized the prizes at this and other meetings in the fifties. Most of the leading jockeys of the period rode winners at Ipswich, including Sam Rogers, Arthur Edwards, George Fordham, George and James Barrett, Wells, Tom Chaloner, and Tom Cannon. During the early part of the nineteenth century the bells of the principal churches at Ipswich rang peals on the morning of a race day, this practice continuing until the seventies, if not later. Cock-fighting here, as elsewhere, was an accessory to the racing. A 'main' between the gentlemen of Suffolk and the gentlemen of Norfolk for 5 guineas the battle, and 50 guineas the main, at the Queen's Head hotel, seems to have been a standing dish. Cock-fighting was made illegal by the Act of 1849; and the gambling booths on the course having been closed, boxing booths became the order of the day; such famous pugilists as Jem Ward, Jem Belcher, Ben Caunt, and Jem Mace of Norwich (who is still living), 'took on all comers' at Ipswich.

Passing to a later period, 1860, we find that the stakes amounted to £864 in the two days. In 1861 the races took place on 5 and 6 July,

and there were six events each day. The principal race on the first day was the Borough Member's Plate of £50, and on the second day Her Majesty's Plate of 100 guineas; the latter was won by Blue Jack, four horses competing. It is worth noting that the biggest stake run for at Great Yarmouth the same year was a sweepstake of £5 each with £50 added. On the race nights, the performances at the Theatre Royal, Tackett Street, were under the patronage of Sir Fitzroy Kelly and the stewards of the races.

During the seventies the programme became more mixed: hurdle races, races for hunters, and steeplechases were added, and the meeting lost much of its 'legitimate' character. Nevertheless it was carried on with varying success, until the Jockey Club in 1877 made the rule that £300 a day should be given, of which at least £150 should be allotted to races of a mile or more, the minimum value of any race to be raised to £100. This was of course fatal to many flat-race meetings to which the public had free access, and that of Ipswich became a thing of the past. Steeplechasing had been started in 1875 in conjunction with flat racing, but races under Jockey Club rules—the Suffolk Handicap and the Royal Plate of 200 guineas—were last included in the programme of the 1883 meeting, since when there has been none but steeplechasing at Ipswich.

In 1902, the old race-course being required for building purposes, a new one was sought and found by Colonel Alderson, chairman of the Ipswich Race Committee, who secured from the local landowners a most desirable new course contiguous to the old one, at a nominal rent. The course is egg-shaped and level, with a 'straight' of over a quarter of a mile. The going is always excellent, as neither wet nor dry weather affects the ground. A new grand stand has been erected, and a two-day meeting under National Hunt Rules takes place annually in April. Six events figure on each day's programme, and comprise the Rendlesham Park Selling Hurdle Race of 40 sovs., the Essex and Suffolk Hunt Plate of 40 sovs., the Eastern Counties Race of 100 sovs., the Brooke Plate of 40 sovs., an open selling race, and a maiden hurdle race. The secretary of the Race Committee and starter is Mr. J. T. Miller.

Beccles is one of the numerous meetings which have disappeared. In the early years of the nineteenth century there was a two-day meeting annually, which seems, however, to have been but poorly supported; in 1804, for example, only three horses ran for the two £50 stakes which formed the programme. Nor had matters greatly improved twelve years later when Lord Suffield's horse Burlow won all the chief races, namely, a three-guinea sweepstake with 25 guineas added, a £50 selling plate, and the Town Plate of the same value. A cricket match between eleven gentlemen of Beccles against eleven of Yarmouth was a supplementary attraction to the races in 1840 and frequently in subsequent years. These meetings were well attended, there being, in addition to the races under Jockey Club Rules, pony, galloway, and donkey races. There were also competitions by teams of cart horses for a silver watch, value £5. The last meeting held under the Rules of Racing at Beccles was held in September, 1857. There were three races on each of the two days, but the sport seems to have been of very moderate order, twelve horses starting for the six events, two of which it may be observed were run, after the old fashion, in heats.

Very little is known concerning the old Bungay meeting. It is not mentioned in the *Calendar*, and the explanation doubtless is that the races which were held on the common for two or three centuries were for ponies, galloways, and horses other than thoroughbreds. The Bungay meeting under National Hunt Rules was revived by Captain Boycott about 1883, with Mr. Luke McDonnell as hon. secretary, and at the present time has Mr. A. S. Manning as clerk of the course and Mr. Gordon Barratt as hon. secretary. It is a two-day meeting held during April, and the programme comprises six events. The course, nearly two miles in circumference, on the celebrated Bungay Common, is all grass and always affords good going. The chief events are the Rendlesham Steeplechase and the Coronation Hurdle Race, each worth £70. In 1904 the executive gave a steeplechase of £250 and a hurdle race of £100. An attempt to organize an autumn meeting in 1904 failed. The Bungay meeting is acknowledged to be the best of those held under National Hunt Rules in East Anglia.

During Whitsun week, in former days, Thetford and Swaffham had their annual races, which were liberally supported by the Dukes of Grafton. A clause in the conditions under which the then duke gave a fifty-guinea plate at the Thetford meeting in 1779 is worth reproducing:—

> The horses to be shown and entered for the Plate at the gate of St. Mary's Church before the Clerk of the Course on Sat. June 26th, between the hours of 12 and 3 o'clock, paying 3 gs. entries and ten shillings and sixpence to the Clerk of the Course.

Swaffham Races seem to have enjoyed a measure of fame in their day. In 1789 a horse was entered by the Prince Regent, and among the company were the Earl of Oxford, Lord Claremont, Sir William White, Sir John Wodehouse, and Mr. Thomas Newman Coke, the last of whom drove on the course with a team of six black horses and the same number of outriders.

Many little villages in East Anglia at Whitsuntide and Easter had their so-called race meet-

ing in former times. An old window bill gives the following:—

Westerfield Races 1797:

On Whitsun Tuesday, will be run for on the Green, a new saddle and bridle, by Hobbies, not measuring more than 13 hands high, two rounds to a heat, the best of three heats, the second best to have the bridle. The drum to beat at five and start at six. Every owner to enter his hobby, and pay 2 shillings and 6 pence, between the hours of 12 and 3 on the day of running.

The drum was the signal to clear the course before racing commenced. Robert Blomefield, the Suffolk poet, alludes to the old custom in 'Richard and Kate on Fairday'—

> And now, as at some nobler places,
> 'Twas by the leaders thus decreed,
> Time to begin the Dickey Races,
> More famed for laughter than for speed.

Colonel McCalmont's steeplechase course at Newmarket is in Suffolk. The Suffolk Hunt have an annual point-to-point race at Hawstead and Cockfield alternately.

GOLF

The course of the Aldeburgh Club, founded in 1884 by Mr. J. G. S. Anderson, is beautifully situated a mile from the town, on a sandy heath. The course has been lengthened and the greens very much improved of late; the lies are good. The membership, including ladies (who also play over the course), is 418.

The Beccles Club, instituted in 1899, has its course, which consists of nine holes, on the common, half a mile from the station. Felixstowe Golf Club claims the distinction of being the first one founded in the county. It was established in 1880, when there existed only five other clubs in England.[1] The course is situated in the only area of real seaside golfing turf on the Suffolk coast—namely, along the seashore between the high ground occupied by the town and the mouth of the River Deben. Before the foundation of the present club golf had been played for two or three years on the common on the opposite side of the town, towards Landguard Fort. Lord Wemyss (then Lord Elcho) receives credit for discovery of the existing course; being an experienced golfer, he recognized its possibilities. He was greatly assisted by Mr. F. W. Wilson, late M.P. for Mid-Norfolk; Mr. John Kerr, M.P. for Preston; Colonel Lloyd Anstruther, Mr. Cecil Anstruther, and others. Lord Elcho gave great assistance in procuring the ground from the War Office (one of the two martello towers standing thereon was used as a club-house before the present club premises at the Felixstowe end of the links was acquired), and Mr. John Kerr was instrumental in bringing a large number of the Wimbledon Club members, who to this day constitute the backbone of the club. Mr. John Kerr won the medal at the opening meeting, Lord Elcho being also a competitor. The course consists of only nine holes, but it includes two or three of the best holes to be found on any course in Scotland or England, the eighth and ninth being particularly good. The greens are very undulating, and the putting requires great skill. The present course is at times greatly overcrowded, and a few years back an attempt was made to extend the course along the river bank, but the project fell through. Ladies play on a few holes separate from the gentlemen's course. Lord Wemyss is still president.

The Ipswich Club, which was founded in 1895 by a few gentlemen interested in the game, has its course on Rushmere Heath, about two miles from the town. The management was for a time hampered by the refusal of the commoners to permit the furze to be sufficiently cut away; but this, to some extent, has been overcome; the greens are good. The membership is now 300, including ladies, who also play over the course. The Lowestoft Club was instituted in 1887. The course of nine holes is situated on the North Denes, about a mile from South Lowestoft station. This course is used by fishermen for drying their nets, and for this reason is not available at some seasons. Efforts are being made to acquire a better site. The Southwold Club was founded in 1884 in conjunction with a Quoit Club, the latter soon dying out. The original course consisted of only nine holes on a common close to the town and station, but in 1904, at a cost of £600, it was increased to eighteen holes, under the direction of the late Tom Dunn. Ladies play over the course. There are 190 members; the Earl of Stradbroke is president. The Stowmarket Club course consists of nine holes on the outskirts of the town. The Waveney Valley Club, whose course is situated close to the town of Bungay, was instituted in 1889 by the principal residents in the neighbourhood, with Mr. F. C. Morrice as its first president. It originally started as a nine-hole course, but in 1896 a club-house was erected, and the course extended to eighteen holes. It is pleasantly situated on high ground; the grass is short and fine, affording good lies, and gorse forms natural hazards. The Woodbridge Club was instituted in 1893 by Major Rooper King with a nine-hole course, later enlarged by Major Howey to eighteen holes; it is situated on an undulating heath one and a half miles from Woodbridge. The course, which

[1] Blackheath, Wimbledon, Westward Ho!, Hoylake, and Alnwick.

is now being extended, has been very greatly improved of late years, and the greens are quite excellent; the turf through the green is very good, and never in the driest weather becomes too hard. Ladies play over the course. The Royal Worlington and Newmarket Club was founded in 1893 as a proprietary club by Mr. William Gardner on land owned by him near Mildenhall, within three-quarters of a mile of that station and seven miles from Newmarket. At a later date it was reconstituted as a members' club; and H.M. the King (then Prince of Wales) becoming president, the late Queen Victoria consented to the club being styled 'Royal.' In 1903 the club acquired the course as their own property. It is of only nine holes, but they are very good; the turf is excellent, as also are the greens. The ground is never too soft nor too hard, and the holes are very well laid out. The Cambridge University players play most of their home matches here.

CAMP BALL

'Camp Ball' or 'Camping' was a popular game in East Anglia as far back as 1472. According to Moor (1823, quoted by Dr. Marshall) there were various forms of the game, but in the main it was a primitive form of football; sides were formed, the number on each being apparently unlimited, and the object of the players was to send the ball between the goal posts of the opposing team. Each team defended two goals placed ten or fifteen yards apart. The game was played either with a ball about the size of a cricket ball; with a large football, in which case it was called 'kicking camp'; or, if shoes were worn by the players, 'savage camp,' a name it appears to have well deserved. The account of camping given by Mr. W. A. Dutt[1] shows that the game more nearly resembles a free fight than anything else. He refers to a match played between Norfolk and Suffolk on Diss Common, about the middle of the eighteenth century; each team consisted of 300 men. Suffolk won 'after 14 hours' play had converted the ground into a battlefield'; nine deaths ensued within a fortnight of the contest.

ATHLETICS

A very old meeting is that annually held at Sudbury. Beccles and Lowestoft have annual sports; but it is at Ipswich (where the mile championship of the county is decided) and Bury St. Edmunds that the largest meetings are held. Ipswich is the home of several well-known athletes, including champions of the county, who occasionally compete successfully in open races in the metropolitan district. The county has produced several famous athletes, among whom may be mentioned Mr. E. H. Pelling, born at Brandon. Mr. Pelling, now honorary secretary of the London Athletic Club, is an amateur ex-champion at 100 yards, and holder of several short-distance 'records.'

[1] *Highways and Byeways of East Anglia.*

AGRICULTURE

IN giving an account of a single county, it may occur that those writing for other districts more or less distant and of similar character may describe the corresponding practices here related. If it should be so, it need not, and probably will not, detract from the value of either work. The following account, relating to the last forty or fifty years, is mainly from the experience or observation of the writer. The earlier history and subsequent development of Suffolk agriculture must necessarily be derived from other writers, or from personal acquaintance with those whose memory reached into the far past.

Materials for this are not wanting. For the description of the agriculture of Suffolk we have that of Arthur Young, compiled for the Board of Agriculture in 1797 ; Hugh Rainbird's essay in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* written in 1849 ; a contribution to White's *Suffolk Directory* in 1884 ; and, later still, that excellent account of Suffolk farming from the pen of Mr. Rider Haggard. The last relates to the present time ; from the other three sources may be traced the gradual advance in practice during the entire period of the nineteenth century. These works were placed before the public at the time they were written ; those out of print may occasionally be met with on the second-hand bookstall ; but the writer of these pages has access to the labour books, memoranda, experiments, and observations of an ancestor who commenced farming under the Marquess of Bristol in the year 1808. He lived at Playford, near Ipswich, and died there in 1860. Volume after volume of his farm accounts are still extant, and if, in future years, they should be dealt with by an expert, they will form a source of information on local agriculture second to none of the works named. There is yet another mine of wealth for the historian of this county in the 140 volumes of a weekly county paper started about 1820, now deposited in the reference library of the Ipswich Museum.

Want of space forbids any copious extracts being made use of from the sources mentioned. Arthur Young's books have been read, quoted, and forgotten by generation after generation. His account of Suffolk forms an octavo volume of some 300 pages, and if it is not exhaustive it is at least comprehensive, for he seems to have omitted nothing. In looking back to the time in which he lived, one thing strikes the reader, and that is the feeble powers of food-production compared with the enormous capabilities of the land as now cultivated. This is more apparent when estimated by money value, and the slow returns with which the farmers in those days were satisfied. This view is confirmed by the description of what was done on the land a hundred years back as related to the writer fifty years ago by men who were living at that date. Especially is this the case with regard to meat.

Within sight of the writer's home is a fine mixed soil holding occupied by one of our leading stock farmers. The machine-like regularity

with which beef, mutton, and milk are sent into the market from that farm represents the latest development of practical, scientific, and, let us hope, paying agriculture. Many years ago I had related to me a detailed description of what was the practice on that same occupation in the early decades of the last century. My informant was born about the year 1790. In place of the modern plant of cattle-sheds, root-houses, and covered yards, the bullock grazing was then carried on in the fields where the roots grew. The only protection from the weather was the haulm walls, and the accumulation of manure stacked up behind the beasts. The same system is similarly described by Arthur Young. The steers bred on the farm were kept lean on the undrained low meadows till they were three years old. The last winter they were 'finished' on white turnips, cabbages, and hay. All grain or artificial food was at that time too valuable to make into beef.

The dairying was as primitive as the cattle management. Butter was made in large quantities, and was either sent to London or supplied the local demand. The only cheese made in Suffolk in the early part of the nineteenth century was the 'Suffolk Bang,' a flet milk cheese, for which there would now be no more demand than for the thick pickled fat off the back of the pig, with which the indoor-servants were mostly fed in the kitchen. When fit for sale this skimmed milk cheese was hard beyond belief. The price was 2½*d.* per lb. The last evidence of this branch of dairying which came under the notice of the present writer was a long upper chamber, shelved on both sides, with lattice windows at the ends for securing a draught, at a farmhouse in this parish. It has long been dismantled and used for other purposes. This cheese was the staple article on the kitchen table, and at the cottage dinner. The word 'dairymaid' has long outlived the occupation which gave the name to the servant who worked the dairy. With the assistance of the cook she did the principal part of the milking; dairy hours commencing at four o'clock in the morning. She was of far more importance in the farmer's household than the cook and commanded higher wages.

In a few isolated centres a very good cheese is made in Suffolk. One farmer on the banks of the Stour erected an excellent plant, and worked it under the management of an expert from the Cheddar district. The tenant has a stall in the provision market at Ipswich, but I believe the new milk trade pays him better. There are very few farms in Suffolk where cheese is made. At one time there was made a kind of Stilton on a few farms in the eastern part of the county; but I understand it could not be produced at a price any less than that of real Stilton. In those days butter for the retail trade was measured in pints equal to a pound and quarter. The consumer introduced the sale by weight, but the farmer was often a gainer by the innovation. From the dairy districts, in the localities of Framlingham, Stradbroke, Eye, and Debenham, immense quantities of butter were conveyed to the London markets by the road waggons, a mode of goods traffic difficult to realize in these days of rapid commercial deliveries. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the cowkeeper realized about £6 per head of produce from the average cow; with butter, flet milk cheese, and a calf, he was satisfied with this. Young puts it at £7, but from one who formerly kept a dairy of from 50 to 100 cows I gathered this was an extreme estimate. With well-managed, highly-fed cows, and a milk run in a town

of easy access, £20 a year is not beyond the mark, even on a farm where the grass lands are not rich. But the expenses are high, and the wear and tear of carts, ponies, and milk churns appear as a heavy item in the year's expenses. Owing to the necessity for rising at 3.30 in order to milk the cows for the early delivery, and the Sunday milking which has to be done whether there is a delivery or not, it is not easy to obtain dairy hands, except by the inducement of very high wages.

Perhaps the greatest increase of the farmer's output in money value would be from the large flocks. The difference is most remarkable. A reliable correspondent, quoted by Arthur Young, estimated the return per head of a breeding flock at 9*s*. As recently as 1842 the lambs on one of the best sheep farms in East Suffolk were sold at 11*s*. per head, but they were Southdowns, of which great numbers were kept in Suffolk sixty years ago. The large breeds made little more. Now an average of 40*s*. each for the lambs sent to market is not an unusual figure. But of course seasons, flush of sheep-feed, &c., have great influence on current prices. It must be remembered, too, that the intrinsic worth of the lamb at the present day is very much greater than it was seventy years ago. The ewe of whatever breed is kept is heavier, wider, shorter in the leg, and produces a different type of lamb. More judgement is exercised in the choice of rams, and higher prices are paid even by those who are not ram breeders.

The value of common work-horses has varied very little between 1825 and the present day. Previous to the war with France, and some time before its conclusion, Suffolk foals were sold at from £3 to £6 each, and in one case a colt realized £10, but this afterwards became a celebrated horse. With the general inflation of prices following on the war all farm stock increased in value. In 1812 the first two four-horse teams of common working horses at the Newbourne Hall sale realized more than 80 guineas each, when an ancestor of the family who afterwards became noted breeders of Suffolk horses took that farm in hand ; and these, although probably very good, were not breeding animals, but common agricultural horses. Then for a decade or two all stock depreciated in value. Depression in agriculture shows itself in various ways. Since the present fall in price of farm produce the character of the working horses in general use in this county has decidedly deteriorated. Before the eighties numberless small farmers had valuable pedigree Suffolk mares; few other than Suffolk horses were used. When the hard times tempted the small farmer to part with his best mares, they were bought by the more wealthy breeders, and stables were made up with bays and browns of an inferior type. A marked difference in the uniformity of colour in the present day breeds may easily be detected in a rail journey through east Suffolk. The farmers renewed their stock with other breeds and various colours because they could buy these more cheaply.

Although Suffolk is less a breeding than a meat-making district, the great increase of the milk trade results in more calves being bred in this county. Even thirty or forty years ago the wretched stamp of horned bulls used in the large dairies would have struck any but a Killarney man with astonishment. The consignment of excellent north-country bulls by pure-bred Durhams has entirely altered the general character of cattle bred in this county. They are sent in detachment to the repository sales. The

extra prices which the best of these animals realize (best in quality, irrespective of size) marks a great advance in the practice of cattle-breeding in Suffolk.

The depreciation of the value of land in Suffolk at the commencement of the twentieth century as compared with the worth of estates in the seventies is a subject rather for the statesman than for the historian of practical agriculture. Taking the county as a whole, the loss sustained by the principal landowners since 1873 is very heavy,[1] although the really good sporting estates are not so much depreciated.

Terms of hire have been greatly affected by the facts just mentioned. In the first half of the nineteenth century to get hold of a fine corn-growing farm in Suffolk under a popular landlord was considered a good start in life for a farmer's son. Occupations keenly sought after some years ago are now gladly disposed of to any tenant with capital sufficient to take a farm.

Years ago the tenant would close with his landlord under a lease no one would now sign. The agent at that time kept watch and ward over the most trifling matter that affected his client's interest. There were clauses in the leases then in use which protected the landlord on every conceivable point; but the tenant seldom made stringent terms for his own protection. He was content to submit to any condition with regard to game, hedge-row timber, sale of produce, which not even the most careful agent of the present day would think of asking a tenant to adopt. And yet he lived on the best of terms with both agent and landlord.

Yearly agreements with fair terms between landlord and tenant have almost entirely superseded the 7, 14, or 21 years' lease. The dark days in farming have warned the tenant not to bind himself far ahead. 'Security of tenure' brings him no comfort when he thinks of the rapid downfall of the past; and possibilities of a future even worse. He has no idea of being bound hand and foot to a position which threatens ruin, without any prospective remedy for low prices, high rates, and yearly increasing labour troubles.

As regards cottages, there is an immense advance both as to numbers and improvement in structure, new ones having been erected in place of the old. Thatched roofs, low rooms, and clay walls have been superseded by red brick, slates, or the best form of pantile. The decrease in population has, however, resulted in many empty tenements, and the deserted dwellings have, of course, been those least desirable to live in. The grandfathers of the present generation passed their lives in cottages which long ago would have been condemned by the sanitary authorities, even if the newer and more comfortable one did not tempt the tenant to desert his old house. Unfortunately recent legislation, instead of encouraging the landowner to erect new cottages, has had a contrary effect; the laws which some rural district councils have put in force involve so much unnecessary expense that less wealthy landlords decline building.

Suffolk homesteads, as a rule, are miserably bad. They are insufficient, costly to the owner to keep in repair, and far from adequate to the requirements

[1] Instances supplied by an auctioneer of old practice in Suffolk :—(1) Estate bought in 1874 for £4,000 sold in 1897 for under £900; (2) 292 acres, a choice property, bought in 1870 at £45 an acre, sold in 1897 for £16 an acre; (3) Auction price 1873 £13,000, the same in 1893 £1,850; (4, 5, 6) £35, £40, and £34 per acre some years ago lately realized respectively £5, £6 10s., and £5 per acre.

of the tenant who understands the advantage of making manure under cover, keeping his animals in comfort, and saving labour in stock management. A great many of those on the small farms are built of perishable materials, such as cheap wood fences from top wood off the hedge-row trees, and covered with thatch. Sixty years ago many farm-buildings were made of haulm[1] walls, with rough timber laid horizontally, and a stack of rotten straw made to serve as the roof. The writer can call to mind many such. They were warm and comfortable, but as straw became of more value the cost of thatching was a serious matter for the tenant, for these make-shifts never came under the landlords' agreements. If they were kept up they were costly, if they were allowed to go to ruin the occupier had no accommodation for cattle. There are still many open yards where the manure is greatly deteriorated by rainfall. In some cases the stable with the door left open did duty for the horse-shed, which has now mostly superseded the old plan. On such premises bullocks were grazed without shedding; the mangers, or bins as they are called, stood separately about the yard. No premises would now be built without a shed with manger at the back, a pathway leading to the root-house enabling the animals to be fed in half the time required by the old plan. Box feeding is to be found on the more wealthy estates, and is occasionally adopted for cart-horses.

The large brick barns on the great corn-growing farms are seldom used for the purpose for which they were originally intended. The introduction of the steam threshing-machine rendered them unnecessary. The bays of most of them are now floored with asphalte or cement, on which the corn is deposited as it comes from the threshing-machine. The writer has filled such a barn with barley, both ends and floor, trodden in with horses; a space ten feet square being cut out for the man with the flail to commence his winter's work in. The floor was gradually cleared and then the bays. The cost of this hand labour will be referred to later. These large barns make the best of grazing sheds, especially for summer use.

The covered yard is steadily gaining ground; but the reduced rents prevent the landlord from spending more money on farm buildings than is absolutely necessary to secure a suitable tenant. Unfortunately for the needy owner, as the demand for farms becomes less, the tenant is apt to make his condition of hire include the outlay of money on the premises. Formerly the farmer took the tenancy as the last occupier left it, and so it went on in this county till the premises in Suffolk were probably some of the worst in England. A visit to the best farmed districts in Scotland convinced the writer that Suffolk was immeasurably behind the Lothians and Fifeshire in agricultural buildings. The introduction of the corrugated iron roof has been made use of with great advantage in many cases. This material is far inferior to the best pantiles for cattle-sheds, being hot in summer and cold in winter; but the Suffolk farmer has of late years become alive to the value of straw, and declines to keep up large quantities of thatched roof.

The size of farms in Suffolk may be said to range between the small one-horse holding and the single farm of seven hundred acres. Many tenants cultivate much more than this; but these occupations are the result of adding

[1] The sickle left a stubble nearly 2 ft. high. When harvest was over this was mown close to the ground, and the short earless straw was called haulm.

one farm to another, which formerly were separate hires. The trend of low prices and reduced demand for agricultural land is all in this direction. The farmhouse which would cost the landlord a heavy outlay to satisfy a newcomer is easily made good enough for a bailiff or head horseman, and so the farm is added to the adjoining holding of a tenant already on the estate, who has shown his landlord he knows how to cultivate the land, and has the capital to do it. The small holder, who has no bank reserve, and has all his available savings invested in tenant's capital, is the first to go under when the wave of bad seasons and low prices sweeps over the land. Many such have succumbed in this manner in Suffolk during the last twenty-five years. And this is yet another cause why the landlord sees his interest in letting his land in large farms. It is, in fact, the history of what many regard as the evil of the small occupations being swallowed up in large ones. There can, however, be no possible doubt that the best cultivation and the most successful farming in Suffolk is found in the largest occupations.

The small holding, as such, does not gain ground in Suffolk. Suffolk is not a grass county, and the tilling of a little piece of arable land is simply pitting retail against wholesale, without the advantage of labour-saving machinery. The small holdings in this county are generally in the hands of those who have resources other than cultivating their five- or ten-acre plots ; the dealer, the butcher, the rat and mole catcher—anyone but the agricultural labourer. As such he may have risen through the grades of rabbit, poultry, or pig-dealer ; but the cases where a labourer still on the farm cultivates three, six, or ten acres of ground in his own hire are extremely rare.

The allotment system is a more flourishing element in the village community. But the allotment is not by any means a modern innovation in Suffolk. On one occasion as far back as the eighties the writer remembers taking a 5*s*. rent for an allotment—a jubilee year of the little hire of an agricultural labourer—nor was this the only instance. Allotments had been held from the time of the enclosures of the common land about seventy-five years ago. In another parish there were small fields cut up into twenty-rod allotments, of which there are records of rent-paying eighty years back. But the system as applying to the agricultural labourer is not extending. The reason is not far to seek : few cottages are now built in Suffolk where ample ground for garden is not attached. After all, the allotment at a distance from the cottage is but a poor substitute for the garden close by the back-house door. The allotment is given up when the labourer gets into the new cottage where he has forty rods of ground surrounding the house. There are many well-cultivated allotments in the outskirts of the provincial towns in Suffolk, or in the immediate vicinity of the factory.

The system of valuing between the outgoing and incoming tenant in Suffolk fortunately does not extend beyond the county borders. There is little to be said for the practice to which the professional valuer still adheres. It is not a custom which is in his power to alter without the co-operation of the landowner. As a tenant goes in, so he must go out. But it is time an alteration should be introduced. One of the largest owners in East Suffolk has made a move in the desired direction. In a change of tenancies he paid the outgoing occupier the sum for cultivation of roots under the same system as when he took the farm.

When the new tenant came into possession he was required to pay only the amount which the roots were worth for feeding purposes ; in other words the outgoing tenant was awarded the amount to which he was entitled under the Suffolk conditions ; the incoming tenant paid on what is known as Norfolk covenants. In adopting the latter, in this case the landlord made a considerable sacrifice. It is this sacrifice that in a great measure stands in the way of reform.

Under the Suffolk system the incoming tenant pays for the cultivation of the root-crop, irrespective of whether the labour and cost expended tended to the increase of value of the crop. Under the Norfolk covenants, the worth of the roots for feeding purposes is the sum the incoming tenant has to pay. The prices for maximum crops are fixed at a meeting of the valuers held mostly in July. The value is determined by how much, more or less, the crop on the land approaches the maximum of the best yield. Under the Suffolk system no amount of experience, no examination of evidence by valuers can in all cases protect the incoming tenant from, if not deliberate fraud, at any rate incompetent management, unnecessary horse labour, delayed seeding, &c. Should the neglect of the outgoing tenant result in a half crop, it is his successor who pays for the mismanagement.

Transit by railway has long effected a revolution in the cattle trade, as much in store stock as in the animal ready for the butcher. The fairs in Suffolk years ago were magnificent displays of the best black cattle, fine north country shorthorns, and large Welsh runts. They covered acres of the Melton and Woolpit autumn fair fields. The former is close to Woodbridge in East Suffolk, the latter seven miles east of Bury St. Edmunds. To these marts the graziers from all quarters of the country assembled in hundreds to make their choice for winter grazing. For the Scotch breeders it was far better to walk their cattle to the south in store condition than to fatten them at home only to lose flesh again in tramping all the way by road or by being taken perhaps by sea to London. But when the rail brought the metropolitan market within easy access of the Scotch graziers these mighty droves were fattened north of the Tweed, and the Suffolk fairs for store cattle gradually declined. Days before these fairs commenced roads from the north converging on the place of sale were crammed with endless droves of these hardy denizens of Scotland ; long streaks of black in narrow lanes with here and there a paddock for a night rest reminded the farmer of the coming marts.

But there are fine Scotch cattle grazed in Suffolk now. The best are procured by trustworthy commissioners attending Carlisle and other Scotch markets ; and some are consigned by their breeders to the auctioneers at Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds. These are sold in half-dozens or tens at a time, and afford an excellent opportunity for those not heavily in the trade to get at the fair market prices of the day. The north country Shorthorns are to be obtained in the same way. Many of the Suffolk farmers get the best of Irish cattle through dependable dealers, who attend Bristol markets or buy from the ship direct from Ireland. When these Irish beasts were walked from Bristol right through to the eastern counties the best were disposed of before they arrived in Suffolk ; but owing to the importation into Ireland of pure-bred Durham bulls and direct communication by rail from one side of the

country to the other, the Irish steer is a totally different animal from the island beast offered at Ipswich in the forties.

But the most remarkable revolution in marketing in Suffolk has been brought about by the repository system. Where one fat beast in Ipswich or Bury St. Edmunds is sold by private contract on the stones of the market, probably ten are sold at the repository sales. These repositories were not started without risks nor without opposition. Risk of worthless cheques from strangers; 'knock outs' by combination (a vicious practice not yet entirely abandoned by low-class buyers and dealers); and the unscrupulous fictitious bidding by consigners, long militated against the success of these institutions. The small farmer, at one time little engaged in market transactions, was practically at the mercy of the man who acted as the intermediary between grazier and butcher. In many instances those who lacked capital to go into the market for stores independently of anyone had to fill their yards with beasts sent by the dealer at the price he chose to name, who waited for his money till the animals were fat, and then took them once more at his own valuation. When the bad times set in this disastrous practice was more in evidence than ever. But there is this to be said, that there are on our markets dealers in a large way of business strictly honourable in all transactions, to whom many a struggling farmer is indebted for his yard of beasts on the system I have mentioned, and thus may have tided over a bad year.

The fat stock repository has numerous features to recommend it. The bullock cart—a modern invention—takes a single beast without damage to the repository, furnishing the small capitalist with the month's wages of which he is in need. The cheque arrives with a punctuality the old-fashioned dealer was not always careful to regard. But if the system has effected a revolution in the fat cattle trade, it is nothing to the alteration in marketing which it has brought to the flockmaster.

The lamb sales in Suffolk give some idea of the number of these animals bred on the light lands. They have now been in operation many years. The first that was started is held on a heath abutting on the Yarmouth turnpike three miles east of Ipswich, and this one is known as the Kesgrave Lamb Sale. In July last it held its fiftieth anniversary. These sales take place in June, July, and the late ones in August. The lambs at the June and July sales come direct from the ewe. These repositories are almost invariably made up from the produce of the same flocks year by year. They are attended by numerous buyers not only from distant parts of the county, but from other districts, and a purchaser having tried the lambs from one flock, if they turn out well, has the opportunity of getting his next year's supply from the same source. Where one lamb is now sold in the market or at a fair by single contract fifty must pass under the auctioneer's hammer. They are exhibited in a ring during the biddings, and yearly practice has enabled the managers to effect these sales with the minimum of lost time.

The Suffolk sheep fairs, if not totally extinguished like the cattle fairs, have dwindled to mere shadows of what they were forty or fifty years ago. Ipswich Lamb Fair, an exceedingly old institution, originally lasted three days. The writer has a vivid recollection of standing by a pen from the commencement to the close of the fair and selling the lambs on the way home. Where

there is one pen of lambs now there were forty in the first half of the nineteenth century. The fair at the present time is chiefly used for the sale of third-rate Suffolk ram lambs and a few shearling ewes. One salesman has annually held a stall of long-woolled rams for fifty years.

A few Welsh ponies reach the county, the best animals having been sold on the way. Thirty years ago useful three or four year-old hacks and hunters, as well as younger ones, could have been bought at Ipswich fair. But there never were riding-horse fairs in Suffolk to compare with Barnet Fair, much less that of Horncastle and other large gatherings of undeveloped hunters. Horringer Fair, a great sheep and lamb gathering held 2 miles from Bury St. Edmunds, bears no resemblance to what it was when the then Marquess of Bristol enlivened the scene every year with his beautiful four-in-hand team of pure-bred Shetlands reared in Ickworth Park, a mile from the fair field. This, too, is now not much more than a late sale of ram lambs from the West Suffolk Black-faced breeders.

The introduction of artificial manures during the last forty years has had a gradually increasing effect on production, more especially that of roots and barley. The digging of coprolite in East Suffolk, where the Crag overlies the London Clay, following the littoral of the sea-coast inland, in some places as far as 12 miles, was quite a business at one time, but the price dwindled down to half what it was in the sixties. It was mostly done by the men on the farm in slack times, and carted by the farm horses. A royalty was paid to the landlords. The writer has known whole fields turned over from twenty to thirty feet in depth with the upper soil deftly left on the surface.

But the most remarkable deviation from old methods has come through the inventive faculty of the agricultural implement maker. The machinery of the present day has worked a revolution in saving manual and horse labour. The effect has not been so apparent in reducing cost as in supplying the place of hand labour, which has been transferred to other callings. In the sickle, the scythe, the reaper, and the self-binder we have the stages of advancement in harvesting from the earliest times to the present day.

The substitution of the scythe for the sickle was an immense stride in the saving of labour in harvest-time, and yet the writer remembers having to bribe the men with a shilling an acre to give up the old way. Then came the reaper, whose development into the self-binder is the last triumph in the substitution of machinery for hand labour. The reaper did but half the work. No man can tie up as fast as another can mow ; the self-binder does both.

There are few living who can remember the use of the hand dibble for wheat planting on large farms. In one parish the writer has known as many as 65 acres planted in this way. The man walked at an angle backwards, made three holes to the foot, 9 in. from row to row, and the wife and children deftly put three grains into each hole. This works out to eleven millions of holes in the 65 acres !

Few farmers are now without a drill, but fifty years ago the keeping a drill to let out was as common as letting the steam plough for hire is at the present day.

Some years ago a useful turnwrest-plough was issued from the Orwell Works, but it did not take widely. In laying down for permanent pasture it acted well : no stetch furrow was left to impede the grass mower. From

the same firm a far more acceptable implement has been introduced—a light steel-tined cultivator. These are largely used all over the county.

The old light-land gallows plough, which I believe was largely in fashion 100 years ago, is still in use on some farms. The four-horse threshing-machine went down before the steam threshing-machine.

The plough is not yet out of date, but the steam cultivator is freely used on large farms and those who have it one year hire it again the next. The elevator used for stacking clover and barley relieves man of the hardest work he is ever called upon to perform, but this, too, can only be used on large farms. But to trace the gradual development of the implements used in Suffolk farming would require an essay for itself.

The comparative yield per acre of crops between the present day and what our forefathers extracted from the soil is not easily arrived at. There is an immense increase of the farmers' output in everything grown in Suffolk. But much of this comes from land being brought into cultivation which was formerly barren heath or sheep-walk ; the land has less rest now than formerly. Probably there were almost as heavy crops of wheat grown seventy years ago as are produced now, but the average is greater. More barley is grown per acre, and more acres are devoted to this crop than was the case in the early decades of the past century. There is probably no increase in the acreage of beans or in quarters per acre. The root crop must have trebled in area, and vastly increased in weight per acre. The application of artificial manures, and the greater demand for meat, have contributed to successful root culture. Of late years landlords have thrown fewer impediments in the way of farmers selling the produce off the land than when there was great choice of tenants. Advantage has been taken of this in sending roots into London ; in the cultivation of large areas of potatoes, and in selling vegetables and straw to supply the demand in provincial towns.

The introduction of mangolds has contributed to the production of meat in an incalculable degree. The writer once heard one of the largest farmers in the county, with an extensive business as valuer and land agent, say that he had no doubt the introduction of this root had added as much as 3*s*. an acre rental value to all heavy land in Suffolk. It enables the stiff lands to maintain stock all the year round ; and the keeping quality of mangold enables the large flockmaster to meet the late springs without, as in former times, having to go to great expense in artificial food.

The soils of the county and the farming resulting therefrom may be divided as follows :—

The Red Sand, which forms a belt on the coast running from Woodbridge almost to Yarmouth, and roughly speaking, is bounded on the west by the railway. But line of demarcation is very irregular, stronger soils cutting in to it and almost severing its continuity. Much of the district is sheep-walk ; much more has been sheep-walk, and from years of good cultivation is now useful light land. In places there is little soil above the sand, but it produces excellent turnips, which are made the foundation of good crops of barley fit for the choicest malt-making.

The thin skurmed gritty soil in West Suffolk comprises a large area, which, except for the fen-land, forms the north-west corner of the county. Starting from some four or five miles due north of Thurston station, the

southern boundary runs in a direct line towards Newmarket, keeping a few miles north of the railway. The western boundary touches Cambridgeshire ; then follows the east side of the fen corner to the Little Ouse dividing Norfolk from Suffolk. It follows the river eastward to Thetford and Brandon, taking as its eastern face a direct line towards Thurston.

The fen-land in the extreme north-west corner.

The area lying between the Deben and the Orwell, with the old turnpike from Woodbridge to Ipswich as its northern boundary, which partakes of the nature of the sands in the belt on the east coast. But interspersed in it are some parishes of excellent mixed soil, and the blunt end of the apex of the triangle, which comprises the watering-place of Felixstowe, extending on the sea-line from the mouth of one river to the other, and reaching two or three miles from their outlets, is a spot of perhaps the very best land in Suffolk, deep enough to grow excellent crops in a dry season, and friable enough for any kinds of roots.

On the west side of the Orwell is another triangular area of land of the same character as the last named, but without any light, heathy soil. It extends from Shotley to where the line from Ipswich to London crosses the Stour. That line may roughly be described as its western boundary. But towards the line itself there are some sharp, gravelly hillsides. On the whole it is, perhaps, the finest district in the county. It is known as Samford Hundred, and comprises the splendid Woolverstone estate, with its magnificent park, excellent farm buildings, and endless model cottages.

The stiffer part of Suffolk contains good corn districts, but it also embraces a great deal of the worst heavy land in the county. Of course there are more fertile spots and some useful meadow lands which flank the fresh-water streams. To the north of Ipswich there are pleasant mixed-soil farms, but they lie close to the stiffer lands. The valley of the Gipping, running from Ipswich to Stowmarket, is mostly low-lying grass lands, water-slain with no very fertile subsoil.

But there is a narrow strip of land through which the railway runs from Thurston to Newmarket, some twenty miles in length and about four miles wide, comprising some of the very best farming in Suffolk. The fields are large, immense quantities of lambs are reared in it, and the finest Burton barley grows there. Bury St. Edmunds is in the midst of it.

The marsh-lands are the only grass-lands in the county which are good cattle-feeding pastures. The upland meadows may be described as bad, and while the present system of repeated mowings continues, with dressings of manure few and far between, and they are thus managed, they will not improve. Some of the low-lying pastures bordering the smaller streams are useful. But where there is barge traffic and mill power, the water is headed up to the roots of the grass. These are mostly cow-fed, or used for raising young store cattle. The marshes are better treated ; they are usually at a distance from the farms to which they are attached, and there is little temptation to mow them. Those on the flats in the neighbourhood of Beccles are fine grazing lands. Many of these are let by auction, and a few years ago made as much as £4 an acre.

The ploughed marshes produce good crops of beans and oats, but their cultivation is heavy work, and they are the only lands where oxen take the

place of farm horses. There was this advantage where the ploughed marsh was away from the homestead ; the animals were turned into the grasses adjoining and shifted for themselves till the next day's work called them to the plough. Not many young men cared to work them, and they are now rarely seen at work. The Devon was the breed mostly used.

Occasionally it occurs that arable fields adjoining the homestead are laid down to grass, but the climate in Suffolk is too dry for rapid formation of a good bottom of turf. But where it is fed and not mown, and liberally treated, there are places where, since corn-growing has been unprofitable, some newly laid down pastures are becoming fair feeding grounds.

The only instance of breaking up land from what may have been termed ' pasture ' in the agricultural returns has been on light sheep land. It is ploughed up for a crop of roots or oats, sown with cheap seeds, and again left to re-fertilize itself.

The crops grown in Suffolk comprise the following :—*Cereals :* Wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, rye. *Roots and Cattle Feed:* Mangolds, swedes, kohl rabi, turnips, cabbages, carrots. *Fodder and Sheep Feed:* Red clover, white clover, alsac, lucerne, rye-grass, sainfoin, trefoil, trifolium, rye, colewort or rape, tares, lupins, natural grass. *Other Crops :* Hops, flax, potatoes, sugar beet.

There is nothing unusual about cereals either in kind or treatment. The chief sorts of wheat now in fashion are the old Kentish Red under various names, the rough-chaffed Tunstal, and occasionally a little early sown Talavera. Of course, there are endless varieties in the seedsmen's catalogues, some of which find favour in one place and some in another.

Of barley there are various names, but perhaps the most universally sown variety is the old Chevallier introduced many years ago by an ancestor of the present owner of Aspall Hall, near Debenham. Winter barley, drilled in the autumn, has been cultivated very successfully in the Lavenham district.

Both black and white oats are grown ; the Tartarian produces an abundant crop. The heavy Canadian White finds favour in some places, but is not widely patronized.

Winter beans are displacing the old spring kind, and are grown on lands which some years ago were not thought stiff enough to produce a bean crop at all. Peas are considered an uncertain crop. The fine old Pheasant Eye has given way to modern kinds, and a few farmers grow peas of a delicate character for seed growers, the farmer having the seed found him and a contract in price for the crop.

Rye is only grown as a crop, on the poorest soils ; the produce is chiefly retailed out for seed to the flockmasters for early sheep-feed.

Among roots it may be mentioned that mangolds are increasing in acreage. The yellow globe, and tankard-shaped orange, are favourite varieties, but the long red is grown on marsh or low lands, and produces enormous weights per acre. The latter keeps sound into summer, but the idea is prevalent that it is not so rich in fattening qualities as the yellow and orange varieties.

Swedes are mostly up and hoed out in the northern counties before the Suffolk farmer has drilled his. Compared with the crops grown in Scotland our swedes are miserably small. If sown early they are subject to lice and mildew in September. There has been recently a great increase in the area

sown with kohl rabi. To some extent these are superseding the swede, being less affected by dry weather, and form splendid fattening for sheep or for consumption in the cattle-shed. Carrots are grown in small patches ; the cost of cleaning was always a heavy item of expense in cultivation, and with the scarcity of labour many abandon them. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the sands east of Woodbridge were noted for their crops of carrots. Cabbages were the staple winter cattle food a hundred years ago, but after the introduction of mangolds they were less grown. Forty years ago it was rare to see a field of cattle cabbages, but there are more grown now, and not many stock farmers are without a few acres. But the white turnip is still the mainstay of the flockmaster. It costs less to produce than any other root crop, and with the large Norfolk white variety to begin with, and the hardy green top for winter and spring feeding, it lasts through the lambing season till the rye and rye-grass layers are fit to feed. The yellow Aberdeen hybrid is grown on stiffer land, and comes to hand earlier than the swede, and may be carted off the heavy lands in time to get the plough to work in December. Clamped round the cornstacks and covered with straw, it keeps well into the winter, but is less grown now than in former years.

Among green crops red clover is the most popular for artificial grass hay, or stover, as it is always called in Suffolk. It is mostly sown behind the drill when barley seeding comes on. But neither red nor white clover succeeds if grown on the same land oftener than once in twelve years in this county. For sheep-feed on light land white clover is freely used. Grown for seed on heavy land it yields a good return ; but it is said two crops of white clover seed were never grown in the same field during one man's lifetime.

Sainfoin is expensive to sow, and not on every soil can a plant be assured. It is by far the best grass for ewes and lambs, or indeed for any sheep. As a hay crop it is invaluable : two heavy swaths in the summer, and a third crop for autumn feed for sheep are usually secured in Suffolk. On the stiff lands overlying the chalk on the Cambridgeshire side of the county immense crops of hay are grown. Lucerne may be cultivated to great advantage as a hay crop, and as such perhaps yields a heavier return than any other grass. But it is not a good sheep grass ; the stalks soon get hard, and it is not every sowing which yields a standing plant. It goes off in the spring on lands which do not suit it. The writer has had it stand as a profitable crop seven years.

Rye-grass is much used as a mixture with other grass seeds. It comes on, bite after bite, like a permanent grass. Hoed in with the wheat plant in spring, it appears the next year before any other green food. It is splendid food for ewes and lambs if fed early, but the stems get hard if left too long. Trefoil is mostly used as a mixed seeding, but as it does not yield a second crop it is best supplemented by white clover or rye-grass. As a catch crop for seed on land too heavy for roots it is frequently cultivated with profit ; when cleared the land is laid up for barley.

Trifolium is the earliest grass to come to hand for hay. It is mostly hoed in on the wheat growth, and either for hay or first green crop for fodder the land is cleared in time for a turnip crop. It is a precarious swath for hay, for the woolly nature of the stem holds the rain and dew also, and once wetted it is not readily dried again. Drilled on the unploughed wheat stubble immediately after harvest it comes well in the spring.

Tares are used for horse fodder, and if grown on heavy land and folded with sheep in the summer they make an excellent preparation for barley. Rye drilled immediately after the wheat is carted with a single ploughing gives a fortnight's feed for the ewe and lamb directly the turnips are done; but it soon gets out of hand, and should always be off before the ear comes out.

Nothing gives such a healthy hue on wool as a nightly fold on the coleworts. Lambs thrive immensely on this green colza; but it is subject to rust and mildew in a dry August. It comes before the earliest turnips are fit to feed.

The cultivation of hops has entirely ceased in Suffolk. Forty years ago there were a few acres grown three miles east of Ipswich. The spot was afterwards marked by a public-house, existing a few years ago and probably there still, called the 'Hop Ground.' Between Stowmarket and Haughley there were several acres in the bed of the valley, but osier beds have taken their place, or rough grass on the drier spots.

In the early fifties some flax was grown in Suffolk, but as labour became more difficult to obtain the cultivation was given up. The time of securing it encroached on the harvest weeks; and as it had to be pulled by hand, and no reaper or horse-rake could be used for the ingathering, the few who tried it became less, and it is not now ranked as an item in the list of Suffolk crops.

Potato culture has very much increased lately. The potato plough, when the land is friable, has reduced the cost of lifting; and the artificial manure maker enables the farmer to restore the fertility of the soil which the removal of the potato extracts.

Different methods of cultivation are determined by the various soils. The sands in east Suffolk; the gravelly soils in the west, where they are not too poor; and the strip of land already referred to as between Woolpit and Newmarket, are the great sheep and lamb-breeding grounds. On the better farms many lambs are bred and fattened—not leaving the holding till they are fit for killing. Otherwise they are sold direct from the ewes at the repositories already mentioned. This lamb-breeding partly accounts for the system of growing wheat, roots, barley, and grasses in regular order. The close folding of roots in winter by the ewes is the preparation for barley; the high feeding in summer tells on the wheat crop; and so the root crop is the commencement of a course resulting in the best cultivation and the largest yield of cereals. It is the continuation of the old-fashioned four courses system, practised in the time of Young, and still adhered to by the best farmers on light and mixed soils.

On the poorer soils the seeds are occasionally allowed to stand for more than one year, but the yield in feed of the second is very little; some try a kind of self-producing herbage for three or more years; and then a wheat crop and perhaps mangold. The latter often produces a fair weight of roots with artificial manure, or salt and nitrate of soda, with one ploughing.

The plan adopted on the soils right and left of the Orwell is to get as much out of the land as possible with liberal dressings of bought manures; high feeding of cattle in yards in winter and forcing sheep on roots and seeds. Good farming, with much capital employed, may be seen here. But the production of milk seems to be introduced in all districts. When the town

is near enough for two deliveries in the day, or the railway to London within easy reach, the dairies are doing pretty well.

The heavy-land farmer is less fortunately placed. Cereals were his great mainstay, but prices have been against him. He, too, is in the milk trade, and the little stations on the line speak to the general extension of cow-keeping. Artificial manures have done much for the heavy lands. Sheep-farming has been little help, except in a small way, where upland meadows are at hand when the weather is too wet for the sheep on the arable fields. High farming, artificial manures, bullock grazing, and the London milk trade, are made the most of. Much of this soil produces abundant crops of barley in a favourable season ; and when wheat brought 40*s.* a quarter, the corn-grower was ready to lend his skill and his capital to grow it ; but wheat at 28*s.* a quarter can scarcely be grown at a profit. The landlord has therefore to make things as easy as his means will allow, and takes every means to keep the tenant on the holding. He knows too well the vacant farm ends in derelict, and when once a poor heavy-land farm gets out of condition it is hopeless to find a tenant.

The fen-lands are treated precisely similar to those in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire—that feature in the English landscape so fascinating to the eye of a Kingsley, but so trying to the man whose success depends upon an occupation which is so often the sport of the weather. The crops he depends upon are oats and wheat among the cereals ; potatoes for the London market, not of the very best quality, unless the season is dry ; cole seed (colza) and rye-grass, grown for seed.

The actual preparation for corn crops in Suffolk differs little from the practice adopted in other counties. A firm, well-rolled earth for wheat, the earlier ploughed the better, and sowing over in October is the general rule.

The County Breeds of Animals.—First among these stands the Suffolk horse. In the year 1880 the Suffolk Horse Society issued a large work under the title of *The Suffolk Horse: a History and Stud Book.* In illustration, research, and publication the cost to the Society was some £600. It has now reached its fifteenth volume. The history revealed some extremely interesting facts in connexion with the development of the breed. Although repeated attempts have been made to infuse other blood, every particular of which has been given in the first volume, they have all died out, and there is not a single animal of the breed now extant which does not trace its lineal descent in an unbroken line from a horse foaled about the year 1760. The description of this animal taken from printed records in the county paper of the day, has much in it to remind one of the horse of the early decades of the seventeenth-century. But the introduction of the smarter type advertised as belonging to a certain Mr. Blake of Hoo, went far to modify the unsightly outline of the original stock. But although this infusion of a more comely strain—an advertisement of one representative on a flimsy fly-sheet dated 1783, is now before the writer—was widely patronized, curiously enough the blood completely died out in the male line, and the old breed again asserted its lasting influence. To those interested in animal development and the theories enunciated by the school of Darwin, we can hopefully refer to the Suffolk Horse Society's first volume. The searching investigation of the Society revealed the fact that the popular idea that much of the character of

the present Suffolk is due to the introduction of Flemish blood, is without the slightest foundation. Not a single instance of any such introduction, by tradition or record, could be found to support the theory. The extraordinary uniformity of character, in colour, outline, and other distinctive points, is doubtless due to the circumstance of one common source of origin. The large volume already referred to is nearly out of print, but a few years ago the Suffolk Horse Society published a six-page pamphlet,[1] from which many interesting particulars of the breed may be gathered.

The Red-polled Suffolk cow belongs as much to Norfolk as to this county.[2] The pedigrees are intermingled and good animals find their way from the best herds in one county into the best herds in the other. The best herds still retain much of the milking qualities which distinguished the old pale red cow found in the dairy farms in Suffolk a hundred years ago, but not quite to the extent recorded by some writers of that period. Every effort is being made by the best breeders to improve the Suffolk steer as a show beast at the Christmas exhibitions, and while attempting this they have not sacrificed their milking qualities. At present their efforts have met with limited success and those who exhibit at Islington may well envy the back and loin of the Hereford, the Devon, and the Aberdeen Angus breeds. But the Red-poll is an admirable grazer, and as a growing steer, or a cow in milk, the breed is hard to beat.

The Black-faced Suffolk is fast becoming a favourite sheep. The breeders are getting a footing as far north as Scotland, and as far south as the Cape, and Australia. It has found its way into distant shires and is gaining year by year a firmer hold in all the sheep districts in the eastern counties. In fact it is the sheep of the day in its old home and the surrounding districts. When the heaths in East Suffolk were gradually giving way to the plough, and root culture was being recognized as the foundation of the barley crop, there arose a demand for a sheep more adapted for high feeding and early maturity, than the deer-like Norfolk which had so long cheerfully faced the two-mile walk to the fold at night. The Southdown cross effected a splendid improvement as far as mutton and early maturity were concerned. In West Suffolk the Sussex cross was less favoured than the heavier, coarser ram from Hampshire. Five-and-twenty years ago the Black-faces seen in both sides of the county bore unmistakable evidence of the source from which the improvement came. The West Suffolk breed were less adapted for the heath farms in the east, but they produced a heavier carcase through the high feeding and close folding adopted by the farmers on the Cambridgeshire side of the county when they sent the mutton into the market. It was at the instigation of the East Suffolk breeders that the Suffolk Agricultural Society offered prizes for 'Black-faced sheep now named the Suffolk.' But no sooner did the show-yard open, than the East Suffolk heath farm breeders were outclassed for every prize offered. Then came the blending of the two sorts. The East Suffolk men went into the west for the rams, from which they obtained a heavier carcase, and if, as the old shepherds maintained, the new sort did not face the heath as the descendants of the Southdowns did,

[1] *The Suffolk Horse, what he is, and where to find him.*

[2] The secretary of the Red-polled Society, Mr. Euren of Norwich, compiled an excellent account of the breed in the first volume of the *Herd Book*.

the breeders had to cater for the public. But the 'comical mixture of Hants, Sussex, and Norfolk,' as a show-yard reporter once described the exhibits, has now become no mixture at all. It is a magnificent breed of sheep. No shepherds of other herds can compete for the lamb-rearing prizes with a Black-faced flock of the present day. Probably no ewe in England produces the number of good healthy lambs to the score that these sheep do.

Within the memory of a middle-aged man no animal has undergone such a complete change of character as the pig bred in Suffolk. The original Suffolk was white, with an extremely short nose, big in the cheek, round in the rib, with a wide flat back and as short in the leg as any domesticated animal in existence. It would probably be the perfect model of the greatest weight of flesh in the smallest compass possible. Such was the Suffolk pig fifty years ago, and much later on. In 1856 a neighbour of the writer showed a sow with an eight weeks old litter at the Royal Agricultural Society's show held at Chelmsford. He refused forty guineas for a pair of the pigs to go to France. A herd of the best of these was a mine of wealth to the breeder forty years ago. Then came the Black Suffolk—the exact counterpart of the kind just described but black instead of white; these made fabulous prices. The late Mr. Crisp of Butley Abbey showed a sow of this breed at the International Exhibition in Paris, about the year 1858. The judges disqualified her, as too fat to breed, but her future history showed that this judgement was mistaken. After a time these Black Diamonds as they were called, and the White Suffolk, which was the original breed of the county, went as completely out of fashion as the flail and the sickle; sixty years ago the thick fat on the back was pickled in brine—not made into bacon—it was pickled pork, the mainstay of many a cottage dinner and many a farmer's kitchen; there would be little sale for it now. But the call for bacon became louder. The breeds described had to give way to a totally differently formed pig. Hence the run on the large breed of black pig. I do not know that it has any especial claim to be called a Suffolk production, though some of the best of the breed and some of the most successful exhibitors hail from this county. They have the forward pointed ear converging to the end of the nose; great depth of rib, producing heavy weight of the best bacon parts; large hams, but the back is neither wide nor deeply covered with fat. To those who remember the Black Diamonds they do not appeal on the score of beauty. They are in their present development somewhat coarse, but are largely patronized by the best stock farmers, and the breed makes way.

Nothing has been said of poultry farming. It is not an especial feature in the agriculture of the county; but there is no doubt that the number kept on a farm, not round the homestead, but in colonies all over the holding, is rapidly increasing. As a poultry farm distinct from other features on the occupation, the writer knows of none on a large scale. On small holdings poultry is a great item; but it has been most successfully adopted in scattered centres distant from each other in the usual stock farm. To judge by the immense number of movable hen-houses now to be seen in every direction the Suffolk farmer evidently makes poultry pay.

The Co-operative Society at Framlingham has given an enormous impetus to the egg industry. It has been a great assistance to the small poultry

farmer in pooling his produce with others, and so making a wholesale business with the London dealer.

The introduction of the vegetable business in connexion with sheep breeding and dairying has a few notable examples in this county; on one farm near Woodbridge the occupier has built up a large connexion with the London consumer. He has probably many hundred private customers, and has at least a hundred hampers constantly on the line going backwards and forwards from the nearest station. The small box system introduced on the Great Eastern Railway a few years ago has made great progress. A short time ago the writer saw a hundred of these packages taken by one customer to fill with farm produce from a small station on the Yarmouth line.

The benefit of agricultural shows has long been recognized in Suffolk. The County Society held its first exhibition in 1831 or 1832. But there are numerous smaller societies and farmers' clubs holding annual meetings for prize competition. There are excellent exhibits at Woodbridge, Framlingham, Eye, Stowmarket, Hadleigh, and one in the south-west of the county.

One branch of agriculture has not been mentioned—the breeding of riding horses. Although the hunter and hackney classes at our shows are well filled, Suffolk does not rank high as a light-horse breeding county. It is certainly not for want of opportunity of getting at first-class thoroughbred sires, for the writer has now before him a list of forty-three first-class horses which have, one after another, been located at the late Colonel Barlow's paddocks at Hasketon. Amongst these were the blood of Melbourne and Bay Middleton, Voltigeur, and Touchstone, Sweetmeat, Orlando, and Stockwell; with many a trotting horse which has brought there a ribbon from the Royal Agricultural Society.

About the year 1867 a sugar factory was started at Lavenham in West Suffolk. It was kept at work for some six years, but was then abandoned, as it was not a financial succcess. To the grower this was a great disappointment. From one farm in the parish where the factory was situated the output averaged more than 900 tons a year. There were some 700 or 800 acres of the occupation, but a source of receipt of £1,000 a year without curtailing the cereal shift, even on a farm of this size indicates a useful addition to the usual sale products from arable land. The occupier of a farm four miles from the factory informed me that while the factory was in work his business paid him 10 per cent. on his tenants' capital. He had the cost of cartage to deduct from the profits, and yet sugar-beet cultivation enabled him to realize a living return. The pulp after the sugar had been extracted was sold back to the farmer at 12*s.* a ton. The tillage was not exactly like that for mangolds; the roots had to be deeper in the ground, with as much below the surface as possible. These were deteriorated by exposure to the sun and had to be taken up with a fork; but the cultivation of the crop left a profit. An effort is being made to induce the introduction of the sugar business again, but at present no factory has been started.

FORESTRY

SUFFOLK is one of the eight English counties of which there is no record of any royal forest within its confines. But though Suffolk thus escaped the penalties of being under forest law, it need not be concluded that it was at all lacking in woodland or timber. Contrariwise, it probably possessed considerably more woodland in Norman, Plantagenet, and even Tudor days, than did Essex or some of the great counties of the west that were celebrated for their extensive royal forest lands. For the mediaeval 'forest,' it should ever be remembered, did not imply, etymologically or otherwise, any great extent of wood, but merely a vast district, much of which was never wooded, reserved for royal hunting and sport: the deer, indeed, either red or fallow, could not live unless the forest contained much open space and pasturage ground.

The Domesday Survey affords clear evidence of the very considerable area of the county that was then covered with wood. Particularly was this the case with the great Liberty of St. Edmund, which included, by the gift of the Confessor, the eight hundreds of Thingoe, Thedwastre, Blackburne, Bradbourne, Bradmere, Lackford, Risbridge, and Babergh, and the half hundred of Cosford, forming the western portion of the county and more than a third of the whole area. The value of woodland in those days consisted not only in its value for building and fencing purposes, and for fuel, but in the limited rough pasturage or agistment for horses and horned cattle, and more especially in the pannage for the swine. The sustenance afforded for the pigs by the acorns and beechmast was all-important to the poorer classes, whose chief food supply came from the swine. The survey was compiled by different sets of commissioners. It is only natural to find that varying methods of computation were adopted; this is especially the case with regard to woodlands. In some counties the amount of wood was calculated by lineal measure (miles and furlongs), as in Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, and Worcestershire, or by square measure (acres), as in Lincolnshire; but the more usual plan was to give a rough estimate according to the number of swine that could be supported by the acorns and mast. The estimating by the pigs admitted of a two-fold method. One plan, which was adopted in the case of Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex, was the stating of the number of swine due as tribute to the lord for the privilege of pannage, which was usually one in seven. The other plan, which was adopted in the case of Suffolk, and which also prevailed in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, was to enter the full approximate number of swine for which the particular wood could find pannage.

Of the various Suffolk manors pertaining to the great abbey of St. Edmunds at the time of the survey, upwards of sixty are entered as having *silvae* worth so many pigs. Mendham had the largest timbered area, for it could feed 360 swine; as the whole acreage was under 3,000 acres, probably two-thirds was then woodland. The woodland of Chepenhall could feed 160 swine; another manor of doubtful identification 120; Worlingworth, Pakenham and another 100 each; Ingham 80; and Long Melford and several others 60 each.

At the abbot's manor of Melford was an old grandly wooded deer park of ancient foundation called Elmsett, or *magnus boscus domini* in early charters. The abbot had also a grange and place of occasional residence at Elmswell in another part of the county. One of the most delightful stories told of Abbot Samson's shrewdness, by his biographer, Jocelin of Brakelond, concerns these two places. Told succinctly, it runs as follows. Geoffrey Riddell, bishop of Ely (1174–89), desiring timber for a great manor-house, asked the abbot personally for the same, and the abbot unwillingly granted the request, not liking to offend the bishop. Soon after, when the abbot was at Melford, the bishop sent a clerk asking that the promised timber might be taken at Elmswell, mistaking the word and saying Elmswell when he meant Elmsett. Meanwhile the abbot's forester at Melford informed his master that the bishop, in the previous week, had sent his carpenter secretly to the wood of Elmsett, putting marks on the desired trees. Samson, though well aware that there was no good timber at Elmswell and detecting the blunder, sent off the bishop's messenger with a ready compliance with his request. So soon as the messenger had departed, the abbot went into Elmsett wood with his carpenter, and caused not only the trees privately marked by the bishop, but a hundred more of the best for timber to be branded with his mark, and felled as speedily as

possible for the use of the steeple of the great tower and other parts of the building of St. Edmunds. When the bishop's messenger reached Ely with the abbot's consent to obtain wood at Elmswell, the bishop gave him many hard words and ordered him instantly to return and say Elmsett not Elmswell. But by the time he got back to Melford all the good timber of the great park had been felled for the use of the abbey, and Samson could only express his inability to oblige the bishop.[1]

In the record of Abbot Samson's reforms and business energy, we are informed by his biographer that soon after his election in 1182, 'he enclosed many parks, which he replenished with beasts of chase, keeping a huntsman with dogs; and upon the visit of any person of quality sat with his monks in some walk of the wood, and sometimes saw the coursing of the dogs; but I never saw him take part in the sport.'[2]

A survey of the important manor of Melford, taken in 1287, shows that there were then 360 acres of wood, against 800 acres of arable, 24 of meadow, and 53 of pasture. A more particular survey of Melford in 1386, given in Abbot Timworth's register, shows an apparently larger area of woodland, namely about 490 acres, but it seems that other parts of the parks were included in this estimate. The wood called Lemynge was of 90 acres, and it is represented as producing £2 12*s.* 6*d.* a year from 15 acres, at 3*s.* 6*d.* an acre. This means that it was the practice to cut down all the undergrowth in lots, a sixth part each year; and that, after the cost of fencing to protect the new cleared part from the deer that it might grow strong again, the profit averaged 3*s.* 6*d.* an acre. To cut coppices every sixth year was unusually frequent; but it was a rich soil. The wood called Le Speltue was of 80 acres, and after the same fashion produced £2 7*s.* a year; and Le Small Park, of 60 acres, 30*s.* The Great Wood or Park of Elmsett was then of 260 acres; from it there were cut 600 faggots a year, valued at 8*d.* the half hundred; there was also a receipt of £2 for agistment of stock. The general wood receipts of the year also included 12*d.* for a cutting of thorns, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for depasturing swine.

An exact survey in 1442 of these Melford woodlands, given in acres, roods, and poles in Abbot Curteys' register, makes the total acreage of the woodland and parks 504 acres.[3]

The considerable prevalence of woodland in mediaeval Suffolk can also be gathered from another source of information. Many of the manor court rolls of the county, of which there are a large number at the Public Record Office, contain a great and most unusual variety of references to offences committed against the woodland and timber rights of the district. One instance of this must suffice; it is but a sample of many others. The records of a manor court of Westwood, including Blythburgh and Walberswick, held in 1323 on the Monday after the feast of St. Edmund, show that twenty-seven offenders were charged with wood trespass ('dampnorum fact' in bosc' dni'), and were in each case fined 3*d.* Three years later, at a court of the same manor held on 9 September, nine offenders were fined 2*d.* each for damage done by their beasts in the lord's woods.[4] The ancient woods of this manor have long ago disappeared, though their former presence is attested by various place and field names, and particularly by the frequent occurrence of the term 'Walk' throughout the district, which was the old name for a division of a forest or woodland.[5]

In the reign of Edward III the accounts of various Suffolk properties that were temporarily or permanently in the hands of the crown also bear witness to the extent of woodland by such entries as *De pannagio porcorum*.[6]

The best timbered parts of the county, next to the many woodland manors of the Liberty of St. Edmund, were to be found in the hundred of Blything on the eastern coast. The grants made to the Cistercian Abbey of Sibton and to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Leiston, immediately around their respective sites, bear strong witness to this fact.[7]

In the two chief parks of this hundred, Huntingfield with Heveningham (300 acres), and Henham (1,000 acres), there are traces of ancient oaks. Huntingfield, whose woods were worth 150 swine at the Domesday Survey, was visited by Queen Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign, and the remains of a noble old tree called 'the Queen's Oak' are still pointed out, whence she is said to have shot a buck with her own hand.[8] Close to Henham Hall are several

[1] Jocelin, *Chron.* (ed. Clarke), 106–7.
[2] Parkin, *Hist. of Melford*, 229, 240, &c.
[3] Ibid. 43.
[4] Court R. (P.R.O.), $\frac{204}{23}$.
[5] The older name for a forest division, under the charge of a particular forester or keeper, was bailiwick; but 'walk' became the more usual term in the sixteenth century. See Fisher's *Forest of Essex*, 145–6; Cox's *Royal Forests*, *passim*.
[6] Mins. Accts. (P.R.O.), $\frac{1118}{14}$, 7 to 17 Edw. III, &c.
[7] See subsequent accounts of these houses. The general confirmation of Hen. II to Sibton Abbey, of lands in Sibton, Peasenhall, and elsewhere, put the woodlands first—'quam in bosco tam in plano.' Dugdale, *Mon.* (ed. 1), i, 886.
[8] A beautiful etching of this celebrated oak is given in Strutt's *Silva Britannica* (1824), and there is an engraving in Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks* (1867) from a photograph taken in 1866.

ancient oaks of great girth with hollowed stems, though the historical one in which Sir John Rous was concealed from the Roundheads for some days has disappeared. Henham manor had wood for forty swine in the eleventh century.

Nothing tended so much to the destruction of the old woods of Suffolk as the dissolution of the monasteries. The religious houses had, for the most part, preserved them with faithful care; but the new owners felled or stubbed them up on all sides to produce ready money.

The crown endeavoured, under Elizabeth, to do something to stay this spoliation, and several commissions of inquiry were issued with regard to Rattlesden and other manors.[1]

Framlingham Park used to have an acreage of 600 acres, and the pales were 3 miles in circuit.[2] It must have been remarkably well stocked with fallow deer. A roll of the accounts of Richard Chambyn, park-keeper of Framlingham to the duke of Norfolk for the years 1515–18, shows that in the first of these years presents were made of seventy-five bucks and sixty-four does; in the following years the gifts of venison were yet larger.[3] There are also various proofs of the considerable amount of timber contained in this once celebrated park in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As every park in olden times, as at present, embraced a certain amount of well-grown and well-tended timber, it may be as well to recall how numerous were the Suffolk parks in the days of Elizabeth.

Saxton's Survey of this county, dated 1575, marks four parks in the hundred of Hartismere, namely, Redgrave, Burgate, Westhorp, and Thwaite; Wingfield, Denham, Monk Soham, Kelsale, and Framlingham in the hundred of Hoxne; Kenton and Letheringham in the hundred of Loes; Henham, Blythburgh, Huntingfield, and Heveningham in Blything hundred; Nettlestead in Bosmere hundred; Hadleigh in Cosford hundred; Chilton, Small Bridge, Gifford Hall, Cavendish, and three near Lavenham in Babergh hundred; three near Stradishall in Risbridge hundred; and Chevington in Thingoe hundred.[4]

On the crown manors of Suffolk, although there was some timber taken, both in Elizabethan and Stuart times, for the wholesome object of assisting the navy, no provision was made for future production, and the surveyors seem to have been encouraged to add paltry sums to the revenue by the rash destruction of coppice growth. At the beginning of the reign of James I, William Glover was surveyor of the crown property in East Anglia, and had the control of the considerable wood sales both in Norfolk and Suffolk. On 2 May, 1609, Glover wrote at length to Lord Salisbury respecting the sale of the king's timber in the two counties, the claims of the copyholders, the threats of the people of Ginningham and Tunstead to insist on felling for their own use, and the marking of trees for navy purposes. From this and other communications it becomes clear that there were at that date considerable woods at Frostenden and at Leiston, both in Blything hundred. In these woods Glover could find but very few trees sufficiently good for navy purposes. A great number were, however, marked as 'wrong tymber,' that is twisted or gnarled or decaying trees useless for ship-building, yet suitable not only for fuel but for smaller carpentering purposes. The timber sales from these woods produced the handsome sum of £1,877 14*s*.

Another royal manor, about the centre of the county to the south of Stowmarket, was the extensive district of Barking-cum-Reedham, which was also at that time well wooded. Glover reported to Lord Salisbury that the leases of this manorial property had fallen in some five or six years previously, and that the woods were being seriously spoiled by the poor people of the neighbourhood. As a means of checking this spoiling, Glover asked that crown leases should be granted to himself.[5]

A survey of timber in Suffolk fit for the navy was undertaken in May, 1651[6]; and in January, 1666, Thomas Lewsley, writing from Woodbridge to the Navy Commissioners, reported that he had met with much good timber in Suffolk, the greatest and best belonging to the two Mr. Mundys, who were willing to supply it upon payment of their former bills of £400 due a year ago.[7] In the following month particulars were furnished of 150 loads of Suffolk plank at £4 10*s*. per load.[8] Edward Mundy, who had a timber yard at Woodbridge, wrote to the Navy Commissioners in the March following, stating that he had sent a quantity of plank into the stores at Chatham, and

[1] Exch. Spec. Com. Nos. 2230, 2231, 2234, 2235. Unfortunately these documents are mostly illegible.

[2] Loder, *Hist. of Framlingham* (1798), 329.

[3] Shirley, *Deer and Deer Parks*, 29–33.

[4] Several particulars of parks laid out in this county during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to be found in Shirley, *Deer and Deer Parks*, 118–22, as well as short particulars of two or three of earlier date not mentioned above.

[5] S. P. Dom. Jas. I, vol. xlv, Nos. 7, 91.

[6] S P. Dom. 1651, xvii, 57.

[7] S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cxlv, 25.

[8] Ibid. cxlviii, 18.

entreated payment of his former bills for goods delivered sixteen months previously.[1] His entreaties however were unheeded.[2]

When John Kirby first published *The Suffolk Traveller*,[3] based on an actual survey of the whole county, undertaken in 1732–3, he described it as naturally divided into the Sandlands, the Woodlands, and the Fielding. The very considerable Woodland section is named as extending from the north-east corner of the hundred of Blything to the south-west corner of the county at Haverhill, and including part of the hundreds of Carlford, Wilford, Loes, Plomesgate, Blything, Blackburne, Thedwastre, and Thingoe, and all the hundreds of Risbridge, Babergh, Cosford, Sandford, Stow, Bosmere and Claydon, Hartismere, Hoxne, Thredling and Wangford.

Arthur Young drew up a *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suffolk* in 1794 for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture. His remarks on the woods of the county are but scanty and insufficient; he considered that they 'hardly deserved mentioning, except for the fact that they pay in general but indifferently.' He continued

> By cuttings at ten, eleven or twelve years' growth, the return of various woods, in different parts of the county, have not, on an average, exceeded 9*s.* per acre per annum; the addition to which sum, by the timber growing in them, but rarely answers sufficiently to make up for the difference between that produce and the rent of the adjoining lands. There cannot be a fact more clearly ascertained than that of every sort of wood being at a price too low to pay with a proper profit for its production; and nothing but the expense and trouble of grubbing prevents large tracts of land thus occupied from being applied much more beneficially.

The present deer parks of the county, including several of small area, are eleven in number.[4] Ickworth Park (marquis of Bristol) is one of the largest in the kingdom, as it contains, including the woods, nearly 2,000 acres. It is eleven miles in circumference, lying in the parishes of Ickworth, Chevington, Little Saxham, and Horningsheath; and is stocked with about 500 head of fallow deer. There has been a considerable amount of planting on the marquis's property in Suffolk of late years, for the most part having in view the desirability of keeping up a supply of timber for estate purposes.

The next largest of the Suffolk deer parks is that of Livermere (Lord de Saumarez), which has an area of about 550 acres. It is undulating and well wooded, particularly with fine old oaks, and is stocked with about 120 fallow deer.

Flixton Hall Park (Sir F. E. Shafto Adair, bart.), near Bungay, has an area of 500 acres. The fallow deer vary in number from 250 to 300. There are numerous old trees, oaks, elms, and chestnuts, in this ancient park, as well as new plantations. There has been a small amount of recent planting on the estate, but only for game purposes.

Helmingham Park (Lord Tollemache) has an acreage of 306 acres. The hall is approached by a long avenue of oak trees, and in the park of ancient foundation is 'probably the finest clump of oaks of any park in England.'[5] The fallow deer, small and black in colour, now number about 150, and there is also a small herd of 35 red deer; it is intended to keep the numbers about the same. There has been practically no recent planting on the estate, save the replacing in the park of old trees that have died or been blown down.

Shrubland Park in Barham parish (Lord de Saumarez) has an area of 355 acres. It is well wooded, and famous for some singularly fine specimens of old Spanish chestnut trees; it is stocked with about 150 fallow deer.

Woolverstone Park (Mr. Charles Hugh Berners) encloses 350 acres, and is stocked with a herd of about 400 fallow deer. The park extends to the margin of the Orwell and contains much fine timber. During the past decade a few acres have been planted for landscape effect, and others for game purposes. The park was enclosed about the time of the erection of the mansion, namely in 1776.

Somerleyton Park (Sir Savile B. Crossley, bart.), in the north-east of the county, is remarkably well wooded and encloses nearly 400 acres. There is a stately avenue of limes. It is stocked with 40 fallow deer and 30 red deer. Fuller's brief comments on this house and grounds, published in 1662, show that fir trees were at that time regarded as rarities in England. He says:—'Among the many fair houses in this county is Somerleyton Hall (nigh Yarmouth), belonging to the Lady Wentworth, well answering the Name thereof: For here Sommer is to be seen in the depth of Winter in the pleasant walks, beset on both sides with Firr-trees green all the

[1] S.P. Dom. Chas. II. cl, 102.

[2] Ibid. clxxviii, 38.

[3] First edition, 1733; second edition, 1764.

[4] Brief particulars are given of these in Whitaker, *Deer Parks*, 1892. In almost every case these particulars have been brought up to date through the courtesy of the owners and their agents, whose assistance we desire specially to acknowledge.

[5] Whitaker, *Deer Parks*, 143.

year long, besides other curiosities.'[1] There have been about ten acres planted within recent years, partly for game purposes, but chiefly for the protection of exposed arable land.

Orwell Park (Mr. E. G. Pretyman), in Nacton parish, incloses 150 acres, and is stocked with about 150 fallow deer. The park slopes down to the Orwell, which is here tidal; it contains much broken bracken-covered ground, and some fine oaks. The tree planting on this estate has been done chiefly on the light lands which have been found unprofitable to farm. About 160 acres have been covered in recent years, and these plantations are used as cover for game. This park was enclosed by Lord Orwell about 1750.

Redgrave Park (Mr. George Holt Wilson) is a well-wooded deer park of about 300 acres, with a herd of 80 fallow deer; it assumed its present proportions in 1770. There has been no recent planting on the estate, except to replace. This park is marked on Saxton's survey of 1575.

Polstead Park (Mr. Edmund Buckley Cooke) has an acreage of 84 acres, and a herd of about 70 fallow deer; it is well wooded with oak, ash, horse-chestnut, and elm. Near the church is a great ancient tree known as the 'gospel oak'; the decayed trunk has a girth of 32 ft. at 5 ft. from the ground; there is also an elm with a girth of 21 ft.

Campsey Ash Park (Hon. William Lowther) has an area of 87 acres and is stocked with about 100 fallow deer. The park is well studded with trees, and in front of the house are some exceptionally large cedar trees, and a double avenue of limes. There has been no considerable planting on this estate of late years. The old coverts have been replanted when necessary, after the underwood has been cut. Six small plantations, each of about an acre, have been planted with Scotch and spruce firs and larch, and a few hard wood trees, chiefly for the purpose of shelter in the most exposed parts of the estate, which is open to the east coast.

In addition to the deer parks of the county, Suffolk still possesses an unusual number of parks untenanted by deer, all of which are fairly well timbered or surrounded by plantations, whilst several are of great beauty and extent, and possessed of fine old forest trees.[2] The historic parks of Henham and Heveningham have already been named, and besides these there are eleven which cover an area of 300 or more acres, and which demand a word or two of special mention.

Brandon Park (Mr. Almeric Hugh Paget) lies about a mile west of the town of Brandon, in the north-west of the county. The area of the property known by this name is 2,626 acres, and it contains between four and five hundred acres of woodland scattered in different parts. In the last four years a great deal of planting has been done, to form new coverts for game, as well as for landscape effects. The whole of the woodland has been long neglected, but is now being gradually taken in hand and renovated. It is found in this neighbourhood that—so far as the success of a plantation is concerned—it pays over and over again to double-trench the land before planting. There are thousands of larch on the Brandon Park property that should have been felled long ago; about seventy per cent. of them are hollow.

Euston Park (duke of Grafton) to the south-east of Thetford, has the noble area of 1,262 acres; it contains much splendid timber. There are between 1,300 and 1,400 acres of woodland on the estate, which is about a tenth part of the whole property. There has not been much planting of late years, only two or three acres annually, consisting principally of ornamental clumps and shelter belts. In 1671 Evelyn visited Lord Arlington at his 'palace of Euston.' 'Here my lord,' says the diarist, 'was pleased to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elms, limes, &c., up his park, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so near as to comprehend his house within it; which he resolved upon, it being now near a mile to it.'[3] In August 1677, Evelyn was again at Euston and enters:—'29th We hunted in the park, and killed a very fat buck. 31st I went a hawking!'[4] In the following month he refers to 'four rows of ash trees a mile in length which reach to the park pale, which is nine miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw. There were now of red and fallow deer almost a thousand, with good covert, but the soil barren and flying sand, in which nothing will grow kindly. The tufts of fir and much of the other wood were planted by my direction some years before.'[5] The deer were done away with by the fifth duke of Grafton about the middle of the last century.

Culford Park (Earl Cadogan), four miles north-west of Bury St. Edmunds, consists of 550 acres; it is well wooded and extends to the river Lark. During the past seven or eight years, new plantations have been made on the estate at the rate of about 25 or 30 acres per annum. Besides the new planting, the old woods are being improved. The new plantations have been made with a view to

[1] Fuller, *Worthies* (ed. 1662), ii, 53.

[2] The short details relative to these parks are partly from the fragmentary histories of Gage and Suckling, and partly from personal observations; but we are chiefly here also indebted to the courtesy of owners and their agents.

[3] Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (ed. 1850), ii, 64.

[4] Ibid. 110.

[5] Ibid. 113.

profit, although at the same time they have been put in position to help the game and to serve as shelter for the adjacent land. In short on this estate arboriculture is the main object. Trees have also been planted in the park and along the roadside to improve the landscape.

Sotterley Park (Captain Miles Barne), in the north-east of the county, a little south of Beccles, consists of 458 acres, of which 180 are woods, the remainder being pasture. It contains some very fine old oaks. Sotterley oak had at one time a considerable reputation in ship-building yards. A large 'fell,' about the year 1794, was secured by the royal navy, and was used in ships that fought at Trafalgar. Oaks grow here almost to perfection. A specimen that was lately felled contained 300 cubic feet in the bole. Care has long been taken to replant where any felling has been done. Forty or fifty acres have been newly planted, principally with larch and pines, in the last few years on Captain Barne's Sotterley and Dunwich estates.

Hengrave Park (Mr. John Wood) four miles north-west of Bury St. Edmunds, has a total area of 300 acres, including belts and plantations, which occupy about 50 acres. There has been little or no planting on the estate of late years. In 1894 about 35 acres were planted in the adjoining parish of Risby. Sir Thomas Kitson erected a noble mansion here in 1525–38. Queen Elizabeth, in 1587, licensed Sir Thomas Kitson the younger to impark 300 acres in Hengrave, Fornham All Saints, Risby, Flempton and Lackford, granting him all the privileges of free warren and other rights pertaining to a park. There had previously been a small enclosure round the manor-house called the Little Park, and the new enclosure was termed the Great Park. The extent of the two parks, in 1715, was 500 acres.

A contemporary book of accounts give the following interesting particulars of the deer placed in the Great Park when finished at Michaelmas 1587 :—

Deare of all kinds taken owte of Chevington Parke in the beginning of the last year, ix^{xx}xiij	
Recd and also put into Hengrave Park out of Lopham Park, xiiij	
Out of Westrop Park, xxvj	
Out of Wethenden Park, iij	cccxvj
Recd as given by Mr. Clement Higham, being tame and whight, j	
Recd out of Mr. Jernegan his Parke, one whight doe, j .	
Recd out of Mr. Crane his Parke, viij	
Remained as in the year ended as before, lxx . . .	

Whereof

Killed and spent in the house in Chrysmas, ij	
Given unto Mr. Clement Higham, ii . .	
Morts, with one lost, xj	xix
Killed and sent unto London of bucks, ij .	
Given unto Mr. Seckford, j . . .	
Stolen, j	

And is

Remaynes of bucks xviij
„ sores xx
„ sorrels xlviij
„ pricketts xxv
„ does and fawns ix^{xx}vj——cciiij^{xx}xvij[1]

Sudbourne Park (Mr. Kenneth M. Clark) to the north of Orford, has an area of about 300 acres and is well wooded. Very little planting has been done of recent years except in the way of improving existing covers for game.

Rendlesham Park (Lord Rendlesham), to the south-east of Wickham Market, extends over 400 acres, about 180 acres of which are woods or plantations. No planting has taken place here of late years, beyond filling up the woods with cover for game. For this purpose about 25,000 plants, consisting of laurels, rhododendrons, spruce, American dogwood, mahonia and snowberry were planted.

Glenham Park (earl of Guilford), between Framlingham and Saxmundham, has a well-wooded area of about 350 acres. This park, until about the middle of last century, used to be noted for a herd of dark fallow deer.

Glevering Park (Mr. Arthur Heywood) near Framlingham, has an area of about 300 acres. Since purchasing the estate in 1898, Mr. Heywood has planted about 25 acres.

Other wooded parks, mostly of much less extent and chiefly of modern origin, are those of Assington, Benacre, Boxted, Branches, Brettenham, Chadacre, Dalham, Denston, Easton, Elvedon,

[1] Gage, *Hist. of Hengrave* (1822), 4–5.

Finborough, Hintlesham, Kentwell, Loudham, Melford, Rougham, Rushbrooke, Santon Downham, Saxham and Stowlangtoft.

On the estates or in the parks of Ickworth, Orwell, Campsey Ash, Brandon, Sotterley, and more particularly at Culford, a fair amount of planting has been accomplished of recent years that may rightly be included under the term arboriculture, or tree planting from a commercial or agricultural point of view, and not merely or solely for game preserving or ornamental landscape effects.

Taking the county of Suffolk as a whole, it is satisfactory to find that it has had its full share in the increase of woodland throughout England during the last quarter of a century. The English woodlands increased by 50,000 acres from 1895 to 1905. During that decade the woodlands of Suffolk increased from 34,771 acres to 37,979 acres. The return of 5 June 1905, gives the coppices of the county, that is woods cut over periodically and reproduced naturally from stool shoots, as 11,134 acres; plantations or lands planted or replanted within the last ten years, 2,740 acres; and other woods, 24,105 acres.